

**The University of Liverpool**

**THE INSCRIBED STELAE OF THE HERAKLEOPOLITAN  
PERIOD FROM THE MEMPHITE  
NECROPOLIS**

**VOLUME I. TEXT**

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements  
of the University of Liverpool for the degree of  
Doctor in Philosophy**

**by**

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## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to examine in detail a specific group of inscribed material from the Memphite necropolis. This material dates to the late Old Kingdom-Herakleopolitan Period, and comes from tombs belonging to officials of various ranks and social standing.

Some of the stelae and other inscribed fragments, offering tables, side pieces, and blocks have been published, others are looked at here for the first time. This thesis, however, is the first work to bring all this material together as comprehensively as possible in order to fully assess its extent and importance. It will examine the distribution of the Herakleopolitan Period cemeteries in the vast necropolis of Memphis; to analyse each individual cemetery, and its development through this period, and to investigate the architectural remains of the chapels of that period to cast light on their design. A major focus is the examination of the tomb stelae, their orientation, development, and their inscriptions in comparison with contemporary stelae from provincial cemeteries, particularly Dendara, Naga-ed Deir, Akhmim, Ashmunein, Asyut, Edfu and Thebes.

### The Herakleopolitan Period. A brief historical survey.

In order to fully appreciate the particular importance of the stelae examined in this thesis, it is useful to set the Herakleopolitan Period at Memphis in its historical context. The exceptional longevity of Pepy II resulted not only in the gradual fossilisation of the administrative system of the state, and the decline in the royal authorities, but also in a succession crisis.<sup>1</sup> Turin Canon,<sup>2</sup> follows the entry of Pepy II with seven kings; Merenre

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<sup>1</sup> According to Herodotus Pepy II was followed by Menthsouphis (Merenre II), who reigned for one year, and was murdered in a palace conspiracy, followed by his sister Nitocris who retaliated against her brother's killers (*Herodotus*, 2: 100). Manetho placed Nitocris at the end of his Dynasty Six. The fame of this queen grew in the Ptolemaic Period in the image of the legendary Rhodophis, courtesan and mythical builder of the third pyramid (See, H.R. Hall, 'Nitokris-Rhodophis', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 24 (1904), 208-13; van de Walle in *Antiquité Classique* 3 (1934), 303-13; Newberry, *JEA* 29 (1943), 51-4; C.M. Zivie, 'Nitocris-Rhadophis et la troisième pyramide de Giza', *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 115-38; idem, 'Nitocris', *LÄ* IV, 513-4; cf. Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptische Königsnamen*, 58 n. 11.).



II (also called Nemtiemsaf II), Nitokerty, Neferka the younger, Nefer, Ibi, and two lost names.<sup>3</sup> The Turin Canon copier had noticed a gap of six years in the original source;<sup>4</sup> this gap was filled by the Abydos King list.<sup>5</sup> Here, after Pepy II, occur eighteen names of possibly wholly ephemeral kings, forming the Seventh and Eighth Manethonian dynasties.<sup>6</sup>

Distinctive terms have been used to describe this unsettled period, which Egypt passed through between the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The term 'First Intermediate Period' is now widely used in order to portray Egypt in the second half of the 22<sup>nd</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> century B.C. The term denotes stereotypical notions of rapid disintegration, decadence, decline, bloodshed and anarchy, as well as overall instability resulting from the collapse of the central power, and the infiltration of Asiatics through the eastern borders of Egypt as far as the Delta. However, the term is purely relative, and does not necessarily define a particular political situation.<sup>7</sup>

The principal sources for the history and chronology of the Herakleopolitan Period are not clear and hardly agree. The Manethonian excerptor Africanus specifies nineteen kings each for both the Ninth and Tenth dynasties. Eusebius lists a similar number of kings for the Tenth Dynasty, but assigns only four for the Ninth Dynasty.<sup>8</sup> The Turin Canon has room for eighteen rulers in columns IV. 18-26 and V. 1-9.<sup>9</sup>

The actual duration of this period is far from settled among modern historians. However, there is a tendency among many scholars to accept a moderate long chronology of this period,<sup>10</sup> while others argue for a longer Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> A papyrus now in Turin Museum, found by Consul Drovetti in 1822 in a tomb in western Thebes. Editions; G. Farina, *Il papiro dei Rei* (Rome, 1938); A. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959).

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Turin Canon*, col. IV: 6-12.

<sup>4</sup> Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists*, 12f.

<sup>5</sup> A list of royal names placed in historical order and used in rite of offering to the royal ancestors. Cf. Redford, *ibid*, 18ff. (passim).

<sup>6</sup> W.G. Waddell, *Manetho* (London, 1940), 54-5.

<sup>7</sup> Redford, 'The historiography of ancient Egypt', in K. Weeks (ed.), *Egyptology, and the Social Sciences. Five Studies* (Cairo, 1979), 16-17.

<sup>8</sup> Waddell, *Manetho*, 57-63.

<sup>9</sup> Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959), pl. 2-3; Malek, 'The original version of the Royal Canon of Turin', *JEA* 68 (1982), 93-106.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Schenkel, *FMÄS*, 131-160; Hayes in *Cambridge Ancient History* I<sup>3</sup>, Part 1, 180-181; von Beckerath, 'The date of the end of the Old Kingdom', *JNES* 21 (1962), 140-147; *idem*, 'Die Dynastie der Herakleopolitan (9./10. Dynastie)', *ZÄS* (1966), 13-20; W.A. Ward, *Egypt and the East Mediterranean World 2200-1900 BC*. (Beirut, 1971).

<sup>11</sup> Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 15-53; *idem*, 'The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr', *AJA* 89 (1985), 581-4; Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, 5-37.



What is clear is that the chronological sources for the history of the late Memphite regime are not clear and permit more than one interpretation. However, Schenkel's chronological scheme of the period, is now widely accepted. No sound evidence can be produced to justify Manetho's division of the Herakleopolitan rulers into two dynasties.<sup>12</sup> If the figure of eighteen rulers sharing some 94 years is correct, it casts some light on the suspected stability of the new line of kings, with just over five years average reign for each king. However a moderately long chronology gives a much more satisfactory average length of reign.<sup>13</sup>

This new line of rulers associated with Herakleopolis,<sup>14</sup> was soon rivalled by another powerful family at Thebes in the south. It seems that it was not until sometime later that the Thebans issued a direct challenge to the northern supremacy by adopting the royal titulary previously held only by the rulers of Herakleopolis. During this confrontation, both powers shared control over Egypt, until the situation came to an end around 2040 BC. when the Thebans successfully ousted the Herakleopolitan house and controlled the whole of Egypt during the reign of Mentuhotep II.

#### Topography of the Mempite necropolis. An outline.

The necropolis of the Old Kingdom royal capital at Memphis stretches for more than 30km along the edge of the desert on the west bank of the Nile, and includes the sites of Abu-Rawash, Giza, Zawyet el-'Aryan, Abu-Ghurab, Abusir, Saqqara, and Dahshur, as well as Kom el-Fakhry,<sup>15</sup> the last probably located to the south of an Old Kingdom temple of the local god Ptah at Memphis.<sup>16</sup> Monuments of the Herakleopolitan Period are attested from most of these cemeteries.

Giza necropolis housed mostly the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty burials, as well as a considerable number of Sixth Dynasty officials. At the end of the Old Kingdom, and

<sup>12</sup> Schenkel, *FMÄS*, 141ff; Beckerath, *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 13-20; Goedicke, 'Probleme des Herakleopolitenzeit', *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 136-143; Gomaà, *Ägypten während der Ersten Zwischenzeit*, 145-157; Kemp, in B.G. Trigger (ed.), *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1982), 71-81; Malek, *DE* 15 (1989), 41-49.

<sup>13</sup> Schenkel, *FMÄS*, 139-159 tbl on p. 160.

<sup>14</sup> J. Von Beckerath, 'Die Dynastie der Herakleopolitan 9/10 Dynastie', *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 13-20; Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists*, 144-5.

<sup>15</sup> J Malek (ed.), *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Painting*, III<sup>2</sup>, *Memphis* 3 pts (Oxford, 1974-81).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Malek, 'A temple with a noble pylon', in *Archaeology Today*, April 1988, 41.



during the Herakleopolitan Period it was still used, possibly by the priests who worked in the pyramid towns of the Fourth Dynasty kings. A full examination of late Old Kingdom stelae from Giza casts more light on the history and development of the necropolis during the time between the end of the Old Kingdom and early Middle Kingdom.<sup>17</sup>

Other potential sites which may have been exploited during the late Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period include Nazlet el-Batran,<sup>18</sup> Zawyet el-‘Aryan,<sup>19</sup> and Abu-Ghurab.<sup>20</sup> These sites have never been fully surveyed,<sup>21</sup> and although there is as yet no indication of these cemeteries having been exploited during the Herakleopolitan Period, a systematic survey might shed more light on the history and development of these sites.

At Abusir monuments of this period are mostly found in the vicinity of the Pyramids of Neferirkare and Niuserre. The priests of the pyramid complexes built their tombs close to that of Niuserre who became a local deity during that time.<sup>22</sup>

Another potentially significant necropolis for the period is Dahshur. The Herakleopolitan Period is poorly represented at Dahshur, possibly because of the lack of a systematic survey. However, the analysis of some of the inscribed material from this cemetery provides some information about Dahshur during the Herakleopolitan period. For instance, one of Fakhry’s discoveries was a stela of a lady called *Hw-n.s.* This stela dates to the Herakleopolitan Period, the style and palaeographical details of

<sup>17</sup> For the Middle Kingdom material see, Zivie, *Giza*, 43-9.

<sup>18</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 312. The south field at Giza has hardly been surveyed, apart from the work of Barsanti and Daressy early in this century: Daressy, *ASAE* 6, 99-106, figs. 1-3; Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 2-3. The Inspectorate of Giza recently carried out some cleaning which recovered the remains of mud-brick burials, but no further information is available about this excavation.

<sup>19</sup> At Zawyet el-‘Aryan monuments as late as the Fourth Dynasty are attested in the form of a plaque with the cartouche of King Djedefre made of green schist and a cylinder seal: see. Barsanti, *ASAE* 7 (1906), 260-86. For the early cemeteries there see also PM III<sup>2</sup>, 313-14; D. Dunham, *Zawiyet el Aryan. The Cemetery Adjacent to the Layer Pyramid* (Boston, 1978). It is worth mentioning here that the cemetery of Zawyet el-‘Aryan was probably exploited during the New Kingdom, as a statue base of *P3-ḥm-ntr* (Boston Mus. 11.2428; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 314) is said to come from this site.

<sup>20</sup> Recent excavations carried out by the University of Cairo found a group of unfinished Fifth Dynasty rock-cut tombs near the sun-temple of Niuserre (personal communication). They are not mentioned in the report published by Ali Radwan in *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 305-8, which concentrates on the discussion of the archaic cemetery found some three hundred metres to the north of the sun-temple.

<sup>21</sup> See PM III<sup>2</sup>, 312-24; D. Jeffreys and A. Tavares, ‘The historic landscape of early dynastic Memphis’, *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 143-73, figs. 1-15.

<sup>22</sup> H. Schäfer, *Priestergraber und andere Grabfunde vom Ende des Alten Reiches bis zur Griechischenzeit vom Totentempel des Ne-User-Re* (Leipzig, 1908).



which reflect some provincial influence.<sup>23</sup> However scientific survey is needed before any attempt can be made to draw conclusions about the chronology and development of the necropolis during this period.

Following the traditions at Edfu and other town sites, at Kom el-Fakhry in Mitrahina (where the Old Kingdom temple of Ptah may have been), groups of priests, workmen, and middle class officials probably built their tombs in the vicinity of this temple. In 1954 Abd el-Taup El-Heta unearthed nearly thirty Herakleopolitan Period and early Eleventh Dynasty tombs, from which a number of stelae, and other inscribed material, are discussed in the current thesis.

No doubt the most important site of all is Saqqara. As might be expected, the people of Memphis often chose to build their tombs around the pyramids of kings, the echo of whose reputation survived among the local population. This was particularly the case for kings Unas, Teti, Pepy I, Pepy II, and Merykare. The latter was probably the seventh king of the Herakleopolitan Dynasty, who may have moved the capital back to Memphis, and built a pyramid for himself to the east of that of Teti. This is suggested by a considerable number of officials associated with his cult who have their tombs located to the east of Teti's pyramid, and possibly also around the pyramid of Merykare himself. It is suggested by Malek that 'the capless pyramid' (Lepsius XXIX), situated in the immediate vicinity of the Teti pyramid at North Saqqara belongs to Merykare.<sup>24</sup> If this theory is correct, future excavation in this area might cast more light on the period as whole, and on Memphis during that time in particular.

It is clear that the location of the Herakleopolitan cemeteries in the Memphite necropolis was influenced by social, economic and religious factors. For example, a large cemetery from this period is concentrated around the pyramid of Teti at North Saqqara, to its north, east and north-east. This was the result of different factors: the fame of the local 'saints' in the Teti cemeteries, like Kagemni, Teti himself, and another 'saint' called *Ipi*, and the location of the neighbouring archaic cemetery. It is also the case that the resources required for the construction of tombs of private individuals and their provisioning, servicing and supervision were the reasons why

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<sup>23</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 880; A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur, II. The Valley Temple Part II. The Finds* (Cairo, 1961), 84-5 (3), fig. 402, pl. LXXIII (B).

<sup>24</sup> J. Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, IV (Paris, 1995), 203-14.



they were usually situated close to the institutions to which their owners belonged. It thus likely to find here the tombs of the priests and functionaries who were associated with the cult of Teti's pyramid and that of Merykare, as well as those who wished to be buried next to their revered saints.

The *Teaching for Merykare* mentions that during the Herakleopolitan Dynasty there was an extensive settlement in the proximity of the pyramid of Teti,<sup>25</sup> consequently a large concentration of contemporary tombs developed on the *gebel* above this settlement. Therefore the location of the settlement of the period was a straightforward consideration influencing the choice of a site for a cemetery in the necropolis by the people of that period.<sup>26</sup> Additional factors are found in the individual characteristics each chosen cemetery; for instance, the deification of King Unas by the end of the Old Kingdom was a feature which may have ensured that the cult-establishment attached to his pyramid still functioned in the Herakleopolitan Period. Therefore one finds tombs of priests and functionaries who were associated with the cult of Unas in the vicinity of his pyramid: for instances the tombs of *Hnw*, *Wnis-ḥ3-išt.f* and other priests.<sup>27</sup>

At South Saqqara private monuments of the period are attested near the cult-establishment of the Sixth Dynasty Kings Pepi I, Merenre I and Pepi II, the pyramid of Djedkare of the Fifth Dynasty, Mastabat el Faraun, and around the pyramid of King *Ibi* of the Eighth Dynasty. These tombs belong to those who were associated with these institutions.

An important cemetery of this period was briefly excavated by Zakaria Ghoneim in the early 1960's, but has never been published, and was re-covered a few weeks after its discovery. Some of the stelae of the uncovered tombs, which were placed in the Inspectorate storerooms, are examined in this thesis. Around the pyramid of Pepi II are over thirty tombs of late Old Kingdom date.<sup>28</sup> Some of these tombs display features which post-date the end of the Old Kingdom. These tombs also

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<sup>25</sup> W. Golénischeff, *Les papyrus hiératiques nos. II 15, 1116A et 1116B de l'Ermitage Impérial à St. Pétersbourg* (St Petersburg, 1913); J. Lopez, *RdE* 25 (1973), 178-91; G. Posener, *LÄ* 111, 986-9; J.F. Quack, *Studien zu Lehre für Merikare* (Wiesbaden, 1992), with full bibliography.

<sup>26</sup> An analogy can be made with what is happening now in the muslim cemeteries at Saqqara and Abusir villages. Both villages use the easy-access of the closest stretch of desert for their burials.

<sup>27</sup> For the deification of King Unas see, H. Altenmüller, *SAK* I (1974), 1-18. There is also evidence for the deification of Unas during the Middle Kingdom, see, A.M. Moussa, *MDAIK* 27 (1971), 81-4.

<sup>28</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 674-88.



should be re-examined in order to draw conclusions concerning the chronology and the development of the Pepi II cemetery.

### Tomb typology in the Herakleopolitan Period.

There appears to be more than one type of tomb in use during this period: (1). A simple pit, sometimes with a small roomless mastaba, effectively a grave marker. (2). A miniature mastaba with one or two small false-door stelae embedded in its eastern side. This *stèle-maison*-like mastaba, was frequently used particularly in South Saqqara and Dahshur.<sup>29</sup>

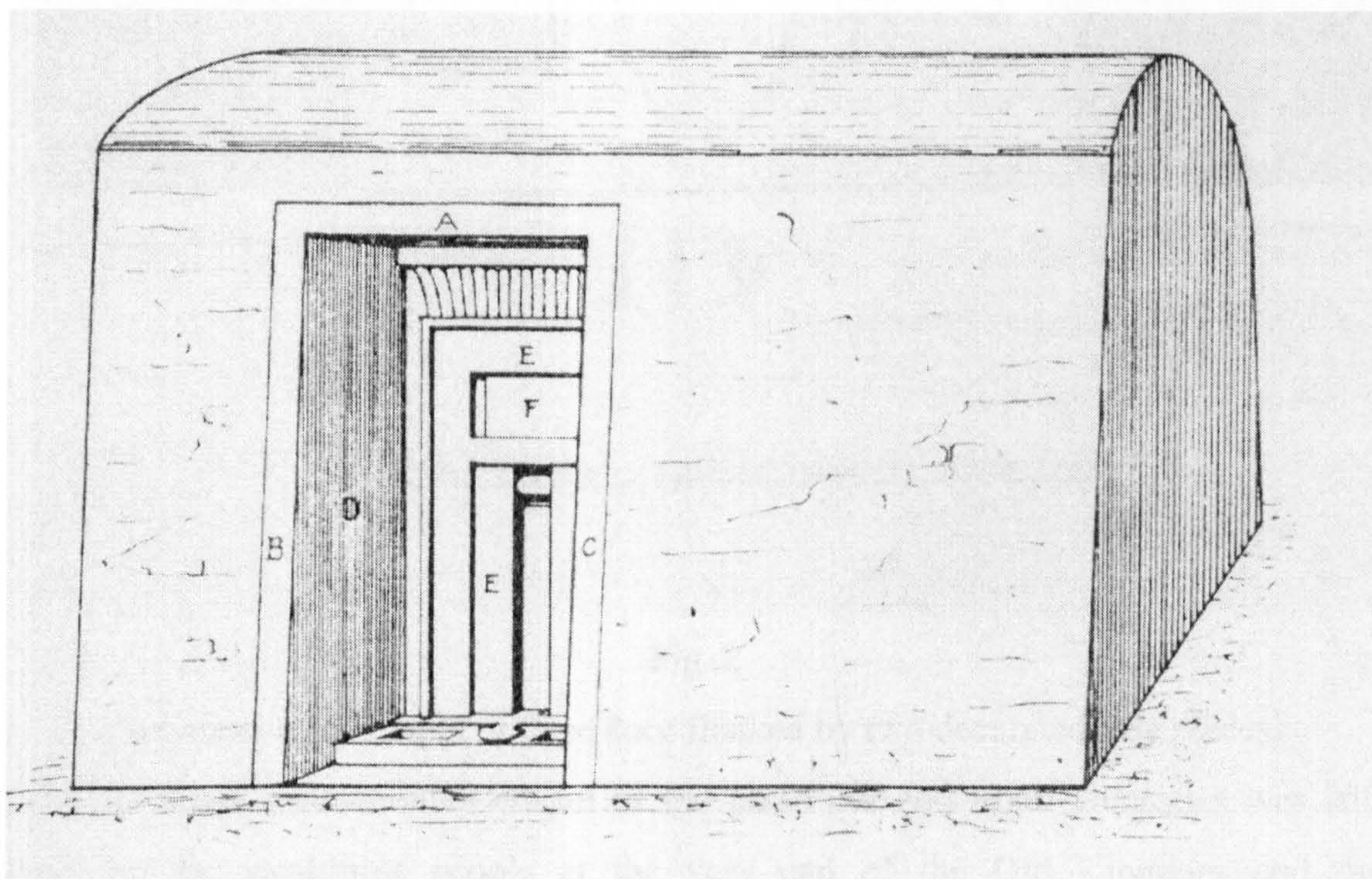


Fig. 1 (*Stèle-maison*-like mastaba)

(3). A small mud-brick chapel, usually consisting of a false-door flanked by two relief-decorated side pieces. This third type seems to be the characteristic chapel of the Herakleopolitan Period in the Memphite necropolis, particularly around the Teti pyramid in North Saqqara.

<sup>29</sup> J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour Mars-Juin 1894* (Vienna, 1895), pls. VIII, IX, X.



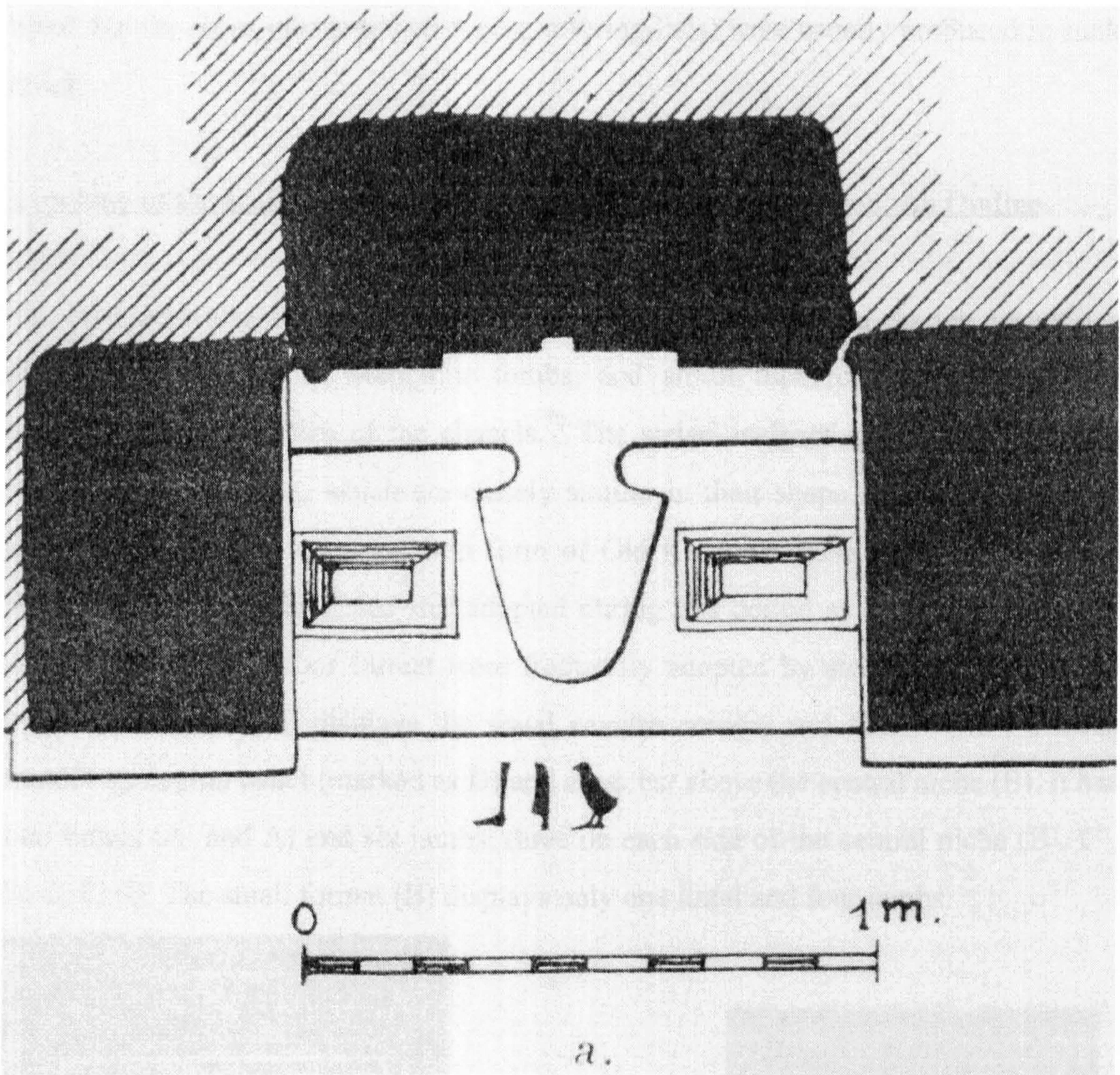


Fig. 2

( a typical mini-chapel of false door flanked by two decorated side pieces)

(4). The usual multi-roomed chapel of the mid-Fifth and Sixth Dynasties was still built by the wealthiest people at the very end of the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period. A good example is the tomb of *Wnis-ḥ3-išt.f* , north of the mortuary temple of Unas.

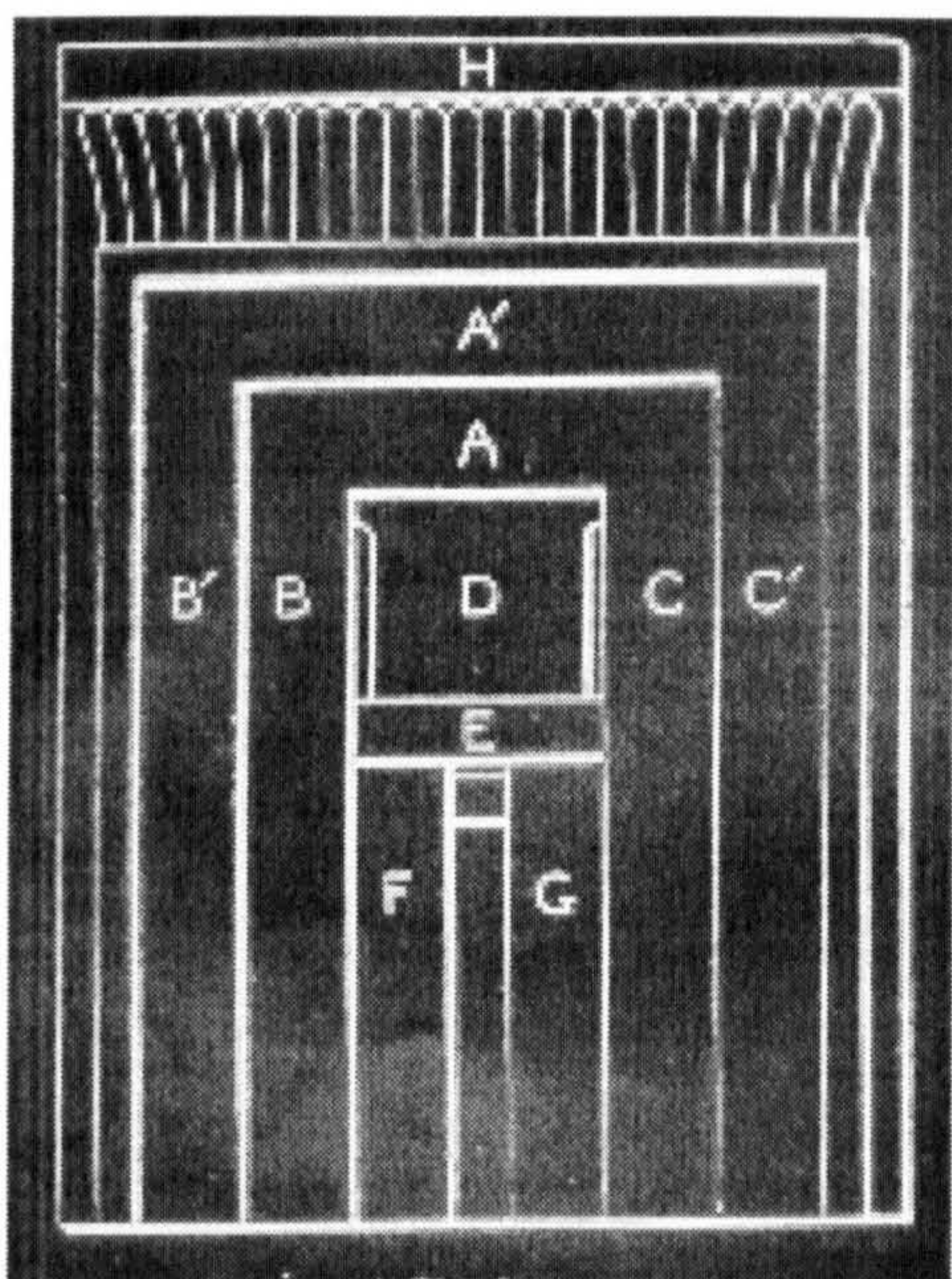
The Memphite stelae of the Herakleopolitan Period tend to continue patterns of Sixth Dynasty false-door stelae, although they tend to be smaller in size. The inscriptions and reliefs on the stelae are usually executed in sunk relief, as on the jambs and lintels of the false-doors, and raised relief was confined to the panel of the false door. The same mixture of techniques was used in decorating the flanking-slabs (side-pieces). The scenes, and sometimes also the inscriptions, were carved in raised



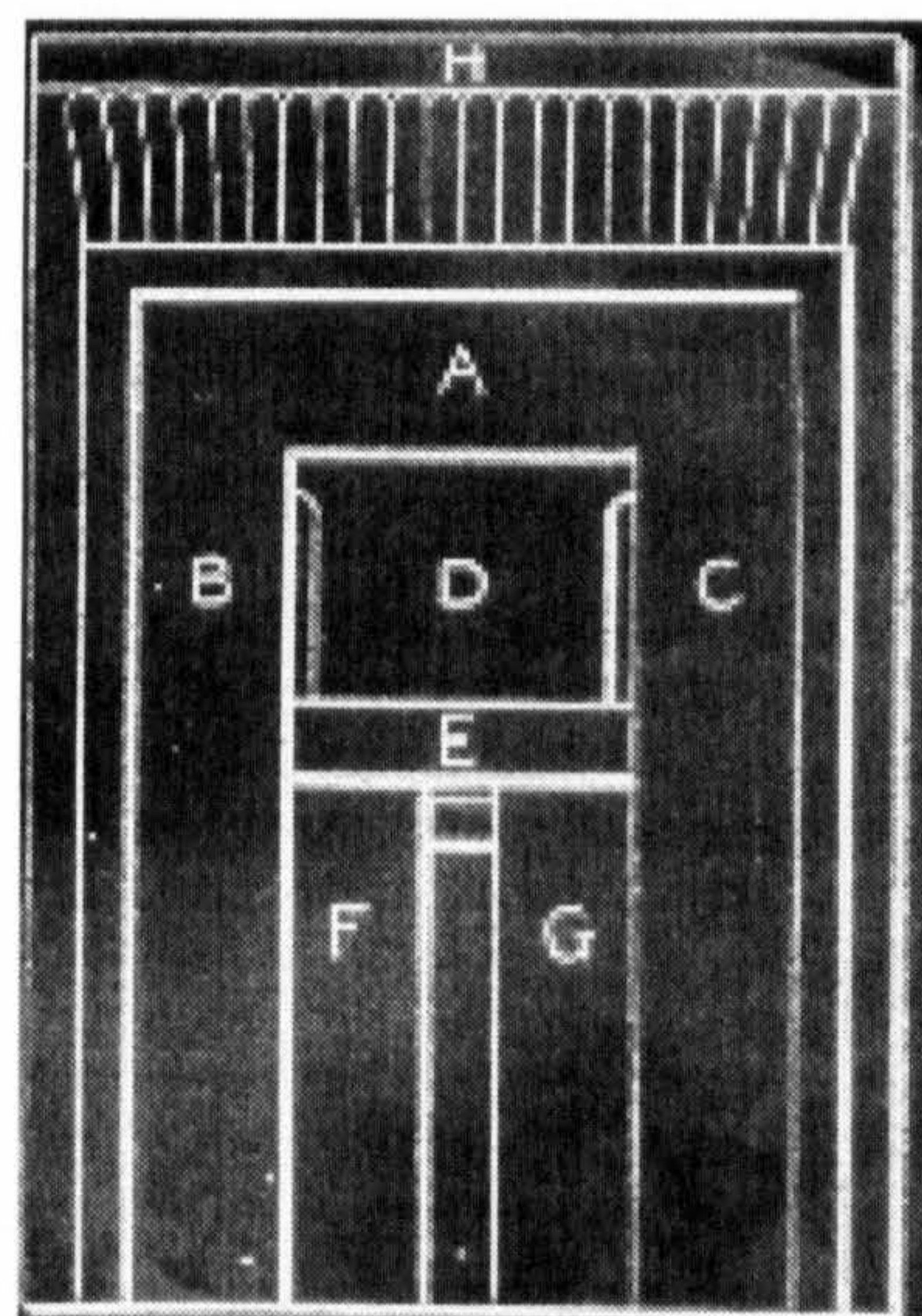
relief, but the more substantial texts (e.g. offering-lists) were usually produced in sunk relief.

### Typology of the Memphite stelae during the Herakleopolitan Period. An Outline.

The false door was usually located in the west wall of the offering chapel; exceptions to this rule are rare in Memphite tombs, and all of them can be explained by architectural peculiarities of the chapels.<sup>30</sup> The stelae analysed in the present thesis form a compact group, which are closely similar in their shape and in their general style. Its type is that of a common form of Old Kingdom false door.<sup>31</sup> The classic Sixth Dynasty false door was still adopted during this period as a form for funerary stelae, two types of door format were frequently adopted by stela workshops. The large format type (A) displays the usual cavetto cornice and framed with a torus moulding, central panel (marked as D) and cross bar above the central niche (E). It has two lintels (A' and A) and six jambs; three on each side of the central niche (B', C', B, C, F, G). The small format (B) displays only one lintel and four jambs.



Type A



Type B.

<sup>30</sup> Junker, *Giza IX*, Abb. 34, 35, 55; X, Abb. 50.

<sup>31</sup> A good number of studies are devoted to the false door design and architecture, see, Ruch, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 101-124; Wiebach, *Die altägyptische Scheintür. Morphologische Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Hauptkultstelle in den Privatgräbern des Alten Reiches* (Hamburg, 1984); Strudwick, *GM* 77 (1984), 35-49; G. Haeny, 'Scheintür', *LÄ* V, 563-574.



Both designs conform with the classic Old Kingdom false door.<sup>32</sup> These types of stelae were very common in the Memphite necropolis, Lower Egypt and Herakleopolis, but seem to be rare elsewhere.

Detailed examination of the decoration and texts of this inscribed material reveal their importance in the artistic, religious, and historical context of the Herakleopolitan Period. What follows is a monument by monument description of inscribed elements from Herakleopolitan tombs, making reference to specific points of interest. It should be noted that a certain amount of descriptive repetition is necessary given the individual treatment of these monuments.

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<sup>32</sup> A significant stylistic feature which appears frequently during this period is the application of an inscribed supplementary frame to false doors, Cf. Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 130-134; idem, in *For His Ka*, 36, n. 70.

## 1. Topographical distribution of the Herakleopolitan Period cemeteries in the Memphite necropolis.

### 1.1. Giza necropolis during the Herakleopolitan Period.

At Giza, a necropolis used since the early dynastic period,<sup>1</sup> housed mostly Fourth and Fifth Dynasties burials. However, a considerable number of Sixth Dynasty officials chose this necropolis to be their final resting place.

At the end of the Old Kingdom, and during the Herakleopolitan Period, the peak of Giza's glory was over. But the cemetery was never abandoned. It was still used, possibly by priests who worked in the pyramid towns of the Fourth Dynasty kings, or by people who lived near the necropolis. The *Topographical Bibliography* lists over fifty entries for Giza, including tomb stelae, and statues, which are described as being of late Old Kingdom date.<sup>2</sup> Hermann Junker, during his excavations at Giza, came across a group of tombs, which he dated to the late Old Kingdom. These small mud-brick mastabas were built (or rather inserted) between and in front of the large Fourth and Fifth Dynasty mastabas. Good examples of these are the tombs of *Ny-sw-qdw*,<sup>3</sup> and *Mn-iswt-it.f-nswt*.<sup>4</sup> These groups also include some stelae which refer to the deified Djedefhor, one of the sons of King Khufu, who was possibly deified by the end of the Sixth Dynasty, or during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>5</sup> On the stelae of *Pth-iw.f-n.t*,<sup>6</sup> and *H3i*<sup>7</sup> both individuals are

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<sup>1</sup> At Nazlet el-Batran, Daressy excavated a tomb from the reign of King Djet of the First Dynasty (*ASAE* 6 (1905), 103). There are jar sealings of King *Ny-ntr* of the Second Dynasty, found by Petrie in the south field of Giza necropolis. (Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907), 7, pl. V (e); Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, I (Wiesbaden, 1963), 151-2).

<sup>2</sup> For instance, the stelae: *Trt/Ny-ḥ-Ppy* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 135; Junker, *ZÄS* 63 (1928), 53-70, Taf. II), *Sndm-ib/Inti*, *Tbib*, *Thw* (consecutively, Junker, *Giza* VII, Abb. 104, 105, and 107). Their overall design and palaeographic features indicate a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty), and the Herakleopolitan Period. Also see some other false doors found by Hassan, displaying similar later feature (Hassan, *Giza* V, 255-6, fig. 114, pl. XXX (c); VII, pl. LVIII).

<sup>3</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 140; Junker, *Giza* VI, 244-8, Abb. 104-5.

<sup>4</sup> For the location of these tombs and their middle class owners, see Junker, *Giza* XII, 23, 25-7.

<sup>5</sup> J. von Beckerath, 'Djedefhor', *LÄ* I, 1099; G. Posener, 'Lehre des Djedfehor', *LÄ* III, 978-80.

<sup>6</sup> Junker, *Giza* VII, 24-8; idem, in A. Ev. Breccia (ed.), *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte (4 giugno 1843-4 giugno 1943)*, II (Pisa, 1955), 133-40.

<sup>7</sup> H. Goedicke, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 35-55, pl. 1.



described as being *im3hw hr Dd.f-hr* 'revered by Djedefhor'. The inscriptions of some of these monuments show characteristic features which can safely be dated to the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>8</sup>

## 1.2. The necropolis of Abusir during the Herakleopolitan Period.

Although the plateau of Abusir was used as a cemetery since the early dynastic period, the importance of Abusir came into being with the Fifth Dynasty. Userkaf, who founded this dynasty, had a sun-temple built here.<sup>9</sup> Four of his successors preferred Abusir as a cemetery for the royal family.<sup>10</sup> Recently the Czechoslovak expedition has carried out a systematic archaeological survey, which has added to our understanding of the development of the necropolis there, especially its chronology, development, and the distribution of its cemeteries.<sup>11</sup> The necropolis was divided into small zones. Three of these zones contain cemeteries of the very end of the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period.

Site (A): around the sun-temple of Userkaf, and at the edge of the desert between the valley temple of Sahure and the causeway of the sun-temple of Userkaf, the Czechoslovak survey located several late Old Kingdom structures.<sup>12</sup> In addition remains of a late Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan period cemetery were partly excavated near the causeway of the sun-temple of Userkaf.<sup>13</sup> The tombs in this cemetery are of two types: the first type is represented by a number of small mastabas arranged together in one row.<sup>14</sup> They were built of mud-brick, and had roughly cut shafts leading to the burial chambers. In these chambers decayed skeletons, and pottery were found.<sup>15</sup> The type is of 'communal

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<sup>8</sup> See note above; see also Hölcher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* (Leipzig, 1912), 113-114; C.M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire* (Cairo, 1976), 39-43; Junker, *Giza VI*, 244-248; XII, 23, 25-27.

<sup>9</sup> R. Stadelmann, 'Sonnenheiligtum', *LÄ V*, 1094-9; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 324-5; H. Ricke, *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf* (Cairo, 1965).

<sup>10</sup> For the pyramids of the Fifth Dynasty kings at Abusir see, PM III<sup>2</sup>, 326-40. The Czechoslovak survey at Abusir located an unfinished pyramid, probably belong to King Shepseskare, see Verner, *ZÄS* 119, 116, n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Verner, *ZÄS* 119 (1992), 116-24, figs. 1-9.

<sup>12</sup> J.de Morgan, *La carte de la nécropole memphite* (Cairo, 1897), pl 11.

<sup>13</sup> H. Ricke, 'Zweiter Grabungsbericht über das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf bei Abusir', *ASAE* 54 (1957), 311-16; idem, *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf I*, 34-5.

<sup>14</sup> S.J. Seidelmayer, *Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich* (Heidelberg, 1990), 389.

<sup>15</sup> Ricke, *Das Sonnenheiligtum*, 34.

mastabas', which were fashionable during the late Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>16</sup> This type of mastaba is also known in different places in Upper and Lower Egypt, mostly dating to the end of the Old Kingdom, the Herakleopolitan Period, and early Middle Kingdom.<sup>17</sup>

Site (B): around the "Lake of Abusir", and south Abusir:<sup>18</sup> Between the northern edge of the former lake and the valley temple of Niuserre, Borchardt carried out trial diggings which resulted in the discovery of tombs of a strange plan dated to the late Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan period.<sup>19</sup> The German expedition excavated large mud-brick mastabas, whose irregular plan, pottery and, especially, primitive limestone stelae with roughly-cut offering formula, influenced Borchardt's suggestion of dating these mastabas to the Herakleopolitan Period. A recent excavation by the Czechoslovak expedition in this area resulted in the finding of a similar structure identified as a large mud-brick mastaba dated to the early Fourth Dynasty, and surrounded by small tombs of later date (late Fifth and early Sixth Dynasty).<sup>20</sup> It seems that Borchardt was, in fact, digging similar structures surrounded by later burials possibly dating to the late Old Kingdom.

Site (C): the area between the pyramid of Sahure and the pyramid of Niuserre. Later Old Kingdom, Herakleopolitan period, and Middle Kingdom burials were located within and between the Fifth Dynasty mastabas, north-east of the funerary temple of Niuserre.<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps, such reuse was due economic necessity, and a desire to be buried close to King Niuserre, who was deified at the end of the Old Kingdom. There is very clear evidence for the deification of this king. A certain *Ipi* (3.1.1), owner of tomb (VI 17) is described as *im3ḥw ḥr Ini* 'the one revered by *Ini*'. The name *Ini* also appears in theophoric names which date to the Herakleopolitan Period and Middle Kingdom such as *Ini-m-ḥ3t*

<sup>16</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 55-58, fig. 61; Abd El Tawaab El Hitta, *RdC* 33/175 (1955), 50-51; Lilyquist, *JARCE* 11 (1974), 27-30; Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis* (London, 1985), 28-30, 68-69; Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 403-4.

<sup>17</sup> See below under (Kom el-Fakhry (5.1)).

<sup>18</sup> Verner, *ZÄS* 119, 123, fig 5. For the identification of the Lake of Abusir with *Pdw-š* mentioned in the pyramid texts, see Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives* I, 71 n. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Borchardt, *Sahu-re* I, 147-9, pl. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Verner, 'An early Old Kingdom cemetery at Abusir', *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 86-90, figs. 9-10.

<sup>21</sup> H. Schäfer, *Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde vom Ende des Alten Reiches bis zur Griechischen Zeit vom Toten Tempel des Ne-User-Re* (Leipzig, 1908) 1-14.



'*Ini* is in the front',<sup>22</sup> *Ini-ḥtp*,<sup>23</sup> or *Ini-ḥtpi*,<sup>24</sup> '*Ini* is satisfied', and *Ini-m-s3f* '*Ini* is his protection'.<sup>25</sup> *Ini* was the birth name of King Niuserre.<sup>26</sup> This leaves little doubt that this king was considered a local saint\deity by local people.

The tombs found here were built of mud-brick, with vaulted ceilings,<sup>27</sup> and normal Old Kingdom brick sizes.<sup>28</sup> Two different types of burial chambers were found, possibly indicating two different classes: the first is a simple room covered with a vaulted ceiling of mud-brick ( Tomb nos. 3, 4). The second type has a burial chamber with double ceilings, the interior being constructed of limestone slabs, while the exterior is built of mud-brick in a vaulted shape; some of these chambers had also a limestone casing. Mummies were placed in limestone sarcophagi, and positioned with heads to the north, facing to the east. The second type of tomb has, in a few cases, an eastern offering room above the ground, in which some inscribed blocks and false doors were found.<sup>29</sup>

Inscribed materials found in certain tombs in this cemetery display a number of features which are typical of the Herakleopolitan Period and later: the *wḏ3t*-eye on the cross bar of the false door of *Ipi*,<sup>30</sup> and some distinctive palaeographic features.

### 1.3. Saqqara necropolis During the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period

Saqqara is the most extensive of the individual cemeteries which make up the Memphite necropolis, measuring six kilometres from north to south. The earliest royal name which the archaeologists have so far met at Saqqara is that of Narmer,<sup>31</sup> whom some Egyptologists equate with Menes,<sup>32</sup> the legendary founder of Memphis, *Inb-ḥd*.<sup>33</sup> From that time Saqqara

<sup>22</sup> Schäfer, op. cit., 18-39 (MR 1).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 18-39 (MR 1).

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 101 (MR 32).

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 107-9 (MR 43).

<sup>26</sup> J. Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, *MÄS* 20 (1984), 55, 182.

<sup>27</sup> Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 389.

<sup>28</sup> A.J. Spencer, *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1979), 34, 36.

<sup>29</sup> Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, 1-14.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, Abb. 12.

<sup>31</sup> Lacau and Lauer, *La pyramide à degrés* IV/1 pl. I (1); IV/2, 1-2.

<sup>32</sup> See Helck, *ZDMG* 103 (1953), 354-9; Helck, 'Narmer', *LÄ* IV, 348-50; Brunner, 'Menes', *LÄ* IV, 46-8.

<sup>33</sup> *Herodotus* II, 99; cf. K. Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, *UGAA* 3 (1905), 105 ff.



was used for over three thousand years, when finally petering out with the burials of the monks of the monastery of Apa Jeremias. Above the modern village of Abusir, along the eastern edge of the plateau are the large brick-built mastabas of the First Dynasty which was probably the core, to the west of which the cemeteries of the Second and Third Dynasty developed.<sup>34</sup> During the Fourth Dynasty the royal cemetery was moved twice: first to Dahshur by Senfru, and moved again by his successors to Giza at the north. However, tombs from this period were still constructed at Saqqara, particularly near the western edge of the cemetery,<sup>35</sup> and in the area of south Abusir.<sup>36</sup> Moving the royal cemetery to Abusir and Saqqara at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty, encouraged a rapid development in the private necropolis. Some of the early tombs of that period were built on the extreme western edge of the archaic cemetery, and began to extend to the south-west. Some Fifth Dynasty tombs were found scattered around the Step Pyramid complex. During the reign of Unas, the private tombs of his officials were clustered around his pyramid, bringing back the old tradition of building the tombs of high officials around the king's funerary complex which was not practiced during the reign of Unas' predecessor, Djedkare/Isesi.<sup>37</sup> The private tombs of the Sixth Dynasty were grouped around the royal pyramids of north and south Saqqara, but some of these tombs were still constructed at scattered points across the necropolis.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Emery, *JEA* 53 (1967), 141; Martin, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara* (London, 1981), 115; idem, *JEA* 60 (1974), 20, figs. 2,5,10. See also for the expansion of the cemetery further to the west the middle class cemetery excavated by Macramallah, *Un cimetière archaïque de la classe moyenne du peuple à Saqqarah* (Cairo, 1940); A. J. Spencer, *Or* 43 (1974), 1-4; D. Jeffreys and A. Tavares, *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 143-151; Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge, 1936), 202, 388-9; Spencer, *LÄ* V, 400.

<sup>35</sup> Spencer, *LÄ* V, 400.

<sup>36</sup> Verner, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 78-90.

<sup>37</sup> Verner *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 72-80; also see Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 15. Most of the tombs of officials from the reign of Djedkare are located at Abusir particularly to the south-east of the pyramid of Niuserre, or at the south-west edge of the archaic cemetery at north Saqqara. The reasons for such change in tradition, and the reason for the abundance of the cemetery of Abusir by Djedkare remain unclear. Further examination of the only partly excavated and unpublished funerary complex of Djedkare could provide more information on this problem.

<sup>38</sup> There are two more cases where the private tombs were not found around the king's pyramid: the first is that of Pepy I. The reason for this remain unclear; it has been interpreted as an increase in the power of officials, but Kanawati, rejecting such explanation, suggests that such practice was Pepy I's own decision as a cautious attitude towards his officials. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 29-30, 34-6. The second example is that of Merenre I, cf. *ibid*, 55.

During the Fourth Dynasty the dominant type of mastaba seems to be what is known as a cruciform chapel. This simple type of mastaba persists into the Fifth Dynasty, with a slight development occurring in the elaboration of the chapel.<sup>39</sup> By the middle of the Fifth Dynasty a variety of different styles of chapels emerged, the complexity of which seems to have depended more on the wealth and personal preference of the owner rather than any strict chronological progression.<sup>40</sup> The mastaba types which emerged in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty continued to be used throughout early and mid Sixth Dynasty, with the domination of the multi-roomed mastaba type.<sup>41</sup>

By the end of the Old Kingdom, and during the Herakleopolitan Period, tombs and chapels were decreasing in size and were mostly concentrated around pyramid complexes, especially around those of Teti, Unas, Pepy I, Merenre, Isesi and Pepy II, as well as around the pyramid of Ibi of the Eighth Dynasty.

### 1.3.1. Teti Pyramid Cemeteries<sup>42</sup> (Plates I-III)

In these cemeteries are the largest concentration of tombs of the Herakleopolitan period.<sup>43</sup> These tombs lie to the north<sup>44</sup> and east<sup>45</sup> of the pyramid of Teti in North Saqqara, where the original cemetery of the Sixth Dynasty continued to be used, not only during the Herakleopolitan Period, but also well into the Middle Kingdom. The active continuation of the cult institution of Teti during this period, and that of Merykare who had his pyramid built to the east of that of Teti,<sup>46</sup> was a major factor influencing burial here, particularly for those who were associated with these cult institutions.<sup>47</sup> Another straightforward consideration is the proximity of an extensive settlement to the pyramids of Teti and

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<sup>39</sup> For the development of the Old Kingdom tomb-chapel, see Strudwick, *Administration*, 49-56, figs. 2-5; Harpur, *Decoration*, 59-123.

<sup>40</sup> Spencer, *LÄ V*, 404-6.

<sup>41</sup> The culmination of this trend is found in the tombs of e.g. *Mrrw-k3i*, *K3i-gmni*, and *Hnti-k3i*.

<sup>42</sup> See Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara I*, 7-14.

<sup>43</sup> *TPC I*, 37-57; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 1-8; idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, 1-20.

<sup>44</sup> *PM III<sup>2</sup>*, 508-522.

<sup>45</sup> *PM III<sup>2</sup>*, 560-571.

<sup>46</sup> Malek, *Hommages à Jean Leclant IV*, 203-214.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, 209.



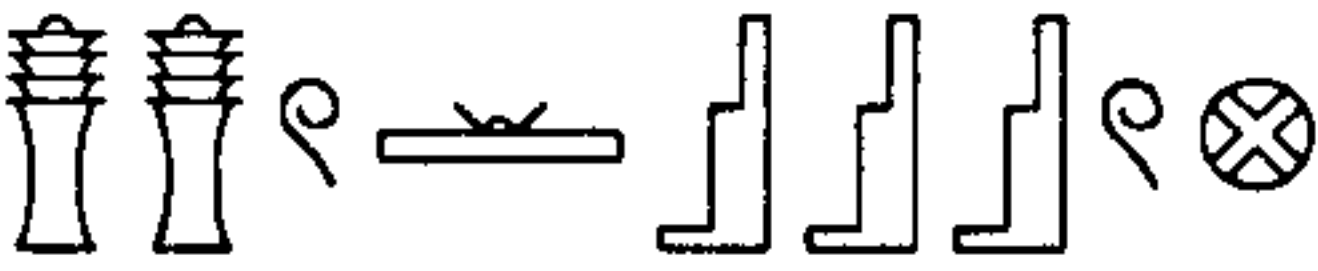
Merykare,<sup>48</sup> consequently a large concentration of tombs developed on the gebel above it.<sup>49</sup> One must not dismiss the popularity of some local saints (e.g. *Gmni*, *Ipi*, and King Teti himself) which influenced people to have their final resting place built in their vicinity.

A characteristic chapel of the Herakleopolitan Period in this cemetery consists of a false door flanked by two decorated side-pieces, all enclosed by a mud-brick wall.<sup>50</sup> Perhaps this style of chapel, which was common, particularly around the Teti pyramid cemeteries, was designed to suit the lack of space and the available funds.

### 1.3.2. Unas Cemetery

This is the part of the Saqqara necropolis in which, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty had his pyramid complex built. This area was first exploited by the kings of the Second Dynasty, who had their subterranean gallery tombs built there.<sup>51</sup> During the early part of the Fifth Dynasty, courtiers of the royal palace particularly of those Niuserre and Neferirkare, had their mastabas built there, where the Causeway is now.<sup>52</sup> At the end of this dynasty a cemetery was established around the pyramid of King Unas.<sup>53</sup> The cemetery seems to have continue in use long after the death of this King, mostly by priests associated with the cult temple of Unas, who was possibly deified at the very end

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<sup>48</sup> In the 'Instruction of Merykare'  is referred to as an extensive settlement in Memphis, probably located not far from the cult temple of Teti after which it was named (P. 101); W. Golénischeff, *Les Papyrus hiératique nos. 1115, 1116A et 1116B de l'Érmitage Impérial à St Pétersbourg* (Cairo, 1913). For the 'Instruction of Merykare', see Posener, *LÄ III*, 986-989; J. Quack, *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare*, *GoF* 23 (Wiesbaden, 1992).

<sup>49</sup> See Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant IV*, 209. It is also suggested by Helck that this settlement probably insured that the cult temple of Teti still functioned in the Herakleopolitan Period, cf. Helck, in *RealEnc* 23, 2240.

<sup>50</sup> Malek, *LÄ V*, 409; see also Vandier, *Manuel II*, 435; Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 12.

<sup>51</sup> Barsanti, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 187-190; Lauer, *Excavations at Saqqara: La pyramide à degrés*, I, 5; III, 53; Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961), fig. 8; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 613. Recently digging in this early cemetery by Munro, has produced a massive limestone structure which the excavator suggests is the superstructure of the mastaba of *Ny-ntr* of the Second Dynasty (personal communication).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Nfr* (Moussa and Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay* (Mainz am Rhein, 1971); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 639-41), *Nfr-hr-n-ptḥ* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 641), *Trw-k3-ptḥ* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 639), *3ḥt-ḥtp* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 638), *3ḥt-ḥtp* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 634), and *Ny-ḥnh-hnm* and *hnm-ḥtp* (Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 641).

<sup>53</sup> See PM III<sup>2</sup>, 613 ff (passim).



of the Old Kingdom, and the Middle Kingdom.<sup>54</sup> Some of the stelae from these priests' tombs will be discussed here in detail.

### 1.3.3. Zakaria Ghoneim cemetery (Plate IV)

This cemetery is located some 200 m. north-east of the pyramid of Pepy I at South Saqqara, close to the cultivated wadi. The cemetery was dug in 1951 by Zakaria Ghoneim, whose work there lasted for only one season. The cemetery has never been recorded, and only some of the stelae found there were transferred to the Inspectorate Storerooms. Apart from some archive photographs, nothing is known about this cemetery. These photographs show groups of tombs of two different types. The first are large mud-brick offering chapels, in which a group of limestone false doors of probably related individuals were placed. This large mud-brick room, which has east-west orientation, was part of a large communal mastaba. The other distinctive type is rather smaller and located in the vicinity of this large mastaba. It is mud-brick *stèle-maison*-like shape, with a limestone stela embedded in its eastern face. The style, overall design, iconography and textual features of the stelae found there assign this cemetery to the Herakleopolitan Period, probably not before the reign of Merykare, but not much later either.

### 1.3.4. South Saqqara

There are extensive cemeteries around the pyramids of the Sixth Dynasty kings at South Saqqara: Pepy I, Merenre,<sup>55</sup> and Pepy II,<sup>56</sup> and around the pyramid of Isesi.<sup>57</sup> Two major types of tomb design were adopted during the Herakleopolitan Period in these cemeteries:

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<sup>54</sup> Altenmüller, *SAK* 1 (1974), 1-18.

<sup>55</sup> Maspero, in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique française au Caire*, II (Paris, 1885), 194-207.

<sup>56</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 676-689.

<sup>57</sup> Maspero, *op.cit.*, 194-207. Other excavation work around this pyramid was carried out by Ahmed Fakhry, see M. Moursi, 'Die Ausgrabungen in der Gegend um die Pyramide des *Dd-k3-r* "Jssj" bei Saqqara I', *ASAE* 71 (1987), 185ff; idem, *GM* 105 (1988), 65-66; idem, *GM* 106 (1988), 65-67.

the first are mud-brick *stèle-maison-like* miniature mastabas with a limestone stela embedded into its eastern face,<sup>58</sup> the second type is miniature chapel with false door flanked by two decorated side pieces, similar to that dominated around Teti's Pyramid during the same time.<sup>59</sup> The style, design and the decorations of these tombs usually assign them to the long reign of Pepy II. Some of these tombs, however, are problematic in term of their dating.<sup>60</sup> Tombs like that of ʿnw,<sup>61</sup> and other inscribed materials provide concrete evidence on the continuation of the cemeteries around the pyramids of the last kings of the Sixth Dynasty during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>62</sup>

#### 1.4. Kom El Fakhry Cemetery (Plate V)

Kom el-Fakhry is bounded on the north by Mit-Rahina village, and on the south by the Saqqara-El Badrashein road and Kom el-Rabi<sup>c</sup>, on the west by cultivated fields , on the east by low ground.<sup>63</sup> In 1954, when preparations were being made to run a main road between Saqqara and El Badrashein through the south part of Kom el-Fakhry, the workmen came across an undisturbed cemetery. El-Hitta, the area inspector, stopped the workmen and began to excavate the site.<sup>64</sup> Thirty brick-vaulted tombs were uncovered, each with a burial chamber, antechamber, and with a vaulted ceiling. The burial chambers were generally larger than the antechambers, and some of them a limestone casing, and double ceiling. The interior ceiling is built of limestone slabs, the exterior apparently having a vaulted

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, pl.VI bis; idem, in *Mémoire de l'Université de Neuchatel* 15 (Neuchatel, 1940), 20, fig. 33.

<sup>59</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 110-112, 114-115, 116.

<sup>60</sup> Brovarski, 'Abydos in the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, part II', in D.P. Silverman (ed.) *For his Ka Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, *SAOC* 55 (Chicago, 1994), 27-39; Fischer, 'Quelques particuliers enterés à Saqqâra', in C. Berger and B. Mathieu, *Études sur l'ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer* (Montpellier, 1997), 177-189.

<sup>61</sup> Jéquier, *ASAE* 35 (1935), 132-159.

<sup>62</sup> A separate study is needed for these cemeteries, their topography, architecture, decoration, and textual features, before one can draw a conclusions on their internal chronology.

<sup>63</sup> D. Jeffreys, *JEA* 69 (1983), 35, fig. 4-5; *The Survey of Memphis* I, (London, 1985), 28, fig. 4; R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh* 1955, (Philadelphia, 1959), 83 (18). However El-Fakhry is a local saint (*sheikh*) has a little tomb-chapel to the south of the village, which was named after him early this century. The people of Kom El Fakhry used to celebrate his birthday every year.

<sup>64</sup> El Hitta, *RdC* 33/175 (1955), 50-51, fig. 33-35.



form. According to Jeffreys,<sup>65</sup> some of these burial chambers have a niche at the south or to the west of the burial chamber, suggesting that these niches were used for the canopic chest.<sup>66</sup> The cemetery seems to have been used not only by one generation, as is suggested by the use of the antechambers as burial places, by adding another burial chamber underneath the first one, and in other cases new burial chambers were added below the first one.

At the east side of this cemetery, two chapels were located. The northern one contained 16 limestone offering tables, most of them inscribed in sunk relief, while the southern chapel had two inscribed false doors.<sup>67</sup>

The cemetery was dated by the excavator to the Middle Kingdom on the basis of another cemetery found by him in Tura in 1954.<sup>68</sup> However, Lilyquist and Jeffreys dated the communal mastaba of Kom el-Fakhry to the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom.<sup>69</sup>

The Kom el-Fakhry cemetery<sup>70</sup> was probably constructed on the edge of a village<sup>71</sup> as is the case at Tell Edfu,<sup>72</sup> or perhaps built in the vicinity of a temple of the Old and Middle Kingdom, as at Tell Basta,<sup>73</sup> and Herakleopolis.<sup>74</sup> Some of its burial chambers were

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<sup>65</sup> D. Jeffreys, *JEA* 69 (1983), 35.

<sup>66</sup> D. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis* I, 68. The tombs numbers are those given by El Hitta during the excavation.

<sup>67</sup> Lilyquist, *ARCE Newsletter* 80 (1972), 36; idem, *JARCE* 11 (1974), 27-30; Kemp spent a few weeks in Marsh 1974, examining Kom el Fakhry and the adjacent areas. He published an article about the stratigraphy of Memphis in *JARCE* 13 (1976), 25-28.

<sup>68</sup> El Hitta, op. cit., 51.

<sup>69</sup> D. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis*, 68.

<sup>70</sup> D. Jeffreys, in A.- P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses necropoles au Nouvel Empire*, 56; idem, *JEA* 69, 35; *Survey of Memphis*, 69; G. Jéquier, *Manuel d'archéologie Égyptienne. Les elements de l' architecture* (Paris, 1924), 303-6; Spencer, *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt*, 33-7, 123-5. Seidelmeir, *Gräberfelder*, 403-4. D. Hansen, *JARCE* 4 (1965), 31-33; idem, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 14-16; C. Sogher, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 16-29; Leclant, *Or* 38 (1969), 258-9, fig. 32-3; J. Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 13 (1974), 310-11, fig. 6-7. S. Farid, *ASAE* 38 (1964), 80-90, fig. 1-3. R. Weill, *Dara campaigns de 1946-1948* (Cairo, 1958), 43-58, (M1,2). K. Michalowski, *Tell Edfou* 1939 (Cairo, 1950), 4-6, 13-33. A. Minault-Gout, *BIFAO* 80 (1980), 273-286, figs. 1-3; M Valloggia, *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 226-236, fig. 1, pls. lvi-lx.

<sup>71</sup> See L. Giddy 'Memphis and Saqqara during the late Old Kingdom: Some topographical considerations', in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* I, 189-200, fig. 1.

<sup>72</sup> B.J. Kemp, in J. Hawkes (ed.) *Atlas of Ancient Archaeology* (London, 1974), 160; B. Bruyère, *Tell Edfou* 1937 (Cairo, 1937), 2-3, plan II.





<sup>73</sup> Farid, *ASAE* 58 (1964), 85-90, fig 1-3, pl. I.

<sup>74</sup> Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 13 (1974), 307-311, fig. 1, 6-7



decorated in paint with daily life scenes.<sup>75</sup> It is generally believed that burial chambers did not contain representations of human beings before the advent of the Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>76</sup> However, this phenomenon was known at both Giza<sup>77</sup> and Saqqara<sup>78</sup> from a much earlier date.<sup>79</sup>

The inscriptions which include offering formulae and lists of offering items are paralleled elsewhere, however they display some distinctive features which are not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period. Neither do they display any of the characteristic features of the Middle Kingdom.

The occurrence of the phrase *qrst nfrt*, the writing of the , the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*, the full writing of *inpw*   , and the use of the filling stroke in the writing of *nb.f*, are all very common during the Herakleopolitan Period. Most significant here is *qrst nfrt* which is first evidenced during the reign of Merykare.<sup>80</sup>

The identification of the deceased with Osiris in the context of the offering list is also a later feature,<sup>81</sup> as is the occurrence of the epithet *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Lilyquist, *JARCE* 11, 27-30.

<sup>76</sup> Fischer, *The Tomb of Ip at El Saff*, 34-35.

<sup>77</sup> At least three burial chambers from Giza display human beings representations: *K3-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 131-133; Junker, *Giza* IV, 51-96, and also p. 43-45), *K3-hr-pt<sup>h</sup>* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 166-167; Junker, *Giza* VIII, 117-121, fig. 56, pl. XXI), and probably *S3m-nfr* IV (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 223-226; Junker, *Giza* XI, 114-116, fig. 53, pl. XVI (a)).

<sup>78</sup> Recently re-cleaning the burial chamber of Kairer at Saqqara surprisingly revealed that it has representation of human beings. For this tomb and its dating see Daoud, *GM* 147 (1995), 53-52; idem, *EA Bulletin* 10 (1997), 6-7.

<sup>79</sup> This phenomenon appears not before the Eleventh Dynasty at Kom Ombo (S. Wenig, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Forschungen und Berichte* 10 (1968), 71-94). Such representations are scarcely in evidence on walls of the Eleventh Dynasty burial chambers at Thebes (Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911-1931* (New York, 1942), pls. 13, 16). These representations did appear on sarcophagi from Thebes, shortly before the unification (ibid, pls. 8, 10; C JE 47267 = *BMMA* Nov. 1921, 43, figs. 18, 22 = Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, fig. 129). Also seen on sarcophagi from: Harageh (Engelbach, *El Harageh* (London, 1923), pls. 67-68), Gebelein (H.G. Steindorf, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reiches in den Königl. Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1901), Taf. 3, 5, 6-11), Moalla (CCG 28116), Bersheh (*Studi Rosellini* I, 263; *MFA Bulletin* 19 (1921), 43ff; Lapp, *Typologie*, Abb. 80-81), and Siut (*Assiout*, pl. 29 (1)).

<sup>80</sup> On these features see below *passim*.

<sup>81</sup> On comment on this feature, see under (4.4, and 4.5).

<sup>82</sup> E. Erichsen, *ActOr* 6 (1928), 270ff; Schenkel, *FMAS*, § 28; Lapp, *Typologie*, § 526.

The occurrence of *wdꜣt*-eyes on the cross bar of the two false door stelae points to a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, one would date the cemetery to the Herakleopolitan Period, and not later.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> See below *passim*.

<sup>84</sup> For the date of the pottery and burial equipment found there see, Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder*, 384.



## 2. Giza

### 2.1. Stelae.

A considerable amount of inscribed material labelled as being late Old Kingdom, is known to come from this cemetery. Although this material was looked at in detail by the author, only a few examples are presented here, those with features that are particularly indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period elsewhere.

#### 2.1.1. Stela of *H3i*<sup>85</sup> (Plate VI)

Bibl: H. Goedicke, 'Ein Verehrer des weisen *Ddf-Hr* aus dem späten Alten Reich', *ASAE* 55 (1958), 35-55, Taf. 1; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 192.

A small limestone stela found by the Harvard-Boston expedition in 1925, in the cemetery east of Khufu's pyramid. It was found in a small mud-brick chapel located in the street between the large mastabas G7210/20 and G7310/20. It measures 102 x 86 cm. Both texts and figures are incised. The upper part of the stela is missing, and although the stela has a classical appearance, it has no torus moulding. The panel is of the so-called shutter type, and has the usual table scene. Each of the four jambs has two columns of inscription, each of which is terminated with a figure of the deceased. The outer and inner left jamb and the inner right jamb portraits show the deceased standing facing the central niche. On the outer left jamb the deceased is seen with short hair, wearing a pointed pleated kilt. He holds a long staff in his left hand, and his right hand is extended fist along his side. On the inner left jamb the deceased is seen with shoulder length wig, which leaves the ear exposed, a broad collar, and long skirt. He holds the usual long staff and baton. On the opposite right inner jamb, the stela owner is represented with short hair, wearing a pointed, pleated kilt and raising both hands in a gesture of adoration. On the outer right jamb the deceased is depicted sitting on a low-back chair, facing left in the direction of the central niche. He wears a shoulder length wig and knee-length kilt. He

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<sup>85</sup> For the reading of the name see, Ranke, 'The Egyptian pronunciation of the royal name Khefren and its cognates', *JAOS* 70 (1950), 65-68; J. Bennett, *JEA* 51 (1965), 206-7; Brunner, *ZAS* 102 (1975), 94-99.

holds a long staff in his right hand, while the left hand is extended in front of him, open in a gesture of invocation.

Transliteration:

1 (B) *h̄tp (di) nswt inpw tpy ḡw.f imy-wt nb t3 ḡsr* 2. ... *p̄rit-h̄rw nt im3h̄ hr wsir* 3. *imy-r h̄mw̄tiw H3i* 4. (C) *i ʿnhw tpyw t3 sw3t.sn* 5. *hr is pn ḡḡ h3 t h3 hnqt h3 p3t m h̄ry-h̄b n im3h̄w* 6. *imy-r h̄mw̄tiw mḡh̄w* 7. *im3h̄w hr nb.f H3i* 8. (F) *h̄tp (di) nswt inpw h̄nty sh-n̄tr* 9. *im3h̄w H3i* 10. (G) *dw3w Dḡf-H̄r* 11. *im3h̄w H3i* 12. (E) *špss nswt imy-r h̄mw̄tiw H3i* 13. (D) *im3h̄w hr n̄tr-ʿ3 H3i* 14. *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 p3t h3 šs h3 mn̄ht*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King (gives)<sup>86</sup> and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land 2. ... a voice offering of the one honoured by Osiris, 3. Overseer of the Craftsmen, *H3i*. 4. O ye who live upon the earth, who will pass 5. by this tomb (may you) say: a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer and cake as (does) the lector priest to the honoured one, 6. Overseer of the Craftsmen and Carpenters, 7. he who is honoured by his lord, *H3i*. 8. An offering which the King (gives), and Anubis, the foremost of the divine booth 9. (for) the honoured *H3i*. 10. He who adores *Dḡf-H̄r*, 11. the honoured *H3i*. 12. Nobleman of the King, Overseer of the Craftsmen, *H3i*. 13. He who is honoured by the great god, *H3i*. 14. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer a thousand of cakes, a thousand of alabaster and a thousand of clothing.

Comments:

On the right outer jamb the *mḡh̄* sign is added, either to indicate the type of craft which the stela owner oversaw, or to be read vertically with *imy-r*, in which case it points to another office for the stela owner as an ‘Overseer of Carpenters’.<sup>87</sup>

The address to the living, on the right outer jamb, seems to be incomplete.<sup>88</sup> The request for the passer-by to read the offering as the lector priest does is unusual, but it

<sup>86</sup> For the omission of *di* see, Fischer, *Varia*, 23; cf. also, CCG 1453 (f); 1504 (a); TPC II, pl. 70 91); Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 42 (1-7).

<sup>87</sup> See, *Handwerker*, 75, 84, 121, 124.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 19 (f).



reminds us of some of the tasks which the lector priests did for the tomb owner.<sup>89</sup> It also calls to mind the direct request made to lector priests by the tomb owner in this sort of text.<sup>90</sup>

### Dating:

Style, overall design and the palaeographic features indicate a date in the later part of the Old Kingdom. The posture of adoration adopted by the deceased on the inner right jamb is a characteristic feature of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>91</sup> The deification of *Dd.f-Hr*, one of King Khufu's sons, is only known from the very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>92</sup> He is mentioned on another (probably contemporary) stela as a saint who grants reverence to the deceased.<sup>93</sup> The use of the term *dw3* in an opening prayer formulae probably point to a date even later than the Old Kingdom.<sup>94</sup> It is probable that the stela dates to the very end of the Old Kingdom or slightly later, at which time it is probable that the cult of *Dd.f-Hr* as a saint was established at Giza, probably not far from his father's pyramid.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Lapp, *Opferformle*, §§ 262-326.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Sainte Fare Garnot, *Appel*, 19, 22, 32; *ASAE* 43 (1943), 503; *Urk* I, 186 (14); 122:15; 187:4; Edel, *MDAIK* 13 (1944), 77; Hassan, *Giza* II, 213.

<sup>91</sup> See e.g., *TPC* II, pls. 27 (B), 67 (2), 68; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pls. XII, XIII, XV, XVI, XVII (1); idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pls. VII (1, 3), VII (4); *CCG* 1409, 1453, 1458, 1500; Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, Abb. 12; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 129.

<sup>92</sup> Probably the same as the sage who left some of his teaching, cf. Brunner-Traut, 'Die Weisheitslehre des Djedef-Hor', *ZÄS* 76 (1940), 3-9; Posener, 'Le début de l'enseignement de Hardjedef', *RdE* 9 (1952), 109-117; see also, H. Brunner, 'Djedef-hor in der römischen Kaiserzeit', in *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1974), 55-64.

<sup>93</sup> On the stela of *Tw.f-ptḥ* from Giza too (Cf. Junker, *Giza* VII, 24-28; idem, 'Ein neuer Nachweis des weisen *Ddf-hr*', in *Studi Rosellini* II, 133ff). The stela's owner is described as *im3ḥw ḥr Dd.f-Hr*, a phrase which leaves no doubt that *Dd.f-Hr* was deified. The style of the stela, with supplementary inscribed frame and the shutter-type panel, points to a date in the later part of the Old Kingdom, probably not earlier than the reign of King Pepy II. It is worth noting here that *Tw.f-ptḥ* held the office *lmy-r š pr-3*, noting that *š* appear with the house determinative, probably referring to a plantation place or basin as previously suggested (see below under *P3-3n* (7.1.3)). Note also that *Tw.f-ptḥ* is also 'Overseer of the Department of Tenants'.

<sup>94</sup> The term *dw3* + God's or goddess's name is known during the Old Kingdom particularly on seal impressions, (cf. Kaplony, *Rollsiegel*, e.g. Taf. 20 (28), 33 (7, 10), 34 (14), 35 (19), 36 (20, 27), 49, 56 92), 60 (22), 65 (5), 70 (38), 71 (4), 83 (4). Also the use of this term + royal name is evidenced in personal names as early as the Fourth Dynasty (cf. Goedicke, *ASAE* 55, 46, n. 2; cf. also the B. van de Walle, 'Deux monuments Memphites au nom de Hardjedef Iteti', *JNES* 36 (1977), 17-24, fig. 1-2). However, the occurrence of the term in question plus god's name is frequently evidenced on stelae and inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom in praying formulae, cf. *CCG* 20039, 20177, 20360; cf. also Dominicus, *Gesten*, 30.

### 2.1.2. Stela of *Thw* (Plate VI)

Bibl: Hildesheim Mus. 3046; Junker, *Giza VII*, 251-3 (4), Abb. 107; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 154.

A small limestone false door measuring 71 x 44.4 cm. It was found by Junker in a shaft south of the mastaba of *Sšm-nfr* III, perhaps belonging to a small mastaba to the south of that of *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* I and *Sšm-nfr* III. The stela is surrounded with an inscribed supplementary frame, and it seems that it was left unfinished. Only the supplementary frame and the two lintels of the false door itself are inscribed, while the rest of the stela is left blank. Texts and figures are incised. The second lintel displays the table scene which is usually represented on the panel. The deceased sits on the left facing an offering table, and next to the table on the right is a short ideographic offering list.

#### Transliteration:

[supplementary frame] 1. (*h<sub>1</sub>tp di nswt inpw tpy*) *ḡw.f prit hrw n im3h Thw* 2. *hry-tp nswt irr ḥsst r<sup>c</sup>-nb im3hw hr ntr-<sup>c</sup>3 Thw* 3. ... (*im3h*)w *hr wsir nb Ddw im3(hw Thw)* [Stela] 4. (*A'*) *im3hw hr pth-skr Thw* 5. *h<sub>1</sub>tp di nswt t hnqt h3 k3w h3 šs h3 mnht n im3hw Thw*

#### Translation:

(An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon) his mountain, a voice offering to the honoured *Thw*. 2. Chamberlain of the King, one who does what is praised every day,<sup>95</sup> he who is honoured by the great god, *Thw*. 3. ... He who is honoured by Osiris, lord of Busiris, the honoured (*Thw*). 4. He who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, *Thw*. 5. An offering which the King gives, bread, beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of alabaster and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Thw*.

#### Comments:

The deceased is described as revered by Ptah-Sokar. The association of these two divinities is evidenced since Dynasty Five.<sup>96</sup> However, it is probable that only after the Sixth Dynasty does one find individuals described as revered by the manifestation Ptah-

<sup>95</sup> For a similar phrase see, Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 128; Janssen, *Autobiographie*, 47.

<sup>96</sup> Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 125-126; *Götterwelt*, 185. For more discussion, see Grandorge-Hereil *Le dieu Sokar*, I, 7-14; Brovarski, *LÄ V*, 1057, n. 46, 1059-1060.



Sokar.<sup>97</sup> It seems that the funerary character of Ptah-Sokar found more popularity during the later part of the Old Kingdom and during the Herakleopolitan Period, as clearly indicated by the texts of the stelae of this period.

### Dating:

The style of the stela points to a later date in the Old Kingdom, and in particular, the enclosing of the stela with an inscribed supplementary frame. This feature is not attested before the reign of Pepy II. Its earliest appearance is probably on the false door of *Nfr-sšm-sš3t/hnw*, found by Mariette at Saqqara.<sup>98</sup> He is dated by Baer to later in the reign of Pepy I to an early period of Pepy II, or the middle of the reign of Pepy II.<sup>99</sup> Kanawati, on the other hand, suggests that *Nfr-sšm-sš3t/hnw* might be the same as the vizier *Hnw*, depicted in the mortuary temple of Pepy II.<sup>100</sup> It seems likely that *Nfr-sšm-sš3t/hnw* belongs to the early part of the reign of Pepy II, probably just before the construction of the cemetery established around the pyramid of this king at south Saqqara.<sup>101</sup> This stylistic feature, at any rate, did not become frequent before the very end of the period.<sup>102</sup> The shutter type panel of this stela is also first attested during the mid Sixth Dynasty and by the end of the Dynasty it was frequently adopted in a stela's design. It also became a characteristic feature of stelae during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>97</sup> The inscriptions (Hassan, *Giza*, VI/3, 9-17) cited by Begelsbacher-Fischer (*Götterwelt*, 185) are apparently not to be dated before the Sixth Dynasty, on the grounds of the relief iconography, and palaeographic features. Note for instance the writing of Anubis jackal above the stand, a writing which is not known before the early Sixth Dynasty. It is first attested in the tombs of the viziers of King Teti, and became popular thereafter. See, e.g. Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 11, 12 (*Nfr-sšm-r*), 19, 49, 55 (*nh-m-hr*); *Mereruka*, pls. 15, 17; *Khentika*, pls. 6, 7, 19, 20; see also, Fischer, *Dendera*, 84 (14); Brovarski, in D. Silverman (ed.) *For his Ka*, 21.

<sup>98</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 407-10; CCG 1490.

<sup>99</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 93-4 (275).

<sup>100</sup> Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 79

<sup>101</sup> Probably to be compared with *Idw* I of Giza (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 165) who also probably to be dated to the early part of the reign of Pepy II. cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 68-9 (22), see also, p. 112-113 (89).

<sup>102</sup> Cf. *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, pl. 16; Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, figs. 60 (*Ny-hb-sd-Nfr-k3-r*), 62 (*Nhri*), 63 (*Hnm-htp*); idem, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 98 (*Išti*), 107 (*Hr-htp*), 119 (*Ppy-nb.i-pw/nbl*), 134 (*Dgm*), 138 (*R-hr-k3/lpl*); Drioton, and Lauer, 'Une groupe de tombes à Saqqarah', *ASAE* (1955), 212-214, pl. 6 (a) (*Išti*), pl. XX (c) (*Štt*), pl. XX (b) (*Sdhl*), XXII (a) (*Nfr-hw-ptl/tti*); Cf also some of the closely dated stelae from Giza, Junker, *Giza VII*, Abb. 8, 107; XI, pl. VII (c), Abb. 40; Cf. also CCG 1455, 1450, 1400, 1395; see for discussion for this feature, Fischer, *Dendera*, 87 (2); Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 133-134.

<sup>103</sup> Note that this type of panel appears on some Giza false doors which are dated by the *Topographical Bibliography* to the Sixth Dynasty. Reconsideration of these stelae shows that they might not be earlier





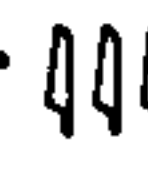
The other significant dating feature is the addition of the expletive stroke after the *ḡw*-sign, which assuming that Junker's copy is correct, associates this stela to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>104</sup>

### 2.1.3. Stela of *Iri-n-3ḥt/Iri* (Plate VII)

Bibl: Vienna Mus. Inv. 8009; Junker, *ZÄS* 63 (1928), 53-68, Taf. II; idem, *Giza* VI, 80; idem, *Anzeiger, Wien* 63 (1926), 90; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 137; F. Jonckheere, *Les Médecins de l'Égypte pharaonique* (Bruxelles, 1958), no. 8, fig. 2; F. von Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serket* (Paris, 1984), 167-168; J.F.Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (London, 1996), 126-127 (6.8).

A limestone false door stela measuring 145 x 90 x 10 cm. It was found east of tomb G 4760, re-used as the cover of shaft S 2065, in the early season of 1926. The stela displays the classic false door design with a cavetto cornice and torus moulding. The panel is of the so called shutter type, which was introduced during the mid Sixth Dynasty. Texts and figures are incised. The layout of the text is conventional, with jambs retaining

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than the very end of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty). For instance, the stela of *Snḡm-tb/Inti* (Junker, *Giza* VII, 246-249; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 161, note that it is here assigned to late Fifth-early Sixth Dynasties): the style of the stela is typical of the late Old Kingdom, particularly the type of the panel, and also some of the palaeographic features point to a date not earlier than the end of the Old Kingdom. For instance the phonetic writing of *lnpw*, a feature which first appears during the Sixth Dynasty in the inscriptions adjacent to the burial chamber, cf. *TPC* I, 172-4; Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976) 7, n. 9. The writing of *prît ḥrw* with the elongated loaf determinative points to a later date. The other stela which should be included with this group is the stela of *Hnni* (Hildesheim 3179; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 222; Junker, *Giza* XI, 69-73, Abb. 40, Taf. VII [c]). The style, particularly the supplementary frame and the shutter type panel, are characteristic of a later date in the Old Kingdom. The writing of *prît ḥrw* with elongated loaf, and the writing of *nṯr-3* points to later date. The last feature is not uncommon in the later part of the Old Kingdom (cf. Junker, *Giza* VIII, Abb. 34; XI, Abb. 83; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 4). In addition, the phonetic writing of *lnpw* also points to later date. The stelae of *Nfr/iqri* and *Nfr-sšm/ifi* (Hassan, *Giza* VI/3, figs. 218, 220, 219) are probably as late as the stelae just mentioned above. On the stela of *Iqri*, notable is the writing of the  instead of the usual divine determinative , which is occasionally seen in the later Old Kingdom, but did not become frequent before the Herakleopolitan Period and thereafter. (Cf. *Urk* I, 57; *Kêmi* 6, 87; Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 11, lt; Fischer, *Dendera*, n. 628, p. 208, n. 820). Another stela which should be mentioned is the stela of  from Giza (Lutz, *Steles*, no. 17): its date is indicated by the door style and its panel type. The panel is of the type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs which points a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom. The representation of the deceased holding a lotus blossom which has a long stem, also points to a later date in the Old Kingdom (cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 134-5).

<sup>104</sup> See comment on this feature above, *passim*.



only a single column of inscription. Each of these jambs displays a standing representation of the deceased facing the central niche. The four figures are mirror images, depicting the deceased with short hair, wearing a broad collar, ceremonial beard, bracelets and pointed kilt. He holds a long staff in one hand and a baton in the other. On the panel the deceased is seen in similar attire, but here he is wearing a knee-length kilt. He sits on a low back chair, on the left facing right, and with his left hand holds an ointment jar to his nose. He extends his right hand towards an offering table. Underneath the chair is a large nested ewer and basin. The table has a short stand, and rounded tray, above which are rectangular shaped bread slices. To the right of the table is a rectangular stand, above which are a food basket, and three tall jars, surmounted by a foreleg of beef. Above the leg of beef are meat cuts of the heart and ox's head, next to which are a bread loaf and ointment jar. On the top of this heap of offerings is a trussed duck. Above the offering scene and the deceased is a short ideographic offering list. Noteworthy here is that the lack of the space between the rectangular stand and the feet of the deceased require the stand of the offering table to be moved slightly higher above the ground line.

#### Transliteration:

1. (H) *smsw swnw pr-ʿ3 ḥrp ms-ḥmw ʿw mw m ḥnw n tntt im3ḥw Tri* 2. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw prit ḥrw n* 3. (B) *im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ʿ3 iri-n-3ḥt rn.f nfr Ny-ʿnh-Ppy* 4. (C) *swnw ḥt pr-ʿ3 nrw phwt smsw swnw pr-ʿ3 Tri* 5. (F) *ḥry sšt3 n mdw-ntr Tri* 6. (G) *swnw irtyt pr-ʿ3 Tri* 7. (E) *swnw pr-ʿ3 ḥrp srqt shd swnw pr-ʿ3 Tri* 8. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 sr ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n swnw pr-ʿ3 Tri* 9. [on the drum] *swnw pr-ʿ3 Tri*

#### Translation:

1. Senior Physician of the Great Palace, Director of those who form (manufacture) *ḥmw*, one who translates water inside the *tntt*, the honoured *Tri*. 2. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, a voice offering to the 3. honoured by the great god, *Tri-n-3ḥt*, his good name is *Ny-ʿnh-Ppy*. 4. Physician of the belly of the Great Palace, Protector of the anus, Senior Physician of the Great Palace, *Tri*. 5. Privy to the Secrets of the God's words, 6. Physician of the Eyes of the Great Palace *Tri*. 7. Physician of the

Great Palace, Director of Serqet,<sup>105</sup> Inspector of Physicians of the Great Palace, *Tri*. 8. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of *sr* geese, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the Physician of the Great Palace, *Tri*. 9. Physician of the Great Palace, *Tri*.

#### Comments:

The interest in the stela has focused on the titles and functions of this palace physician. Some of these functions and specialities are rarely attested, such *swnw ht* and *swnw irty*, as well as *nrrw phwt*.<sup>106</sup> The title *hrp ms hmw* is not clear, but if one considers this title at face-value, it may refer to a sort of drug mixing/forming. It is worth mentioning that *hmw* may refer to a substance from the *k3-k3* plant, a remedy which probably treated different eye and stomach-illnesses.<sup>107</sup> As is the case in some Egyptian villages in recent times, medicine and healing was associated with magic. Here, the physician of the great palace was also a magician, proud of his knowledge in his field 'one who translates the water inside the *tntt*'.<sup>108</sup>

The term *mdw ntr* in the title *hry sšt3 mdw ntr* probably refers to medical books.<sup>109</sup>

#### Dating:

The stela is of a classical design, although the panel type may indicate a later date. The heavy lines and clumsy face of the deceased are also probably indicative of a later date. The iconography of the offering table scene points to a similar conclusion.<sup>110</sup> However, a comparison of the titles and offices of *Tri* with another individual from Saqqara called *Hwi*, who holds similar titles and offices, probably indicates that they were contemporary officials. In particular, offices which appear only to be held by these two officials. If such

<sup>105</sup> For this office see, Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet*, 163-214.

<sup>106</sup> For this medical professions, see Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 126-127, see also pp. 191-205.

<sup>107</sup> R. Germer, *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1979), 332-33.

<sup>108</sup> For comment on these titles see under *Hwi* (4.1.34); see also Meeks, *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 87-88.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. a physician from the Middle Kingdom, referred to as the author or transcriber of certain remedies, was entitled 'scribe of the *mdw ntr* (cf. pap. Berlin 3038, 15: 3; H. Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, 308; cf. also Abdel-Aziz Saleh, 'Plural sense and cultural aspects of the ancient Egyptian *Mdw-ntr*', *BIFAO* 68 (1970), 31-33.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. e.g. CCG 1397, 1406, 1413, 1442, 1457, 1485; cf. also similar arrangement on the stela of *Sšt-ṯ-ṯnw* (4.4.2).



a conclusion is correct, it is probable that *Trî* dates to a period not earlier than the reign of Merykare, to whose reign *Hwi* of Saqqara also belongs.

#### 2.1.4. The stela of *Impy* (Plate VII)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 249; Steindorff in, U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, 112-114 (3), Abb. 165; C.M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, IFAO, BdE 70 (1976), 39-43.

Two fragments of the right part of a large format limestone stela measuring 70 x 40 cm. The style is rather unusual: the second lintel and its jambs, as well as the cross bar, project slightly out from the level of the outer jambs and its lintel, as one can see from the photograph published by the excavator. The borders of the stela outside the torus moulding are decorated with registers of the family of the deceased. Texts are incised, while the table scene on the panel is made in raised relief. The panel is of the type that fills the entire space between the middle jambs. It depicts the usual funerary meal, with the offering table composed in a fashion typical of the Herakleopolitan Period. The decoration of the right border outside the torus moulding is divided into three registers. The uppermost register depicts a naked young man, facing left; he is represented with short hair, he holds an unidentified object in one hand, while the other hand is extended at his side grasping a folded cloth. Above him is written 'he who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven, his son, (*Imp*)y'. The second register displays a similar representation, but here the young boy holds his right hand to his chest in a token of respect, above him is written 'he who is honoured by Osiris, *Dw3*'. The third register displays a representation of a female standing and facing to the left towards the false door. She wears a short wig, and a long dress, and holds a lotus blossom to her nose. Next to her is written, 'she who is honoured by Anubis his daughter, his first....'. Each of the door jambs has a single column of inscription. That on the upper lintel is symmetrically arranged. The cross bar above the central niche is decorated with a pair of *wḏ3t*-eyes, made in incised relief.

### Transliteration:

1. (A') (*hṭp di nswt*) *inpw tpy ḏw.f* 2. (C') *ḥq3 ḥwt Ḥ<sup>c</sup>-f-r<sup>c</sup>-wr mty n s3 mry nb.f m3<sup>c</sup> im3ḥ*  
*Impy* 3. (A) *ḏ3i.f* ... .. 4. (C) *pri.n.i m niwt.i ḥ3i.n.i m sp3t.i iri.ni mrرت rmṯt ḥsst nṯrw*  
 ... .. 5. (F) *im3ḥ ḥr nṯr-(<sup>c</sup>3)* ... .. 6. (G) *im3ḥ ḥr skr wsir mty n s3* ...

### Translation:

1. (An offering which the King gives) and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, 2. Manager of the Estate of the Pyramid town of *Ḥ<sup>c</sup>-f-r<sup>c</sup>*, Regulator of the Phyle, truly beloved of his lord, *Impy*.<sup>111</sup> 3. May he travel ... .. 4. I came from my town, I descended from my nome, I did what the people love and what the gods praise<sup>112</sup> ... .. 5. He who is honoured by the [great] god ... 6. He who is honoured by Sokar, Osiris, Regulator of the Phyle ... .

### Comments:

The title *ḥq3 ḥwt* is well attested during the Old Kingdom,<sup>113</sup> but its association with the pyramid towns is less frequent.<sup>114</sup>

The other priestly title held by the stela's owner is *mty n s3* a characteristic office of the Sixth Dynasty and thereafter. It was first associated with royal cult temples.<sup>115</sup> However it is probably not much later that one finds this office in the god's temples.<sup>116</sup> The association of these two offices is probably not evidenced before very late in the Old Kingdom.<sup>117</sup>

The phrase on the lower lintel (A) is probably to be restored *ḏ3i.f (pt sm3.f t3)* 'may he traverse (the firmament and join the earth)'. It is a common phrase in the funerary texts of the Old Kingdom, particularly during the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>111</sup> For similar names see, Ranke, *PN I*, 26:13; cf. also, Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, 72.

<sup>112</sup> For similar phrase, see Edel, *MDAIK* 13, 47-8; Janssen, *De Traditioneele Egyptische Autobiographie*, 59-60, 83-4, 46-7; Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie* (Leipzig, 1929), §§ 47-8.

<sup>113</sup> See, Murray, *Index*, pl. XXIII; P. Piacentini, *Gli "Administratori di proprietà" del III millennio a.c.*, *SEAP* 6 (1989); idem, 'Gli *ḥk3w ḥwt* Addenda', *SEAP* 13 (1994), 3-42; idem, 'On the titles of the *ḥq3w ḥwt*', in S. Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden*, 235-249.

<sup>114</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 93, 170; Helck, *Beamtentitlen*, 126, n. 39; idem, *MDAIK* 15, 107.

<sup>115</sup> See above passim; see also Helck, *LÄ IV*, 1044.

<sup>116</sup> Ward, *Index*, nos. 803-808; Fischer, *Titles*, no. 805.

<sup>117</sup> Note that such association is not listed by Piacentini. For similar association see, Jéquier, *Tombes des particuliers*, fig. 111; Kees, *Or* 17, 88-90.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, §§ 98-100.





### Dating:

The style of the stela is unusual, and the type of its panel is indicative of a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. This full panel type probably first appears during the reign of Merykare.<sup>119</sup> The offering table is composed in a fashion typical of the Herakleopolitan Period. The most telling iconographic feature is, however, the decoration of the cross bar with a pair of *wḏ3t*-eyes. This feature is not found on the cross bar before the reign of Merykare.<sup>120</sup> The symmetrical layout of the inscriptions on the lintel also points to a date in this period. Although occasionally known from earlier periods, it did not become popular before this period. In addition, some of the inscriptional features which occur here point to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom. The writing of



with the filling stroke under *tp* sign is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>121</sup>

The hieratic form of the , the abbreviated writing of the epithet *im3h*, the addition of the filling stroke after *nb* sign, and the addition of the plural stroke in the writing of *ntrw* and *rmṯt*, are expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. Another significant feature is the occurrence of the first person pronoun . This textual phenomena is first evidenced in the Pyramid Texts of King *Ibi* of the Eighth Dynasty.<sup>122</sup> Also noteworthy is

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare). This feature appears on some other false doors from the same cemetery. Their style, iconography, and palaeography point to a similar date and bear no evidence of later date than the Herakleopolitan Period. For a different view see, Malek, *Orientalia Lovaniesia Periodica* 8 (1977), 123; Strudwick, *Administration*, 16-17. Both suggest that this feature did not appear before the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>120</sup> See comment on this feature below, *passim*

<sup>121</sup> This writing and other variant, appear during the Herakleopolitan Period at Gebelein (cf. Fischer, *Kush* 9 (1961), 45, n. 3); Dendera (Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 11 (c)); Naga ed-Deir (cf. Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 1, 2, 5, 9, 14, 40, 55, 56, 62, 63, 73, 78, 79, 83, 86, 84, 82, 69, 23). It is evidenced during the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes (cf. *TPPI* §§ 4, 14, 19, 17, 27). This writing appears in the coffin inscriptions of both Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties at Bersheh (cf. Lapp, *Typologie*, B22a, B25a-b, §§ 171, 183); Meir (*ibid*, §§ 222, 230); Asyut (*ibid*, §§ 227, 286); Akhmim (*ibid*, § 337) Thebes (*ibid*, § 354); Gebelein (*ibid*, § 422); and Saqqara (*TPC I*, 265).

<sup>122</sup> Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, 71; see also Fischer, *Palaeography and Epigraphy*, 39 n. 41; Schenkel, *FMAS*, 42. For examples which probably date to the Eighth Dynasty or early Herakleopolitan Period, cf. Altenmüller, *SAK* 1 (1974), 6-8; Fischer, *JEA* 65 (1979), 179.

the occurrence of the manifestation *skr-wsir*.<sup>123</sup> This feature occasionally appears during the Herakelopolitan Period, but did not become frequent before the Middle Kingdom.<sup>124</sup> The occurrence of the phrase *ḥsst ntrw* probably also points a similar date.<sup>125</sup>

Therefore, the stela should be assigned to a date not earlier than that of Merykare or slightly later. It is probable that *Impy* was buried in the vicinity of the cult institution in which he had his priestly career. Such stelae also cast some light on the situation of such royal institutions during the Herakleopolitan Period, since the offices held by the stela's owner show that they were functioning offices, which indicating a certain level of activity in these temples of Fourth Dynasty kings a few hundred years after their death.

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<sup>123</sup> The association of Sokar and Osiris is probably first seen in the pyramid texts, where Sokar is sometimes used as a name or aspect of Osiris, cf. *Pyr.* 62 (T, M); 1824 (N); 1826 (N); 1256 (P, N); cf. also, Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (Leiden, 1967), 51; B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 174, n. 8.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. CCG 20390; Berlin 1189; see also, Brovarski, *LÄ* V, 1057-8; Grandorge-Hereil, *Le dieu Sokar*, 8-17.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. *Suit*, (tomb. IV, 62). see also later examples, BM 562; Davies, *Antefoker*, pls. VIII-IX.



### 3. Abusir.

#### 3.1. Stelae.

Two stelae from Abusir will be highlighted here, both were found with other material by Schäfer in a cemetery of priests associated with the cult temple of Niuserre of the Fifth Dynasty. It seems that the cult of this king was revived during the very end of the Old Kingdom, the Herakleopolitan Period and through the Middle Kingdom, as he was considered a local deity by those priests and local individuals who were buried in the vicinity of his pyramid.<sup>126</sup>

##### 3.1.1. Stela of *Ipi* (Plate VIII)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 345; now in Bremen, Übersee-Mus. B 935; *Priestergräber*, 13 (17), Abb. 12.

This limestone stela measures 68 (now) x 69.5 cm, the top part is missing. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the scene on the panel is in raised relief. Each of the outer jambs has a single column of inscription at the end of which is a figure of the deceased. These are identical, depicting him standing, facing the central niche. He is seen wearing a shoulder length wig which leaves the ear exposed, a broad collar and a pointed kilt. He holds the usual long staff and baton. The inner jambs are slightly wider, and inscriptions are laid on them horizontally. Both also have mirror images of the deceased, also showing him standing and facing in the direction of the central niche. The deceased is seen here with shoulder length wig, a broad collar and long skirt. He has both hands raised in a gesture of adoration. On the panel, the deceased is seen at the usual table or funerary meal. The cross bar above the central niche is decorated with an incised pair of *wdꜣt*-eyes.

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<sup>126</sup> H. Schäfer, *Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde vom Ende des Alten Reiches bis zur griechischen Zeit vom Totentempel des Ne-user-Rê* (Leipzig, 1908). On the continuation of the Old Kingdom royal cult, cf. Leclant and Berger, in *Studies Simpson II*, 503-504.

### Transliteration:


1. (B) ... *nb 3bdw prit hrw n.f im3h Tpi* 2. (C) ... (*im3hw h*)*r inpw tpy dw.f imy-wt im3h Tpi*.  
3. (F) *im3hw hr* 4. *Tny Tpi* 5. (G) *im3hw hr* 6. *ntr-ꜥ3 nb pt Tpi*

### Translation:

1. ... lord of Abydos, a voice offering to him, the honoured *Tpi*. 2. ... (he who is honoured by) Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, the honoured *Tpi*. 3. He who is honoured by 4. *Tny*, *Tpi*. 5. He who is honoured by 6. the great god, lord of heaven, *Tpi*.

### Comments:

The name *Tpi* is well known during the Old Kingdom, but it did not become fashionable before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>127</sup> It is likely that *Tpi*, and names constructed with this element, refer to a local saint whose tomb was built in the vicinity of Teti Pyramid Cemeteries from where most of these names come.<sup>128</sup>

Notable here is the reversal of the sign  each time it occurs, in order to face the deceased.<sup>129</sup>

The phrase *im3hw hr Tny* 'he who is honoured by *Tny*' deserves some comment. *Tny* is the birth name of Niuserre, the sixth king of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>130</sup> He had his pyramid built at Abusir,<sup>131</sup> not far from Abu-Ghurab where his sun-temple was built.<sup>132</sup> It is probable that the cult temple of this king received some attention during the Sixth Dynasty, probably when the general policy of the government was to bring life back to cult temples of their predecessors, that were once fully functional.<sup>133</sup> This policy no doubt helped in creating a small society associated with this royal institution, including different sections of people who managed to keep these temples functioning. Naturally these groups found

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 21:26-30; 22:1-24; see also, *LD II*, 82 (e); Mariette, *Mastabas*, 536; *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 67, 114.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Varia*, 87, n. 34.

<sup>129</sup> For the orientation and reversal of this sign see, Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 194-201.

<sup>130</sup> von Beckerath 'Niuserre' *LÄ IV*, 517-18; idem, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, *MÄS* 20 (München, 1984), 55 (6).

<sup>131</sup> Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Re* (Leipzig, 1907)



<sup>132</sup> von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re*, 3 vols (Leipzig, 1905-1928).

<sup>133</sup> This is indicated by Royal Decrees issued in protection of some of these temples and their priesthood, cf. e.g. The Dahshur decree which issued to protect the temples of King Snefru (Goedicke, *Königliche Dok.*, 55-77); a decree issued by Pepy II, for the cult temple of Menkaure (ibid, 148-154); also a decree protecting the cult temple of Queen Oudjebten (ibid, 155; cf. also other similar decrees, ibid, passim).



no better place to be buried than in the vicinity of these temples, where they had their jobs. It is probable that these groups of people associated with this royal institution considered this monarch as a local deity. The phrase mentioned on the left inner jamb can hardly lead to any other conclusion than that King Niuserre/Iny was deified long after his death, probably during the Herakleopolitan Period. This deification can also be indicated by theophorus names based on *Iny* which were fashionable in this necropolis among these people, particularly those who lived during the Herakleopolitan Period and thereafter.<sup>134</sup>

#### Dating:

The stela seems to be of the classical style. The decoration of the cross bar with a pair of *wḏ3t*-eyes can hardly assign the stela to a date earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period, probably around the reign of Merykare. The representation of the offering table with bread slices surmounted by a fore-leg of beef, and a trussed duck is indicative of a date in this period, as is the depiction of the deceased on the inner jambs, raising his hand in a gesture of adoration. Palaeographic features point to a similar conclusion. In particular, the writing of *pr̥t hrw*, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* , and the writing of the epithet *imy-wt* with the addition of the prothetic  are all features which were frequently evidenced during the Herakleopolitan Period. The last feature, although it is known from the very end of the Old Kingdom in the inscriptions adjacent to the burial chamber, is not seen before the Herakleopolitan Period on the stela. The stela of *Ipi* may therefore be assigned to the Herakleopolitan Period, perhaps not earlier than the reign of Merykare, but also not much later.

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<sup>134</sup> Cf. names such as *Inl-m-3ht*, *Inl-ḥtp*, and *Inl-m-s3.f* which qualify the saint *Iny* as being 'in the horizon', 'satisfied', and 'protective', cf. *Priestergräber*, 18-39, Abb. 15; 101, 108-9, Abb. 172. Perhaps the case with which this may be compared is *Gmnl-k3i/Gmnl*, *Ipi*, King Teti, Djedefhor, and King Unas, deified during the Herakleopolitan Period. For Unas, cf. Altenmüller, *SAK* 1 (1974), 1-18; Moussa, *MDAIK* 27 (1971), 81-84, pls. XIII-XIV.

### 3.1.2. Stela of *S3t-impy*<sup>135</sup> (Plate XI)

Bibl: Hamburg Mus. für Völkerkunde C. 3710; *Priestergräber*, 14 (18), Abb. 13; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 345.

Small limestone stela measuring 70 x 43 cm. The stela seems not to be completely finished. The cornice is not carved or even cut properly, the signs are roughly cut, details in the figures are absent, and the scene on the panel is also not finished. Texts are incised, while figures on the jambs and the panel scene are in raised relief. The texts are laid out in a conventional way. Only the inner jambs have representations of the deceased, both are identical images, showing him standing, facing the central niche. The deceased wears a long wig with lappet falling on the chest and back shoulder, and a long tight-fitting dress. She holds a lotus blossom to her nose with one hand, while the other hand is extended open along her side.

#### Transliteration:


1. (A) *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb imnty pr̄it hr̄w n.s* 2. (B) *m is.s n h̄rt-n̄tr im3h̄t S3t-imp̄y* 3. (C) *im3h̄t hr̄ inpw im3h̄t S3t-imp̄y* 4. (F) *S3t-imp̄y* 5. (G) *S3t-imp̄y* 6. (E) *im3h̄t hr̄ wsir*

#### Translation:

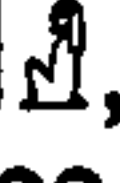
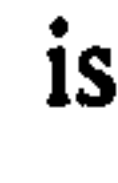
1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of the west, a voice offering to her 2. in her tomb of the necropolis, she who is honoured *S3t-imp̄y*. 3. She who is honoured by Anubis, the honoured *S3t-imp̄y*. 4. *S3t-imp̄y*. 5. *S3t-imp̄y*. 6. She who is honoured by Osiris.<sup>136</sup>

#### Dating:


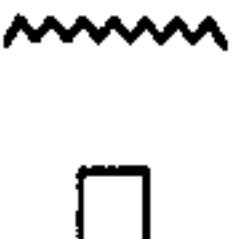

The style of the stela points to a date later than the Old Kingdom, particularly the shutter-type panel with outward-curving top, which was a characteristic style of the Herakleopolitan Period. This date is also suggested by the palaeographic features,

particularly the writing of  which is frequently associated with texts from the

<sup>135</sup> For this name see Ranke, *PN I*, 286: 5.

<sup>136</sup> The writing of *wsir* , omitting the  is not uncommon, Cf. Paget and Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pls. 34, 38, 39; Hassan, *Giza VI* 3, 222, fig. 219.



Herakleopolitan Period, as does the phonetic writing of *inpw*   . The writing of *pr* *t* *hrw* with bird and ox's head and the additional elongated loaf is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of *imnty*  also indicates a later date.<sup>137</sup> In addition, the formation of the name of the stela's owner *S3t* + NN is also indicative of a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom or early Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>138</sup> It is probable that the stela should be assigned to the Herakleopolitan Period on stylistic and palaeographic grounds.

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<sup>137</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 135, n. 587.

<sup>138</sup> Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 36, n. 2.

## 4. Saqqara necropolis

### 4. 1. Teti Pyramid Cemeteries.

#### 4.1.1. Stela of Wsr (Plate X)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 183 (5); II, pl. 70 (1); Gunn MSS XVIII. 47 (2), [photo]; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544.

A small limestone false door measuring 90 x 67 x 17 cm. It displays the traditional cavetto cornice and torus moulding. Some slight damage appears at the top in the cornice and at the bottom end of the torus moulding on both sides. No traces of colour remain. Although the stela is of the small format ( type A),<sup>139</sup> the lintel and both outer jambs appear to be rather wide, probably to include two lines or columns of inscriptions: the inner jambs display their inscription in two short horizontal lines. Both the horizontal lines on the lintel and the columns on the outer jambs appear with no framing or separating line. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the table scene and inscriptions on the panel are in raised relief.

Each of the jamb inscriptions is ended by a figure of the deceased, standing and facing inwards. The outer jambs display a mirror images of the deceased, wearing a shoulder-length wig, broad collar, and projecting kilt. He holds a long staff in one hand, while the other hand is grasping a baton: on the right jamb the baton is seen passing behind the deceased's body. The inner jambs also display mirror image showing a corpulent portrait of the deceased, with short hair, a broad collar, and a long skirt. The deceased here also holds a long staff in one hand and a baton in the other. It seems the relief is not complete, particularly on the jambs; the faces are incomplete on the inner jambs and the left outer jamb.

The window-shutter panel type displays an incomplete table scene, of which only the deceased figure and short ideographic offering list are cut. The deceased appears on the left sitting on a low-back chair, facing right. He wears a shoulder-length wig, which leaves

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<sup>139</sup> *TPC* I, fig. 88.



the ear exposed, a broad collar and a knee-length kilt. He holds his left hand on his chest, and extends the other hand open towards the uncarved offering table.

Transliteration:

(A`) 1. *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb Ddw h̄nty imntiw* (B`) 2. *nb 3bdw prit-h̄rw n.f m is.f n h̄rt-n̄r im3h̄w Wsr* (C`) 3. *im3h̄w h̄r dd špsy im3h̄w h̄r nb.f sh̄d h̄mw-n̄r Wsr* (A) 4. *h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy-dw.f imy-wt nb t3-dsr* (B) 5. *qrs.tw.f nfr m h̄rt-n̄r (nt) s(m)t imntt wʿb ʿ3 Wsr* (C) 6. *im3h̄w h̄r ntr-ʿ3 nb pt wʿb ʿ3 Wsr* (F) 7-8. *im3h̄w h̄r wsir Wsr* (G) 9-10. *im3h̄w h̄r inpw Wsr* (E) 11. *im3h̄w h̄r inpw Wsr* (D) 12. *h̄3 mnht h̄3 šs h̄3 3pdw h̄3 k3w h̄3 hnqt h̄3 t n im3h̄w Wsr*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentimentiu, 2. lord of Abydos, a voice offering to him in his tomb of the necropolis the revered one *Wsr*. 3. One who is revered by *dd špsy*, revered by his lord, the Inspector of Prophets *Wsr*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land. 5. May he be beautifully buried in the necropolis of the western desert the Great *wʿb*-priest *Wsr*. 6. The revered one by the great god, lord of heaven, the Great *wʿb*-priest *Wsr*. 7-8. He who is revered by Osiris, *Wsr*. 9-10. He who is revered by Anubis, *Wsr*. 11. He who is revered by Anubis, *Wsr*. 12. A thousand of clothing, a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of oxen, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand loaves of bread to the revered *Wsr*.

Comment:

The name of *Wsr* is spelt in four different ways, a feature which frequently appears on

Memphite stelae during the Herakleopolitan Period: .

The name is otherwise known both at Giza,<sup>140</sup> and Saqqara during the Old Kingdom and later.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>140</sup> E.g. Junker, *Giza* VI, 186-8; Hassan, *Giza* I, 95-7; W.K. Simpson, *Western Cemetery* I, fig. 52.

<sup>141</sup> E.g. CCG 1550-1, 1697. see also Ranke, *PN* I, 85: 6.

Avoiding repetition of the stela owner's name, the artist has written this only once at the end of each of the two columns on the outer jambs. He also used the same technique on the lintel, as he has used *di* to serve for the opening of both of the offering formulae.

The deceased is referred to on the right outer jamb as *im3hw hr dd špsy* 'he who is revered by *dd špsy*'. *Contra* Goedicke,<sup>142</sup> the *dd špsy* is evidently a manifestation of the chief Memphite god Ptah, and not a person's name. In an almost identical context where it twice occurs,<sup>143</sup> the title *hm-ntr dd-špsy* is one of a series of *hm-ntr* priesthoods or aliases of Ptah.<sup>144</sup> In a parallel series of phrases of invocation, the deceased invokes *dd-špsy*, *hnty-tnnt* and *Pth* to supply "pure bread" for the deceased *Tfw* and *Pth-htp*.<sup>145</sup> *Dd-špsy* also appears with other aliases of Ptah after the epithet *im3hw hr*.<sup>146</sup> Also, as Fischer has noted, the appearance of the divine determinative after *dd-špsy* in one of its two occurrences provides further evidence, especially since the same determinative likewise appears and disappears after other aliases of Ptah.<sup>147</sup> Furthermore, two of the theophoric personal names associated with *dd-špsy* are paralleled by names referring to Ptah.<sup>148</sup> Also, in two cases holders of the title *hm-ntr dd-špsy* were also High Priests of Ptah.<sup>149</sup>

*W<sup>c</sup>b-3* 'Great *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest': although the additional of 3 is usually thought to distinguish the head of the priesthood in question,<sup>150</sup> in the present case, the holder is not at the summit, since he is only *shd hmw-ntr*. The same lower status is indicated in at least three instances from the late Sixth Dynasty; two of which are from Saqqara, and the third one is from Akhmim. *Trt-ptḥ* is a *shd sm*-priests,<sup>151</sup> *Pth-špss/Impy* is a Lector-priest and

<sup>142</sup> Goedicke, *JEA* 41 (1955), 31-3.

<sup>143</sup> (*Pth-špss*) see, PM III<sup>2</sup>, 464 = Mariette, *Mastabas*, 110-14 = *BMHT* I, pl. 17; (*S3bw*) *CCG* 1565 = Mariette, *Mastabas*, 412-3.

<sup>144</sup> For the other aliases of Ptah, see M.S. Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 147-218; see also, Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, 128.

<sup>145</sup> Hassan, *Saqqara* II, 105, 108, fig. 56; for similar phrases see, von. Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* II, 16 (88); *CCG* 1540; Hassan, *Saqqara* I, fig. 19; Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 19; Lüddeckens, *MDAIK* 11 (1943), 20-1; G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), § 190.

<sup>146</sup> *JARCE* 4 (1965), 53; Berlin Pap. 11301: Möller, *Paläographie* I, pl. I.

<sup>147</sup> Fischer, *JARCE* 4 (1965), 52-3.

<sup>148</sup> *JARCE* 4, 53, n. 26.

<sup>149</sup> See n. 5. See also for the role of *Dd-špsy* in the New Kingdom, Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 157-61.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *AEO* I, 54\*; Fischer, *JAOS* 76 (1956), 103.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Fischer, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 25-9.



Overseer of the House,<sup>152</sup> while *Hssy*, is *wꜥb ꜥ3 n Mnw, shꜥd pr Mnw* 'Great *wꜥb*-priest of Min and Inspector of the House of Min'.<sup>153</sup> A contemporary stela also refers to office of 'Great *wꜥb*-priest' for non high-ranking official.<sup>154</sup> It may be that the holder of this particular office was at the the head of their priestly grouping or function, but not particularly at the summit of the temple hierarchy. The importance of such an office was dependant on the particular temple or god with which it associated.<sup>155</sup> An interesting point is that in this case the office of 'great *wꜥb*-priest' is mentioned with no reference to a particular god, as is also true for the office of *shꜥd ḥmw-nꜥr* which *Wsr* also held. The *wꜥb* priesthood can only be associated with the royal cult or divinities, and the reference to *ꜥd-špsy* after the epithet *imꜥḥw ḥr* might suggest that *Wsr* was involved in the priesthood of Ptah as *ꜥd-špsy*.<sup>156</sup>

### Dating:

The style and small format of the false door are features which one would expect during the Herakleopolitan Period. Some artistic details which are associated with false doors from the second half of the Sixth Dynasty, but only became common in the Herakleopolitan Period, notably the corpulent or the mature portrait of the deceased on the inner jambs.<sup>157</sup> The exceptional amount of space between the seated figure of the deceased and the back of the chair<sup>158</sup> is an iconographic feature first known in the reliefs of *Ibi* of Deir el-Gabrawi,<sup>159</sup> and used use frequently thereafter, particularly in provincial art.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>152</sup> R. Merhav (ed.), *The Elie Borowski Collection the Tel Aviv Museum* (Tel Aviv, 1987), 138; J.D. Cooney, *Ladders to Heaven*, no. 2.

<sup>153</sup> CCG 1407; Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 237-8.

<sup>154</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-07*, pl. VII (3). The title seems to appear at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, and then is frequently used during the Middle Kingdom, cf. Ward, *Index*, 79-80; Fischer, *Supplement*, 24-5; see also for the function of this office and this priesthood, H. de Meulenaere, in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin, 1955), 223-5, who wrongly suggests that this title appears from the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>155</sup> *JARCE* 3 (1964), 29.


<sup>156</sup> The lack of occurrences of *wꜥb ꜥ3* in association with any royal cult would also suggest that *Wsr* was serving a god rather than a king.



<sup>157</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 131-3, tb. 6.9; Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 246; idem, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 14, n. 51.




<sup>158</sup> For a contemporary example (though the gap is slightly less pronounced) see, *TPC* II, pls. 72 (1), 73 (1-2); Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-06*, pls. XII, XV, XVI.

<sup>159</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pls. 6, 8-9, 12, 19.

<sup>160</sup> E.g. at Dendera, cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, pls. XXIV, XXV-XXVIII, at Naqada, cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pls. XII, XXI, XIII, XXX; at Hagarsa, Kanawati, *Hagarsa III*, pl. 41; at Naga ed-Der Dunham, *Stelae*, pls. XI (2), XXII (1); Lutz, *Stele*, pls. 10, 16; and at Busiris, Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), figs. 8-9.

The palaeography of the false door provides some rather later features which frequently appear on stelae of the Herakleopolitan Period. The arrangement of  consistently appears on contemporary false doors. The combination of the phonetic and

ideographic writing of Anubis  in the offering formula is not evidenced before this period.<sup>161</sup> The phonetic writing  appears here with no determinative, a feature which first appears in burial chamber and coffin inscriptions,<sup>162</sup> however with the advent of the Herakleopolitan Period such writing became more frequent in superstructure inscriptions.<sup>163</sup> The arrangement of *pr̥t-hrw* is characteristic of Memphite stelae of this period. The oblong loaf of bread with two notches in the middle is frequent in inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>164</sup> The orthography of *imy-wt* is common during that period.

The abbreviated writings of the epithet ,  are characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>165</sup> The *dd*-sign, which appears with five cross-bars, instead of the usual three or four,<sup>166</sup> and the degenerated town determinative, both indicate a later date, as is the abbreviated writing of the west ideogram, and the writing of the *t3*-sign with two pellets instead of three.<sup>167</sup> The writing of *hrt-ntr* appears in two forms: the first  is well known from Sixth Dynasty inscriptions in the Memphite necropolis,<sup>168</sup> and in Upper Egypt,<sup>169</sup> while the second which shows the tail of the feather behind the *ntr*-sign indicates a slightly

<sup>161</sup> Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 7, n. 9; see also, Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs*, pls. 11, 14-15, at least two of these examples date to the Herakleopolitan Period; cf. also Sayce, *RT* 13 (1890), 64.

<sup>162</sup> *MMJ* 11 (1976), 7, ns. 8-9.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. *TPC* II, pl. 21; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-06*, pls. XIII, XVI (left and right), XVIII (1); idem, *Saqqara 1906-07*, pl. VI (1-2); *CCG* 1358, 1399, 1400, 1402, 1446, 1458, 1512, 1453.

<sup>164</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 83-4; Brovarski, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, I, 102, ns. 30-32.

<sup>165</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 131, n. 578.


<sup>166</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 120.

<sup>167</sup> Fischer, *BES* 9 (1987-8), 14; idem, *Varia Nova*, 26 and references there.

<sup>168</sup> E.g. Giza: Junker, *Giza VIII*, figs. 59, 62, 74; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 33; *Urk* I, 260: 11; Fischer, *MIO* 7 (1960), 303. Saqqara: *TPC* II, pls. 58 (1), 65 (5-6); Saad, *ASAE* 40 (1941), 681, fig. 72; Hassan, *Saqqara III*, figs. 33, 34 b; W.V. Davies et al., *Saqqara Tombs I*, pl. 11.

<sup>169</sup> E.g. Meir: Blackman and Apted, *Meir V*, pl. 21. Edfu: *Urk* I, 253: 3, 11.



later date.<sup>170</sup> The coffin determinative in *qrs* is also indicative of a later date. It probably represents a wooden table on which the mummy rested.<sup>171</sup> On the right outer jamb, the *im3h* sign displays three notches, instead of the usual two.<sup>172</sup> The use of the filling stroke in the writing of  is also indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>173</sup> The reverse arrangement of the short ideographic offering list is unusual.<sup>174</sup> In addition, the office *wʿb ʿ3* indicates a later date, as is the occurrence of the phrase *qrs.ti.f nfr*.<sup>175</sup> The evidence therefore suggests a date in the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 4.1.2. Stela of *Sni* (Plate X)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 186 (13); II, pl. 73 (2); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 545; Gunn, MSS. XVIII. 49 (2) [photo].

*Sni* 's false door is made of limestone. It measures 93 (now) x 50 x 15 cm. The inscription and figures are incised, and only the cornice palm leaves are in raised relief. Traces of colour were still visible in the time of the excavation: the skin in red, kilts in white, and wigs black. The stela is broken at the top and on the right, and it is fractured into four pieces. The door design is of small format, type A,<sup>176</sup> but here the central niche is rather wider than usual and designed to look as if it is closed by a two-leaf door with double bolts. Figures are represented only on the outer jambs and the central panel. Both figures on the outer jamb appear at the end of inscription which identifies them. They are both shown standing facing inwards. The deceased is depicted wearing a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt. On the left jamb the deceased holds a long staff in one hand, and a baton in the other. On the opposite jamb, remains of the figure show the deceased's left hand extended open at his side, but the other hand, together with face and part of the front

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 38, 41, 90; cf. also *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, pl. 11; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 27.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, § 60-1: 23.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. *Coptite Nome*, pls. IX-XII; see also, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 46, 83.

<sup>173</sup> *FMÄS*, 32-6, 119.

<sup>174</sup> For the reversal of hieroglyphs in general see, Fischer, *Orientation* (New York, 1977).

<sup>175</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 28, n. 114.

<sup>176</sup> *TPC* I, fig. 88.

leg, are broken away. It is likely that the right hand was also extended open at his side.<sup>177</sup> The window-shutter-type panel displays the traditional table scene. *Sni* sits on the left facing right on a low-back chair. He wears a shoulder-length wig which leaves his ears exposed, a broad collar, and probably a knee length kilt.<sup>178</sup> *Sni* holds his left hand on his chest, while the other hand is extended towards an offering table before him. The table is supported by a forked pedestal, and above the table are bread slices of a rectangular shape. To the right of the table pedestal, and resting on a square wooden box are two *qbh* jars, while to the left is a large nested ewer and basin. The lack of space between the deceased's legs and the offering table requires the ewer and basin being placed well above the ground line.

#### Transliteration:

(A) 1. *h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy-dw.f imy-wt nb t3 d̄sr* (B) 2. *pr̄it-h̄rw n smr w̄ty imy-r h̄nti-š pr-<sup>c</sup>*  
*Sni* (C) 3. *im3h̄w h̄r n̄tr-<sup>c</sup>3 smr w̄ty h̄ry-h̄b.(t) Sni* (F) 4. *im3h̄w smr w̄ty imy-r h̄nti-š pr-<sup>c</sup>*  
*Sni* (G) 5. *im3h̄w h̄r Wsir smr w̄ty m3<sup>c</sup> h̄ry-h̄b.(t) Sni* (E) 6. *im3h̄w h̄r nb.f Sni* (D) 7. *h̄3 t h̄3*  
*hnqt h̄3 k3w h̄3 r3 h̄3 sr h̄3 smn h̄3 trp h̄3 st h̄3 šs h̄3 mnht*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain and who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, 2. a voice offering to the Sole Companion, Overseer of Tenants of the Great Palace *Sni*. 3. He who is honoured by the great god the Sole Companion, Lector-priest *Sni*. 4. The revered one, the Sole companion, Overseer of the Tenants of the Great Palace *Sni*. 5. He who is revered by Osiris, the true Sole Companion, Lector-priest *Sni*. 6. The revered one by his lord *Sni*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand *r3*-geese, a thousand of *sr*-geese, a thousand of *smn*-geese, a thousand of *trp*-geese, a thousand of *st*-geese, a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothing.

#### Comments:

*Sn.i* 'My brother' is a rather common name in the Old Kingdom.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Cf. e.g. the stela of *Hry-š.f-nht* II (4.1.9).

<sup>178</sup> Note that the kilt is not represented here, perhaps the panel scene was not completely finished.

<sup>179</sup> E.g. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 545, 570, 681, 683, 688.



The title *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* is appended by the adjective *m3<sup>c</sup>*. The significance of the adjective *m3<sup>c</sup>* after a title has been much debated by scholars, some suggesting that this qualification probably indicates that the office was actually exercised and was not simply honorific.<sup>180</sup> Others believe that *m3<sup>c</sup>* after a title does not indicate an active or passive holding of a title.<sup>181</sup> Fischer believes that *m3<sup>c</sup>* after titles other than ‘Overseer of Upper Egypt’ is probably of little significance,<sup>182</sup> while Kanawati suggests that the addition of *m3<sup>c</sup>* to titles carries with it a certain level of distinction for its holder.<sup>183</sup>

*imy-r hntiw-š pr-3* ‘Overseer of Tenants of the Great Palace’. The office of *hnt-š* first appeared in late Fifth Dynasty,<sup>184</sup> It appears in a wide variety of contexts, one being that of a temple functionary. It is known from the Abusir papyri that the *hntiw-š* performed the daily ritual and kept watch over the temple at night as well as dressing, adorning and purifying the statue in the ritual for the divine image. The *hntiw-š* were also responsible for services of fetching and carrying temple provisions. It is also probable that similar services were provided by these officials to the living king.<sup>185</sup> Since the stela’s owner was a ritualist *hry-hb*, it is likely that *Sni* served in one of the royal cult institutions. The cult temple of King Teti is the likely candidate to be the place where *Sni* practised his offices,<sup>186</sup> as perhaps can be suggested also by the location of *Sn.i*’s tomb in the vicinity of the pyramid of this King. This does not exclude the possibility that *Sni* served in the royal palace at the

<sup>180</sup> C.F. Nims, *JAOS* 58 (1938), 647, n. 45; *TPC* I, 109, n. 3.

<sup>181</sup> James, *Khentika*, 12-13.

<sup>182</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 96-7.

<sup>183</sup> Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 117-9.

<sup>184</sup> Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 106-9; idem, *MDAIK* 25 (1957), 102; K. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 273; Kanawati, *Administration in the Old Kingdom*, 26-7; Posener-Krieger, *Les archives*, 575-81; see also, P. Andrassy, ‘Die *hntiw-š* im alten Reich’, in *Die Ägyptische Tempel, Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, 3-12; Baud, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 13-49.

<sup>185</sup> See e.g. A.-M. Roth, ‘The distribution of the Old Kingdom Title *hntj-š*’, in S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985, Beihefte SAK* 4 (1991), 177-86; idem, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom. The Evolution of a System of Social Organization*, *SAOC* 48 (Chicago, 1991), 79-81; R. Stadelmann, ‘Die *hntjw-š* der Königsbezirk *š n pr-3* und die Namen der Grabanlagen der Frühzeit’, *BIFAO* 81 supp. (1981), 153-64; C.J. Eyre, in Powell (ed.), *Labor*, 11-12, 35-6; idem, in *The Unbroken Reed*, 110-11; Posener-Krieger, *Les archives*, 577-81.

<sup>186</sup> It is worth mentioning that the *hnty-š* office does not occur either in private mortuary cults or cult places of gods and goddesses during the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period: see, Roth, in *Beihefte SAK* 4 (1991), 179, 184-5. In the Middle Kingdom this function was found in the Ptah-temple, cf. Ward, *Index*, 40:306.

very end of the Old Kingdom. The office of *imy-r ḥntiw-š pr-ʿ3*, as one would expect was not common in the provinces,<sup>187</sup> and was probably of high prestige, which was undoubtedly inherent in serving the royal funerary cult.<sup>188</sup>

#### Dating:

The false door size and format is expected at the very end of the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period. In addition, the rectangular-shaped bread on the panel is a feature which is repeatedly seen on stelae of the very late Old Kingdom and thereafter. The degenerated town determinative was frequently used at the very end of the Old Kingdom, as are the writing of *t3*-sign with two pellets underneath,<sup>189</sup> and the arrangement of *pri-t-ḥrw*.<sup>190</sup>



is more common at the end of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>191</sup> Although evidence are not conclusive, they indicate a later date in the Old Kingdom for the false door of *Sni*, certainly later than the second half of the Sixth Dynasty and probably a little later still (Eighth Dynasty).

#### 4.1.3. Stela of *Nit-ḥtp* (Plate XI)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 185 (10); II, pl. 72 (2); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 545; Gunn MSS XVIII. 48 (2) [photo].

A small limestone stela measuring 103 x 53 x 12.5 cm. It was in a fair condition when found. The top frame (H) was broken away, as well as the right hand top corner of the torus moulding. The stela displays the conventional elements of late Old Kingdom false doors: the cavetto cornice, torus moulding, and the window-shutter type panel. Apart from the inscription and the table scene on the panel, which is in raised relief, the rest of the texts and figures on the jambs are incised. The texts are laid out in a traditional way on the lintel and the four jambs.

<sup>187</sup> Kanawati, *Akhmim*, 254; Fischer, *Dendera*, 170-1; E. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 141-2, 177.

<sup>188</sup> Eyre, in Powell (ed.), *Labor*, 36; Roth, *Egyptian Phyles*, 81.

<sup>189</sup> See Fischer, *BES* 9 (1987-88), 18.

<sup>190</sup> Fischer, *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 20; idem, *BES* 9 (1987-88), 18, n. 15.

<sup>191</sup> e.g. Junker, *Giza* VIII, fig. 34; XI, figs. 40, 83; cf. also, Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 9, n. 33.



At the end of the inscriptions on each of four jambs is a portrait of the deceased standing and facing inwards. On the outer left jamb the deceased appears in a corpulent portrait, with short hair, a broad collar, and a long skirt. His hands are raised in a posture of adoration. The inner left jamb and both outer and inner right jambs display similar postures, holding a long staff in one hand and a baton in the other. For both figures on the right jambs the baton passes behind the deceased's body, and the figure on the inner right jamb is seen with short hair and a knee length kilt. On the panel is the conventional table scene in which the deceased appears sitting on the right facing left. He sits on a low-back chair, wearing a shoulder-length wig, which leaves the ear exposed, a broad collar, bracelets, and knee-length kilt. He holds a lotus flower to his nose with his left hand. His other hand is extended open towards an offering table before him. The offering table is loaded with a rectangular bread-like shape, above which are a foreleg of beef, a bunch of lettuce, a small *swt*-joint, and a trussed duck. Next to the table pedestal is a large nested ewer and basin, with the ewer spout directed towards the deceased.

Transliteration:

(A) 1. *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb Ddw h̄nty* (B) 2. *imntiw nb 3bdw prit-h̄rw n im3h̄w Nit-h̄tp* (C) 3. *im3h̄w h̄r inpw tpy-dw.f Nit-h̄tp* (F) 4. *im3h̄w Nit-h̄tp* (G) 5. *im3h̄w Nit-h̄tp* (E) 6. *im3h̄w h̄r ntr-ʿ3 nb pt Nit-h̄tp* (D) 7. *h̄3 t h̄3 hnqt h̄3 k3w h̄3 3pdw h̄3 šs h̄3 mnht n im3h̄w Nit-h̄tp*


Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, 2. Khentiamentiu lord of Abydos, a voice offering to the revered one *Nit-h̄tp*. 3. He who is honoured by Anubis who is upon his mountain (namely) *Nit-h̄tp*. 4. The revered one *Nit-h̄tp*. 5. The revered one *Nit-h̄tp*. 6. He who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven *Nit-h̄tp*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen , a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothing to the revered *Nit-h̄tp*.

### Comments:

*Nit-htp* 'Neith is satisfied'.<sup>192</sup> The name of the goddess<sup>193</sup> and theophorus names associated with her<sup>194</sup> are well-attested in the early Dynastic Period and thereafter.<sup>195</sup>

### Dating:

Apart from the style of the door, which continues late Old Kingdom traditions, the small format of the stela is typical of the very end of the Old Kingdom and thereafter. The window-shutter type panel probably made its first appearance in the mid-Sixth Dynasty, but it became particularly characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period. The adoration posture on the left outer jamb provides a criterion which probably did not appear on the Memphite false door before the very end of the Old Kingdom or even later.<sup>196</sup> On the panel the deceased is seen holding a lotus blossom to his nose: the first dated example of a male holding a lotus to his nose scene is that of *Q3r* of Idfu,<sup>197</sup> who dates to the reign of Pepy I. It is presumably true, as suggested by Harpur,<sup>198</sup> that this feature was first introduced in the Memphite art repertoire, and then adopted by provincial artists. This also indicated by the large number of examples known to come from the Memphite area rather than provincial sites. Yet in the Memphite area the posture is not associated with the false door before the very end of the Old Kingdom or the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>199</sup> Another later feature is the composition of the offering table with its rectangular-shaped bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef and trussed duck.<sup>200</sup> The arrangement of , the degenerated town determinative,<sup>201</sup> the abbreviated west ideogram all are frequently used on the false doors of

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<sup>192</sup> The sign  seems to be added or inserted later on both inner jambs, outer left jamb.

<sup>193</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, 111-20, and references there. For the role of Neith see, *Götterwelt*, 111-20; Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 512; Schott, *RdE* 19 (1967), 99-110.

<sup>194</sup> Kaplony, *IÄF* I, e.g. 412, 414, 431-33, 437, 445; see also Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, 116; For the theophorus names in the Old Kingdom see, Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 61-64

<sup>195</sup> See PM III<sup>2</sup>, 962 (1073-8), note that some of these examples are from the Late Period.

<sup>196</sup> Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 25-32, Abb. 9.

<sup>197</sup> Daressy, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 131; see also Fischer, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 28, nn. 4-5.

<sup>198</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 135-6.

<sup>199</sup> See comment on the stela of *Hry-š. f-nht* I (4.1.8).

<sup>200</sup> See e.g. CCG 1446, 1453; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-6*, pls. XIII, XV, XVI, XVII (2); idem, *Saqqara 1906-07*, pl. VI; TPC II, pls. 27 (B), 67 (2), 68-9, 70 (2), 71 (1-2), 72 (1-2). Some of these false doors belong to officials who served in the mortuary cult of King Merykare.

<sup>201</sup> Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 8, n. 12.



that Period. The abbreviation of *lm3hw* is not however, evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>202</sup> A date in the Herakleopolitan Period should be suggested.

#### 4.1.4. Stela of *Mrt-Tti-htpi/htpti* (Plate XI)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 184 (9); II, pl. 72 (1); Gunn, MSS XVIII. 44 (1) [photo].

A small false door made of limestone, measuring 84 x 57 x 15 cm. It displays the traditional cavetto cornice, torus moulding and window-shutter type panel. Texts and reliefs are incised apart from the panel scene and the palm leaves of the cavetto cornice. The offering formulae are oriented symmetrically →← on the lintel and both of them continue on the outer jambs, filling all the space on the jambs and leaving no room for a figure of the deceased. The other inscribed parts of the false door show the traditional lay out: a single line on (H), the flat area above the cornice, as is the arrangement on the cross bar.

Both inner jambs display short columns of inscription, with a figure of the deceased, standing facing towards the central niche. Both are shown wearing a long wig and a long tight-fitting dress. The figure on the left inner jamb shows the deceased extending her right hand open at her side, and holding a lotus blossom to her nose with her left hand. The figure portrait on the right inner jamb shows the deceased extending her left hand at her side grasping a lotus blossom, and holding an ointment jar to her nose with her right hand. The panel scene displays the conventional table scene: *Htpi* sits on the left facing right, on a low-back chair of which the legs imitate those of a lion. She wears a long lappeted wig, a broad collar, and a long tight-fitting garment. She holds a lotus blossom to her nose with her left hand, and extends her right hand towards an offering table. The table is of simple design, carrying slices of bread which are arranged in two groups, with the flat sides facing inwards.<sup>203</sup> Above the bread are a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck, a small *swt*-joint, a small jar, a tray of fruit, a bunch of lettuce, and an unidentified vegetable. Above the deceased's

<sup>202</sup> See Fischer, *Dendera*, 131, n. 578.

<sup>203</sup> For similar offering table see, Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-07*, pl. VI (2); *TPC* II, pls. 74-5; see also Hassan, *Giza V*, 170, fig. 125.

head is a short horizontal line. There is no ground line underneath the table scene, so the figure as well as the table and its offering look as if floating in the air.

Transliteration:

(H) 1. *st-ḥb ḥknw, sft nḥnm, tw3t ḥ3tt 'š tḥnw 'rf wḏ3w 'rf msdmt wnḥw sntr (n) im3ḥt Mrt-Tti-ḥtpi* (A-B) 2-3. *ḥtp di wsir nb Ddw ḥnty imntiw prit-ḥrw n Ḥtpi* (A-C) 4-5. *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy ḏw.f prit-ḥrw n im3ḥt Mrt-Tti-ḥtpi* (F) 6. *im3ḥt Ḥtpiti* (G) 7. *im3ḥt Ḥtpiti* (E) 8. *im3ḥwt ḥr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt Ḥtpiti* (D) 9. *n im3ḥt Mrt-tti-ḥtpi*

Translation:

1. *st* festival ointment, *ḥknw* oil, *sft* ointment, *nḥnm* unguent, *tw3t*-oil, and top quality of *'š* and *tḥnw* oils, a bag of green kohl, a bag of black kohl, *wnḥw* linen and incense (to) the revered *Mrt-Tt-ḥtpi*. 2-3. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu, a voice offering for *Ḥtpi*. 4-5. An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, a voice offering to the revered *Mrt-Tti-ḥtpi*. 6. She who is honoured *Ḥtpiti*. (7) She who is honoured *Ḥtpiti*. (8) She who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven, *Ḥtpiti*. (9) (A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster and a thousand of clothing) to the revered *Mrt-Tti-ḥtpi*.

Comments:

The name of the stela's owner appears in two forms; a full version which is *Mrt-Tti-ḥtpi* and a short version *Ḥtpi* or *Ḥtpiti*. The name in both of its forms, however is spelt in four different ways.

The element *Mrt-Tti* appears in other personal names which are known to come from the Teti Pyramid cemeteries.<sup>204</sup> Gunn suggested that *Mrt-Tti* was the name of a wife or daughter of King Teti, but provided no evidence to support this suggestion. As far as I am aware, there is no source which mentions a wife or a daughter of King Teti whose name was *Mrt-Tti*. Although Gunn's suggestion cannot be ruled out, an alternative view can be

<sup>204</sup> Cf. *Mrt-Tti-Ti/Mrt*, cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-07*, pl. X (1-3); *Mrt-Tti-Ti.t*, cf. *Saqqara 1906-07*, 7, no. 127; *Mrt-Tti-Ti*, cf. *Saqqara 1905-06*, pl. XVII (2); *Mrt-Tti-ḥtp*, cf. *ibid*, pl. XIX (2); *Mrt-Tti-ḥtp*, cf. Quibell and Hayter, *Teti Pyramid. North Side*, 8 (S. 2608). see also *TPC I*, 184, nn. 1-2.



suggested here. *Mrt* probably refers to the well-known sanctuary, associated with the royal cult-temples as well as the cult of Hathor from the early Fourth Dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>205</sup> At least ten *Mrt* sanctuaries are known from the Old Kingdom,<sup>206</sup> of these the *Mrt* temple of King Teti is mentioned three times in titularies of functionaries: *hmt-ntr Mrt-Tti*,<sup>207</sup> *hm-ntr Ht-hr m Mrt-Tti*,<sup>208</sup> *imy-ht Mrt-Tti*.<sup>209</sup> With the rising popularity of the cult of King Teti at the end of the Old Kingdom, it is probable that the *Mrt* sanctuary enjoyed a special place in that cult,<sup>210</sup> and undoubtedly its association with the goddess Hathor also contributed to such a position. Perhaps the popularity of *Mrt-Tti* was the reason for people who are buried in the vicinity of Teti's pyramid having their personal names associated with that sanctuary.<sup>211</sup>

#### Dating:

The style and overall design is of the typical format employed by officials in the Teti Pyramid cemeteries at the very end of the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period. The small size false doors were probably favoured for their simplicity and affordable cost and space. The lay-out of the inscriptions on the stela provides a new feature which is otherwise not known before the very end Old Kingdom, as evidenced in the tomb of *S3bni* at Aswan,<sup>212</sup> and on the architrave of *Mhi* at South Saqqara.<sup>213</sup> Although, at least two false doors known to come from Saqqara display this feature and date to the Fifth Dynasty,<sup>214</sup> this phenomenon probably did not become frequent before the advent of the Herakleopolitan Period. This feature occurs on two offering tables from the Teti Pyramid cemetery, one

<sup>205</sup> *Wb* II, 108 (9); Berlandini, *RdE* 31 (1979), 15, n. 66.

<sup>206</sup> Allam, *Hathorkult*, 9, n. 1.

<sup>207</sup> *Hmt-R*<sup>c</sup>, cf. *Urk* I, 80 14; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 606.

<sup>208</sup> *Nsi-wsrt* unpublished text in Cairo Museum.

<sup>209</sup> *ASAE* 43 (1943), 606; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 520; A.B. Lloyd et al., *Saqqara Tombs* II, 13, n.2.

<sup>210</sup> For the role and function of the *Mrt* temple see, *Götterwelt*, 61-72; D. Wildung, *RdE* 21 (1969), 137-8; Ricke, *Userkaf* I, 46-7; Helck in: *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 23/2 (Stuttgart, 1959), 2207-8, 2262-3; idem in: *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I, 344, 357; Allam, *Hathorkult*, 9-10.

<sup>211</sup> For similarly constructed names in which the personal names associated with building or temple names see e.g. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 565, 49, 153, 680, 683, 795, 562, especially PM III<sup>2</sup>, 565 which is constructed by adopting the name of Pepy II's pyramid.

<sup>212</sup> Fischer, *Orientation*, 69, n. 179. The unpublished tomb of *S3bni* was found by Habachi next to that of *Hq3-ib*.




<sup>213</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 80.

<sup>214</sup> Cf. LD II, 48; Paget-Pirie, *Ptah-hetep*, pl. XXXIX; see also, Strudwick, *Administration*, 23.



belonging to an official who is known to be associated with cult of King Merykare.<sup>215</sup> Such a lay-out was also used in the inscriptions of closely-dated false doors at Herakleopolis.<sup>216</sup> By the end of the Herakleopolitan Period and early Middle Kingdom this feature became frequent, used on stelae, offering tables and statues.<sup>217</sup>

The offering table composition of bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck, a tray of grapes and a bunch of lettuce,<sup>218</sup> is expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. The representation of *Htpti* holding an unguent jar to her nose is a posture which was applied to men at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and it seems that at the end of the Sixth Dynasty this posture was also adopted for female figures.<sup>219</sup>

The arrangement of , and the degenerated town determinative frequently appear on the stelae of the Herakleopolitan Period, as does the unusual form of Anubis and his stand.<sup>220</sup> The writing of *pr̥t-hrw* is also familiar on the false doors from this period. The shape of 𓂏-sign is abnormal too.<sup>221</sup> The writing of *sn̥tr* on (H) is not usual: it is probably a mixture between  and  the ointment jar.<sup>222</sup> The forked tail of *w3*-sign and the abbreviated west ideogram are also expected in the Herakleopolitan Period. Another indicative palaeographic criterion of this period is the abbreviated writing of *im3ht*.

One would suggest a date in the Herakleopolitan Period on stylistic, iconographic and palaeographic grounds.

<sup>215</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-06*, pl. XVIII (1-2). no. 2 is *Inpw-m-ḥ3t wr* who was probably the same as the owner of a stela also found by Quibell who held the office *mt̥y n s3 (n) w3d-lswt Mry-k3-r̥* cf. *ibid*, pl. XV.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. J. Lopez, 'Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles d' Hérakléopolis 1968', *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1975), figs. 7-16, pls. XX-XXIII. For a new consideration of the date of this cemetery see, H. Willems, 'A note on the date of early Middle Kingdom cemetery at Ihnâsiya al-Madîna', *GM* 150 (1996), 99-109.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1986), 122-3, figs. 47-8; see also CCG 1478; 1408; 20023, 20048, 20059, 20088, 20092; 20105; 20122; 200126-7; 20284; 20282; 20445; 20491; cf. also, Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), fig. 7; *JARCE* 6 (1967), pl. XVIII, fig. 34; Fischer, *Orientation*, 69, n. 179 and references there.

<sup>218</sup> The way the offering is shown above the table of bread on the door panel calls to mind provincial influences. For some similar example see, e.g. Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 2, 4-9, 14, 40, 55-8, 62-3, 69-71, 77, 81, 83; cf. also Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 13-14; CCG 1446, 1478, 1633.

<sup>219</sup> See comment on this posture under *Hnwt.l* (4.1.11).

<sup>220</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 84 (14); cf. also pl. XXV, XXVII; Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 36, 58, 63, 69. all dated to the Herakleopolitan Period. For a close though not exact parallel see, *TPC II*, pls. 68-9.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. *TPC II*, pl. 69; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-06*, pl. XVI (right).

<sup>222</sup> See. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-06*, pl. XXI (line 2 [left]).



#### 4.1.5. Stela of *Ipi-m-s3.s* (Plate XII)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 182 (3); II, pl. 68; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544; Gunn, MSS. XVIII. 48 (1) (Photo).

On the lower part of a side-piece of *Ipi-m-s3.s* see, CCG 1665, Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, 123-4, Bl. 88.

This limestone stela measures 108 x 76 x 13 cm. The stela's structure is one of two major types of false door frequently adopted during the Herakleopolitan Period in the Memphite necropolis, particularly in Teti Pyramid Cemetery.<sup>223</sup> This stela has the normal flat surface above the cavetto cornice, which is decorated with incised palm leaves. The door is also framed with torus moulding with no trace of lashing decoration. Both inscriptions and relief are incised, apart from the panel scene which is in raised relief. On the flat surface above the cavetto cornice a single horizontal line of inscription runs from right to left. The same arrangement was used on both lintels, and the cross-bar. Both outer and middle jambs have a single column of inscription in which the signs are directed towards the central niche. Both inner jambs have a short horizontal line, also with hieroglyphs directed towards the central niche. Each of the six jambs has a portrait of the deceased which may also serve as determinative identifying the various inscriptions above.

It is interesting here that each jamb shows a different portrait for the deceased: they only share the orientation, as all of them are directed towards the central door as if walking into the tomb. The deceased is portrayed on the left outer jamb standing facing right. She wears a long lappeted wig, and although there is no trace now remains of a broad collar she probably originally had one. She also wears a long tight-fitting garment with shoulder straps. Her left hand is shown fisted and clasped on her chest, while the other hand hangs also fisted, at her side. On the middle left jamb, the deceased is pictured in a striding pose, with short hair, and wearing a long V-neck dress with shoulder straps, and a broad collar. She holds a lotus flower to her nose with one hand, while the other is at her side grasping a lotus bud. The inner left jamb shows the deceased standing, wearing the usual long tight-

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<sup>223</sup> See *TPC* I, 179-80, figs. 88-89.

fitting dress, a long lappeted wig, and a broad collar. Both of her hands are raised in a posture of adoration.

On the opposite side, the right outer jamb shows the deceased standing facing left, with short hair, and a V-neck long tight garment with shoulder straps. Her left hand is hanging at her side holding a lotus bud, and the right hand is raised with its palm directed outwards in a posture of invocation. On the right middle jamb *Ṛpi-m-s3.s* is represented in a striding pose, in a long tight-fitting dress with shoulder straps that have a carved inner edge. She holds a lotus bud to her nose with one hand, and the other is hanging fisted at her side. On the inner right jamb the deceased is standing, wearing a long tight-fitting dress, and appears with short hair. Both her hands are hanging open at her side, probably indicating the movement of the hands when walking or perhaps displaying a gesture of respect when one walks into the tomb.

The false door panel displays the usual table scene. The deceased is represented sitting on a low-back chair on the right facing left. The chair leg imitates those of a lion. *Ṛpi-m-s3.s* wears a long lappeted wig, a broad collar, and a long tight-fitting V-neck garment with shoulder straps. She holds a lotus flower to her nose with her left hand, and extends her right hand towards an offering table. The offering table appears with characteristic rectangular bread slices-like shape, surmounted by a foreleg of beef, and a lettuce. On the right hand side of the table, and resting on the floor, is a large nested ewer and basin. The floor is shown as a single horizontal line underlining the whole scene.

#### Transliteration:

1. (H). *st-ḥb ḥknw sft nhnm tw3t ḥ3tt nt ʿš ṭhnw* 2. (A') *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw ḥnty imntiw*
3. (B') *nb 3bdw prit-ḥrw n Ṛpi-m-s3.s* 4. (C') *im3ḥw.t Ṛpi-m-s3.s* 5. (A) *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy ḡw.f imy-wt* 6. (B) *nb t3 ḡsr.t im3ḥw.t Ṛpi* 7. (C) *im3ḥw.t ḥm.t nṯr Ḥt-ḥr Ṛpi* 8. (F) *im3ḥw.t Ṛpi*
9. (G) *im3ḥw.t Ṛpi* 10 (E) *im3ḥw.t Ṛpi-m-s3.s* 11. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n im3ḥw.t Ṛpi-m-s3.s*


#### Translation:

*st*-oil of the feast, *ḥknw*-oil, *sft*-oil, *nhnm*-oil, *tw3t*-oil, and top quality *ʿš*-oil and *ṭhnw*-oil. 2. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentyamentiu, 3. lord of








Abydos, a voice offering to *Ipi-m-s3.s*. 4. The revered one *Ipi-m-s3.s*. 5. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, *imy-wt*, 6. lord of the sacred land, the revered *Ipi*. 7. The honoured one, Priestess of Hathor *Ipi*. 8. The honoured *Ipi*. 9. The honoured *Ipi*. 10. The honoured *Ipi-m-s3.s*. 11. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Ipi-m-s3.s*.

#### Comment:

The name *Ipi-m-s3.s* may be translated as ‘*Ipi* is her protection’.<sup>224</sup> It is worth noting here that the element *s3* is written with a  -sign on the panel.

*hm.t-ntr Ht-hr* ‘Priestess of Hathor’, is the only title held by the stela’s owner. Although the title was frequent during the Old Kingdom and thereafter,<sup>225</sup> there is no reason to assume that it was honorific. No doubt, the post was desirable in terms of its commodities and social standing.<sup>226</sup>

On the left outer jamb, the  sign was later inserted after *pryt-hrw* either by the scribe himself or his supervisor.<sup>227</sup>

The writing of *nhnm* is rather unusual. It is only written with the ideogram *nm*    missing out the  -sign which stands for *hnm*.

#### Dating:

The design of the false door of *Ipi-m-s3.s* displays a different style to that of the usual small false door with four jambs. The new design created an extra lintel and two more jambs to make six in total. This large version was known since the early Sixth Dynasty,<sup>228</sup> and used

<sup>224</sup> *PNI*, 22:15.

<sup>225</sup> See e.g. Allam, *Hathorkult*; Fischer, *Dendera*, 23-31; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, 53-65; R. A. Gillam, ‘Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline and Disappearance’, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 211-237.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*, 211-237.

<sup>227</sup> For such phenomena in inscriptions see Fischer, *MMJ* 9 (1974), 5-14.

<sup>228</sup> See the false door of *Nfr-s3m-r3/s3i* (Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. ; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 511-2); The false door of *nhmry-r3/Nysw-ihy* (CCG 1483; Strudwick, *Administration*, 76 (32); see also *ibid*, 17.

frequently thereafter. However, the small format style seems to be much favoured during the Herakleopolitan Period, especially in the cemetery of Teti's pyramid.<sup>229</sup>

The panel of the door fills all the space between the middle jambs. The earliest dated stela with such a structural feature in the Memphite necropolis is perhaps that of *Ipi/In*,<sup>230</sup> who was probably a contemporary of King Merykare.<sup>231</sup> It is probable that this feature also made its first occurrence in the provinces around the same time.<sup>232</sup>

The different portraits of the deceased appear on each of the door jamb indicate a later date. This artistic phenomenon, is as far as I know, hardly found before the Herakleopolitan Period. At least another four examples are known to me from the Teti Pyramid cemeteries and all are to be dated to the same period.<sup>233</sup>

On the left inner jamb, the posture of adoration was adopted by the deceased. This posture is known for men since at least the very end of the Old Kingdom in the Memphite necropolis, and mid Sixth Dynasty in the provinces.<sup>234</sup> It is, however, hardly known as a female posture before the Herakleopolitan Period. I know of only one similar example, which is probably very close in date to the stela under discussion.<sup>235</sup>

The striding posture on the right middle jamb is a rather late feature which conforms with the dating suggested for the stela. Although the striding pose was employed for minor female figures from early Dynasty Four in representations of female estate personifications and workers,<sup>236</sup> it is probably not known for major figures represented on false doors before the second half of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>237</sup> The earliest representations of a major female

<sup>229</sup> Cf. e.g. *TPC II*, pl. 27 (B); *CCG* 1453; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pls. XII-XV; idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (1).

<sup>230</sup> See *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII. See the false doors of both *Tti* (4.4.1) and *Tw.f-n-mwt.f* (4.4.3) and comments there.

<sup>231</sup> Note that this feature is dated to early Middle Kingdom by, cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 19.

<sup>232</sup> Cf. *Dendera*, 196, n. 778; also this feature was known in the cemetery of El-Hawawish since at least the Eighth Dynasty see, Kanawati, *El-Hawawish VII*, fig. 8.

<sup>233</sup> See, *TPC II*, pl. 71 (2); *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pls. XVI (1-2); *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (1).

<sup>234</sup> See comments on the stela of *Ipi-nḥw* (4.1.6).

<sup>235</sup> The posture is known in the provinces probably as early as the mid Sixth Dynasty, cf. El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, pl. 36; see also Fischer, *JEA* 60 (1974), 247, n. 3. On false doors this feature did not occur before the Herakleopolitan Period, cf. *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XVI (stela of *Mst.n.f*).

<sup>236</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 138; H.K. Jacquet-Gordon, *Le noms des domaines funéraires sous l'ancien empire égyptien* (Cairo, 1962).

<sup>237</sup> See for the occurrence of this posture in general, Harpur, *Decoration*, tb. 6.16. To which add: Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 10; Simpson, *Western Cemetery I*, fig. 41; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna* (Sydney,



figure are probably: those of *Sb3w.t*,<sup>238</sup> which is assigned by Harpur to mid to late Sixth Dynasty, and that of *Ššī.t* who is represented on her husband's false door, and probably to be dated to the second half of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>239</sup> However this posture becomes very frequent by the advent of the Herakleopolitan Period, as the table below indicate:

1. <i>Sb3w.t</i>	North-West of Merenre I pyramid at South Saqqara. Bibl: PM III <sup>2</sup> , 673-4; CCG 1525 Date: mid to late Sixth Dynasty.
2. <i>Ššī.t</i>	North-West of Teti pyramid. Bibl: Kanawati, <i>Excavations at Saqqara</i> I, pl. 22. Date: mid to late Sixth Dynasty.
3. <i>Nfwi</i>	Saqqara, position unknown. Bibl: Cairo Museum, room 32. Date: end of the Sixth Dynasty or early Herakleopolitan Period.
4. <i>Ipi-ms3.s</i>	Teti pyramid cemetery. Bibl: <i>TPC</i> II, pl. 68. Date: Herakleopolitan Period.
5. <i>Ipi-snb.s</i>	Teti pyramid cemetery. Bibl: Gunn, MSS XIV. 61 (1); Notebook 11.66. Date: Herakleopolitan Period.
6. <i>Nfr.t-w3</i>	Teti pyramid cemetery. Bibl: Gunn, MSS XVIII. 46 (2). Date: Herakleopolitan Period.

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1989), pls. 32, 34, 35; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 129; *The World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum*, no. 28: see also, Fischer, *BES* 9 (1987-88), 16, n. 7.

<sup>238</sup> CCG 1525.

<sup>239</sup> Kanawati et. al, *Excavations at Saqqara North-West of Teti's Pyramid* I (Sydney, 1984), pl. 22.

7. *S3t 1-tnw*  
Teti pyramid cemetery.  
Bibl: Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), pl. VI  
Date: Eighth Dynasty or later.
8. *S3t-in-Tti*  
Teti pyramid cemetery.  
Bibl: *TPC* II, pl. 21.  
Date: Herakleopolitan Period.
9. *S3t-šd-3bd*  
Teti pyramid cemetery.  
Bibl: Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles*, no. 45.  
Date: Herakleopolitan Period.
10. *Mrt-Tti-ii.t/Mrt*  
Teti pyramid cemetery.  
Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. X (1).  
Date: Herakleopolitan Period.
11. *S3t-ḥm.t*  
Teti pyramid cemetery.  
Bibl: *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XVI (right).  
Date: Herakleopolitan Period.
12. *Mst.n.i/Tst*  
Teti pyramid cemetery.  
Bibl: *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XVI (left).  
Date: Herakleopolitan Period.
13. *Snt-n.i*  
Teti pyramid cemetery.  
Bibl: *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (1).  
Date: Herakleopolitan Period.
14. *K3w-isw.t*  
Province unknown.  
Bibl: Florence, Museo Arch. inv.  
no. 2560; S. Bosticco, *Le stele Egiziane dall' Antico al nuovo regno I* (Rome, 1959), pl. 1.  
Date: Herakleopolitan Period.
15. *Snt-it.s*  
Unknown provenance.  
Bibl: *The World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum* (Athens, 1995), no. 30.



Date: Herakleopolitan Period.

As this table indicates, this posture seems to be particularly associated with the false door during the Herakleopolitan Period. The striding major female posture also seems to occur in provincial relief from the end of the Old Kingdom and thereafter,<sup>240</sup> and to continue into the Middle Kingdom, during which time the posture is used in the depiction of female figures in some wall scenes, as well as on stelae.<sup>241</sup>

On the extreme right outer jamb the stela owner appears in a posture of invocation.<sup>242</sup> The posture as an exclusively male pose is known from the early Fifth Dynasty,<sup>243</sup> but it was probably not before the Herakleopolitan Period that this posture became associated with the false door. I know of only three other examples, those of *Ky*,<sup>244</sup> and of *Wsr-mwt*.<sup>245</sup> Both are known to come from Teti pyramid cemetery and probably to be dated to the Herakleopolitan Period. The third comes from South Saqqara, it belongs to *Mri.s-ḥ*, who appears raising one hand in a gesture of invocation on the thickness of the doorway to her burial.<sup>246</sup>

The dress worn by the deceased on the middle jamb on the right hand side is rather significant as a dating criterion. The dress in which the shoulder straps have a carved inner edge was rather fashionable in the Herakleopolitan Period especially in the provinces.<sup>247</sup>

<sup>240</sup> See e.g. Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pls. 32, 34-5; idem, *El-Hagarsa I*, pl. 46; II, pls. 41-5. At Naga ed-Deir see, Lutz, *Stele*, pls. 15 (28), 16 (30), 18 (34), 19 (36), 20 (38), 21 (41), 24 (47); Dunham, *Stelae*, pls. 2 (1-2), 3 (1-2), 4 (1), 9 (2), 11 (1), 13 (1), 16 (1), 19 (2), 30 (1), 32. At Qasr el-Saiyad (Hamra dom), cf. T. Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad)* (Stockholm, 1994), pls. 46 (a), 49 (a). At Rizaqat, cf. CCG 1597. At Akhmim see, *El-Hawawish* VII, fig. 17; VIII, fig. 32 (a); IX, figs. 15, 17; X, fig. 4. At Naqada see, Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pls. XVIII (19), XIX (21), XXV (28), XXVII (30), XXIX (32), XXXII (36), XXXV (41). At Dendera, cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, pl. XXV.

<sup>241</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 138; Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir II*, pl. 11 (left); see also Klebs, *Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, 177.

<sup>242</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 129-30, tb. 6:7; Brunner-Traut, 'Geste', *LÄ II*, 573-85; Müller, *MDAIK 7* (1937), 63. B. Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, *SAGA 10* (Heidelberg, 1994), 28-32, Abb. 9 (c, g) It is worth mentioning here that two more examples should be added to Harpur's table 6:7. These are: Jéquier, *Mastabat faraoun*, fig. 27, and Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa III*, pl. 43.

<sup>243</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 129-30; Fischer, *Orientalism*, 49, figs. 49-51.

<sup>244</sup> Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45.







<sup>245</sup> Gunn, *MSS. XVIII*. 48 (1).

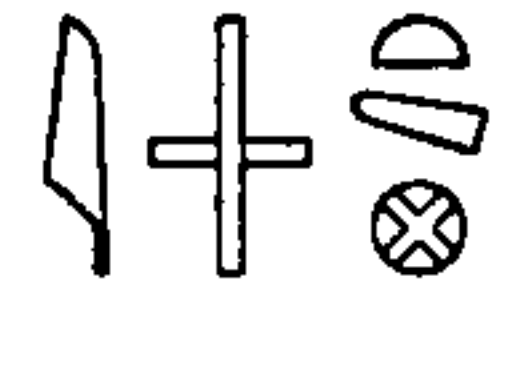

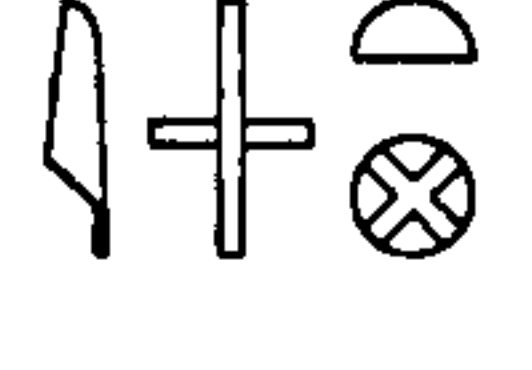
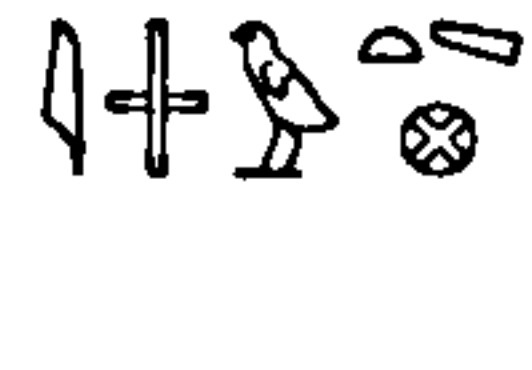
<sup>246</sup> See Jéquier, *Mastabat faraoun*, fig. 27.

<sup>247</sup> See *Coptite Nome*, 53, fig. 52, and see also comment on the stela of *S3t I-ṯnw* (4.4.2), who wears a similar dress and also dates to the Herakleopolitan Period.



The offering table composition with the foreleg of beef and a lettuce is a rather late feature which appears frequently on the false door panels of the Herakleopolitan Period,<sup>248</sup> as is the rectangular bread slices-like shape.<sup>249</sup>

This arrangement ,<sup>250</sup> the abbreviated form of the epithet *im3ht* are characteristic features of the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of *imy-wt* with the prothetic  as well as the occurrence of the combined determinative  is a characteristic writing of the Herakleopolitan Period. It is also worth mentioning here the omission of .<sup>251</sup> The occurrence of the prothetic  in the epithet *imy-wt* is perhaps first attested at the very end of the Old Kingdom in the inscription of burial chambers,<sup>252</sup> but it is probably not before the advent of the Herakleopolitan Period that such writing was associated with the inscriptions of the tomb-superstructure. I know of at least sixteen examples, mostly false doors, on which the epithet *imy-wt* is written with the prothetic  these are as follows:.

1. <i>Ἰpt-ms3.s</i>	TPC	Herakleopolitan Period	<i>TPC</i> II, pl. 68	
2. <i>S3t-gm.n.i</i>	TPC	Ditto	<i>TPC</i> II, pl. 75.	
3. <i>Sn.i</i> (f)	TPC	Ditto	Unpublished.	
4. <i>Ἰpt-hr-ssnb.f</i>	TPC	Ditto	<i>TPC</i> I, 191.	

<sup>248</sup> See comments above on the other stelae.

<sup>249</sup> It is possible that the shape first appeared as a result of unfinished work (cf. the false door of *Ἰhy* unpublished false door from Unas cemetery), and was then used by artists as a simple technique for producing the bread slices above the offering table. However this simplicity of representing the bread slices became a characteristic feature of the Herakleopolitan Period in the Memphite necropolis.

<sup>250</sup> See comment on the stela of *Ἰpt-nḥw* (4.1.6) above; see also, Brovarski, in *For his Ka*, 27, n. 42.

<sup>251</sup> Similar spelling can be seen on the stela of *SnI* (4.1.15). Also this spelling occur on the coffin of *ʿ3yt* (Cairo J.E. 47355 unpublished).

<sup>252</sup> This writing appears in the burial chambers of the tombs found around the pyramid of Merenre, cf. Maspero, in *Mémoire publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Français au Caire* I (Paris, 1885), 208; Brovarski, in *For his Ka*, 27. The same writing occurs in the burial chamber of the tombs found around the pyramid of Pepy II, see the burial chamber of *Ny-sw mrw.t* cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 38; the tomb of *Sn.i*, cf. *ibid*, figs. 41-2; the tomb of *Pnw*, cf. *ibid*, fig. 47; the tomb of *Sb3kw*, cf. *ibid*, fig. 79; the tomb of *Šm3*, cf. *ibid*, pl. 11. The date of these tombs is problematic. The Topographical Bibliography places them at the end of the Old Kingdom. However, some of these tombs display features which are otherwise attested only during the Herakleopolitan Period.







5. <i>ṭpi</i>	Abusir	Ditto	<i>Priestergräber</i> , Abb. 12.	
6. <i>ṭpi/In</i>	TPC	Ditto	<i>Saqqara 1905-1906</i> , pl. XIII	
7. <i>Ky</i>	TPC	Ditto	Ziegler, <i>Stèles</i> , no. 45.	
8. <i>S3t-šd-3bd</i>	TPC	Ditto	Ibid, no.45	
9. <i>šd-3bd</i>	TPC	Ditto	CCG 1453	
10. <i>ṭnp-m-s3.f</i>	TPC	Ditto	<i>Saqqara 1905-1906</i> , pl. XVIII (1).	
11. <i>ṭpi</i>	Kom El-Fakhery		Unpublished	
12. <i>šnd.t</i>	NEPI	Ditto	Unpublished.	
13. <i>Hnt-r3w</i>	NEPI	Ditto	Unpublished	
14. <i>ṭmpy-iqr</i>	NEPI	Ditto	Unpublished	
15. <i>Pth-nḥt</i>	NEPI	Ditto	Unpublished	
16. <i>Pth-ḥtp</i>	NEPI	Ditto	Unpublished	

Entry no. 6 in the above table held an office in the mortuary cult of King Merykare. This spelling, however appears on a number of coffins which probably date to the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>253</sup> Two of these coffins belong to officials who held posts in the mortuary temple of Merykare. Therefore one can assume that this orthography did not

<sup>253</sup> See e.g. *TPC* I, 227-8, 232, 237 (5), 239-42 (6), 246 (8), 257 (11), 258 (13), 261 (18), 261 n.2, 266 (22-23); Berlin 10184, 7796.

associated with false doors or the tomb superstructure before the Herakleopolitan Period in the Memphite necropolis.<sup>254</sup> In the provinces, this writing also occurs on coffins at the end of the Old Kingdom, but it does not occur in the inscriptions of the tomb superstructure before the Herakleopolitan Period as was the case in the Memphite necropolis.<sup>255</sup>

The orthography of the  $\overline{d}sr.t$   is rather unusual. The  $t$ -ending is abnormal, which probably indicates that the adjective should be read  $\overline{d}sr.t$  and not  $\overline{d}sr$ . The determinative  of  $\overline{d}sr.t$  instead of the usual  is unique.<sup>256</sup>

The writing of  $n\overline{h}nm$  is characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period,<sup>257</sup> as are the forked tail  of the  $w3$ -sign,<sup>258</sup> the degenerated writing of the city determinative,<sup>259</sup> the  $\overline{d}d$ -sign with three cross-bars instead of the usual four,<sup>260</sup> and the abbreviated west-ideogram.<sup>261</sup> The mutilated  $f$ -sign on superstructure inscriptions is characteristic of a later date.<sup>262</sup> The writing of the  $t3$ -sign with two pellets instead of the usual three also points to a

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<sup>254</sup> Brovarski suggests that the combination of the prosthetic  $t$  and the combined determinatives of   is a characteristic of inscriptions of late Dynasty X/XI (*Naga ed-Der*, 242, n. 280).

<sup>255</sup> This writing appears in a number of Upper Egyptian sites: e.g. at Herakleopolis it appears on the false doors which are probably contemporary with those of the Memphite necropolis (see J. Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1975), figs. 7-9, 12-14); at Naga ed-Deir (cf. Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 26, 38; see also Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 242, n. 278-9); at Thebes this writing occurs on stelae (see CCG 20011; Florence 7594) and coffin inscriptions at the end of the Herakleopolitan Period and early Eleventh Dynasty: on the sarcophagi of  $\overline{f}3y.t$  and  $Hnhn.t$  (cf. *TPPI*, no. 2), also on the wooden coffin of  $\overline{f}3y.t$  (Cairo, J.E. 47355 unpublished), the coffin of  $My.t$ . (see T.G.H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1974), pl. 32); at Aswan this spelling appears on coffin inscriptions (cf. CCG 28127/Cairo J.E. 36418; Cecil, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 69-70); at Moalla (Berlin 14383); at Farshout (*Siut* V, 46); at Abydos (CCG 20012); at Akhmim (CCG 28001, 28006, 28008, 28009, 280014; see also Brovarski, in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 128-9); at Sheikh Ibada (Brussels E. 785) and El-Bersha (Lapp, *Typologie*, §183) around the end of the Herakleopolitan Period and early Eleventh Dynasty.

<sup>256</sup> This determinative is probably erroneous for the coffin determinative, which usually takes that shape during the Herakleopolitan Period in the Memphite necropolis, cf. *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pls XV, XXII.

<sup>257</sup> For similar examples see, e.g. Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), fig. 5; *TPC* II, pl. 72 (1); *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pls XIII; XV; Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45.

<sup>258</sup> *Dendera*, 82 (10), n. 355.


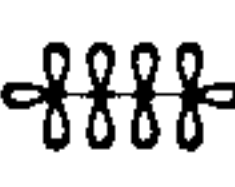

<sup>259</sup> Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 22; *Dendera*, 78-9 (10).

<sup>260</sup> *Dendara*, 120.

<sup>261</sup> See comment on the stela of  $\overline{I}p\overline{i}-\overline{f}nhw$  (4.1.6).

<sup>262</sup> See e.g. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 38, 41-2, 46-7, 49, 51, 54-5, 57, 62, 118, 139-140, pls III, VI, XI, XVI; see also, Schenkel, *FMÄS*, 102.



later date,<sup>263</sup> as is the orthography of the jar-determinative  with two handles.<sup>264</sup> The substitution of  for the -sign in the writing of the name of the owner is a rather late criterion: it is not before the Herakleopolitan Period that such a phenomenon occurs, but it became very common during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>265</sup>

The overall design, iconography and palaeographical/orthographical details indicate a date in the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### Right side piece from the chapel of *Ipi-m-s3.s* (Plate XII)

A rectangular limestone block, 82 cm in height, possibly found by Firth and Gunn in 1922, and later sent to the Cairo Museum.<sup>266</sup> The top part of the side-piece is lost, containing part of the offering list and the top of the inscription on the narrow edge of the block (thickness). The offering list and the inscription on the thickness are incised. Other reliefs and inscriptions are in raised relief.

On the narrow edge are the remains of a single column of inscription, in which the signs are directed inwards towards the false door. The decoration on the block is divided into two parts the upper part covered by the remaining two rows of the offering list. Only the last row of the offering list is complete. The row above is partly missing, especially the first three columns. The offering list is divided into probably five or six rows and thirteen columns.<sup>267</sup> The list of the offering items runs from left to right, with the signs directed towards the false door. The lower part of the side-piece has three registers. The top register displays a pile of offerings which rest directly on the floor. From left to right are a foreleg of beef surmounted by a skinned duck and small joint. Next to them are a lettuce, and a trussed duck, above which are onions, and to the right are three lotus flowers and buds; on the extreme right is a tall *hs*-jar with its lid on. The second register displays the usual offering

<sup>263</sup> Cf. Ficsher, *Varia Nova*, 26.

<sup>264</sup> Cf. Fischer, *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 20; see also Petrie, *Abydos* II, pl. 25; Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 18, 78, 81; Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs*, pl. 12; Abdel Hamid Zayed, *Egyptian Antiquities* (Cairo, 1962), 40-41; Osing et al., *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla*, pls. 53 (22), 58 (21), 59 (26).

<sup>265</sup> See *PNI*, 69: 23-6, 304: 7-9, 384: 19-22; see also Fischer, *MMJ* 9, 26.

<sup>266</sup> *CCG* 1665.

<sup>267</sup> The missing upper part was probably 26 cm., it is probable that the full height of the side piece was 108 cm, to match the height of her false door. If so, a list of at least five, possibly six rows can be assumed.

bearer theme: three female offering bearers similarly dressed: they appear with long lappeted wig, and a long tight-fitting garment with shoulder straps, all in a striding posture, and directed inwards towards the false door. The first female bearer holds in her right hand a bunch of lotus flowers, and her other hand is extended at her side holding a duck by its wings. The second raises her right hand to support a basket carried on her shoulder, while the left hand is grasping a mirror with a lotiform handle. The last bearer is carrying a toilet box on her shoulder with both hands raised to support it, and hanging from each elbow is a sack with a mirror inside. Between the second register and the third is a single line of inscription with hieroglyphs directed from right to left, the last two elements of the deceased's name were written vertically in the compartment of the third register: 'An offering which the king gives, a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster, and clothing to the revered one *Ḥpti-m-s3.s*'.

The last register displays the usual table scene. *Ḥpti-m-s3.s* sits on the left, facing right, on a low-back chair similar to that on her false door panel.<sup>268</sup> She wears a long lappeted wig, a broad collar, and a long tight-fitting dress with shoulder straps. In front of her is an offering table with forked pedestal, loaded with tall slices of bread, appearing as a rectangular-shape. Above the loaves are a foreleg of beef, a small joint, a tray of fruit, green vegetables,<sup>269</sup> and a trussed duck. Next to the offering table and resting directly on the floor; on the left is a *ḥs*-jar, while on the right is large nested ewer and basin.

#### Transliteration:

(b) On the narrow edge. [*mrr nswt pw mrr ḥnty-imntiw*] *p[w] ddt.sn s3ḥ wsir nb imnty, inpw tpy dw.f im3ḥ.t Ḥpti-m-s3.s*

#### Translation:

(It is what the King loves, and it is what Khentiamentiu loves),<sup>270</sup> that they shall say: May Osiris lord of the west and Anubis who is upon his mountain spiritualize the revered *Ḥpti-m-s3.s*.

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<sup>268</sup> See above.

<sup>269</sup> It is not clear from the photograph published by Borchardt: onions, and a bundle of lettuce might be recognizable.

<sup>270</sup> For a similar phrase see e.g. CCG 1409.



(A) offering list from top to bottom (a).

Row III/Col. 5 ...	..., one
/Col. 6 ...	..., one
/Col. 7 ...	..., one
/Col. 8 ...	..., one
/Col. 9 ...	..., one
/Col. 10 ...	..., one
/Col. 11 ...	..., two
/Col. 12 (n)pt	np3t-drink, two
/Col. 13 ...	..., two
Row IV/Col. 1. (dsr)t	dsrt-drink, two
/Col. 2. (i3tt dsrt)	milk-drink, two
/Col. 3 hnqt hnms	hnms-beer, two
/Col. 4. hnqt	beer, two
/Col. 5. stpt	the choice things, <sup>271</sup> two
/Col. 6. p(h3) <sup>272</sup>	drink, two
/Col. 7. dwiw hnqt	beer in dwiw-jars, two
/Col. 8. d3b	figs, two
/Col. 9. irp mhyt	Lower Egyptian wine, two
Row IV/Col. 10. ʿbš	ʿbš-wine, two
/Col. 11. imty	imty-wine, two
/Col. 12. irp h3mw	h3mw-wine, two
/Col. 13. snw <sup>273</sup>	snw-wine, two
Row V/Col. 1. hbnnwt	hbnnwt-bread, two
/Col. 2. h(n)fw	hnfw-bread, two

<sup>271</sup> Perhaps confused with *shpt*-drink, see e.g. CCG 1572 (a)



<sup>272</sup> Written here as *pr* .

<sup>273</sup> It appears here with *p* which is probably confused with the jar-determinative, cf. CCG 1572 (a) .



/Col. 3. <i>išd</i>	<i>išd</i> -fruit, two
/Col. 4. <i>sht-ḥdt</i> <sup>274</sup>	white <i>sht</i> -fruit, two
/Col. 5. <i>sht-w3dt</i>	green <i>sht</i> -fruit, two
/Col. 6. <i>swt ʿgt</i>	prepared wheat, two
/Col. 7. <i>it ʿgt</i>	prepared barley, two
/Col. 8. <i>b3t</i>	fruit, two
/Col. 9. <i>nbs</i>	fruit, two
/Col. 10. <i>t.nbs</i>	<i>nbs</i> -bread, two
/Col. 11. <i>. whʿ</i>	fruit, two
/Col. 12. <i>ḥt nbt b(nr)t</i>	all sweet things, two
/Col. 13. <i>ḥ3t(t) nbt ḥb.wt</i> <sup>275</sup>	all the best ointment of feasts. <sup>276</sup>

### Comment:

In the inscription on (b), the verbal form used, *ḏdt.sn*, is clearly a relative *sdmt.f* form.<sup>277</sup> The deceased is spiritualized here by the gods, a royal privilege usurped by private individuals during the Herakleopolitan Period and thereafter.<sup>278</sup>

### Dating:

The side-piece is part of the construction which consists of a false door flanked with side-pieces, a characteristic construction for the offering chapel of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>279</sup>

The occurrence of the mirrors in superstructure decoration being carried by offering bearers is indicative of a later date; it hardly appears in such a context before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Note the interchange between the sign  and .

<sup>275</sup> It substitutes here the usual *ḥnq rnpwt ḥbw* 'ḥnq-offering and all years feast offering'.

<sup>276</sup> For the offering list see, Hassan, *Giza VI/2* (Cairo, 1948); Barta, *Opferliste*, 50, 90-97.

<sup>277</sup> Cf *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 380-9.

<sup>278</sup> Cf. *Pyr* 767a-797b; cf. Assmann, *LÄ VI*, 667; idem, 'Verklärung', *LÄ VI*, 955-1006; see also, Köhler, 'Totenklage', *LÄ VI*, 657-8; Lüddeckens, 'Untersuchungen über Religiösen Gehalt Sprache und Form der Ägyptischen Totenklagen', *MDAIK* 11 (1943), 18-19; Barta, *Opferformel*, 235, 306; Kees, *Totengl*, 16ff.

<sup>279</sup> See Malek, *LÄ VI*, 409.

<sup>280</sup> See Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 16, 30, figs. 123-5, 136-7. The earliest occurrence of a mirror in a tomb superstructure in the Memphite necropolis is probably that of *Ipi* (*CCG* 1536-7), who is dated by Harpur (*Decoration*, 219-220), to the second half of the reign of Pepy II.



Another criterion might be seen in the phraseology used on the edge of the side-piece (b), which became characteristic of the funeral text during the Herakleopolitan Period,<sup>281</sup> as is the concept of the spiritualization by gods, a usurpation of what it used to be a royal privilege.<sup>282</sup>

#### 4.1.6. Stela of *Ipi-ḥw*/Ipi (Plate XIII)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 181; II, pl. 67; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 540; Hassan, *Giza* V, fig. 21; Gunn, MSS. XVIII. 41 (1).

The stela of *Ipi-ḥw* is made of limestone and measures 91 x 61 x 12 cm. The small format stela has the usual cavetto cornice, and torus moulding. Above the cavetto cornice is the usual flat surface, here damaged in the middle and left-hand. All figures and inscriptions are incised, except for the offering scene on the panel which is in raised relief. The framing lines of the inscriptions, the lashing of the torus moulding, the palm leaves on the cavetto cornice, the base-lines and the wooden door representation in the central niche are all painted. On the lintel is a horizontal line which runs from right to left, as is the inscription on the cross-bar. On each of the outer jambs is a single column of inscription in which the signs are directed inwards. Each column ends with a standing figure of the deceased, which serves as a determinative identifying the inscription above.

On the left hand side *Ipi-ḥw* is represented as walking towards the central door. He wears a shoulder-length wig which leaves his ear exposed, a broad collar, bracelets on both arms, and a pointed kilt. He holds a long staff in one hand, while the other hand is hanging fisted at his side: it is possible that a baton was intended to be represented here, but no traces survive. On the right outer-jamb is probably a mirror image to that on the left, but here the deceased holds in the hand hanging at his side a baton which crosses his body horizontally.

<sup>281</sup> See, *LÄ* VI, 667; *MDAIK* 11 (1943), 18-19; *Opferformel*, 306.

<sup>282</sup> See J. P. Sorensen, 'Divine Access: the so-called democratization of the Egyptian funerary literature as a socio-cultural process', in G. Englund (ed.) *The Religion of Ancient Egypt* (Uppsala, 1987), 109-126.

The inner jambs are wide enough to include both inscriptions and figures of the deceased. Each jamb has three horizontal lines, directed towards the central niche. On the left jamb *Ḥpt-ḥw* is represented standing facing right towards the niche door. He is shown with short hair, a broad collar, bracelets and a pointed kilt. Both hands are raised in a posture of adoration. On the right jamb the deceased is represented standing facing left, wearing what is probably a shoulder-length wig,<sup>283</sup> a broad collar, bracelets on both arms, and a knee-length kilt. He holds the conventional long staff in one hand, and grasps a baton in the other hand.

The scene on the panel displays the conventional table composition, as the deceased sits on the left facing right. He sits on a low-back chair with back stand visible under the cushion. The rear of the seat ends in the shape of lotus flower, and the seat's legs are carved to resemble lion-legs.<sup>284</sup> The stela owner is represented wearing a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, bracelets on both arms, and a knee-length kilt. He extends one hand towards the offering table, while the other hand is clasped fist on his chest. The offering table, which is supported by a forked pedestal, is loaded with bread slices which are simplified in a rectangular shape with the two bottom corners cut away to resemble the lower parts of reed-shaped bread slices.<sup>285</sup> Above the loaves are a foreleg of beef, *swt*-joint and a bundle of lettuce. To the right of the offering table, and resting directly on the floor, is a large nested ewer and basin. Above the table scene is a short ideographic offering list, in which the signs are directed towards the deceased. The central niche is decorated in paint, displaying two wooden door leaves.<sup>286</sup>

The palm-leaves of the cornice are blue, green, and red recurring. the lashings on the torus moulding are black on a yellow ground; base-lines are black, and apertures are red. The door leaves are painted in red on a yellow ground. On the figures, the skin is red, wigs are black, kilts are white, the broad collar and bracelets are blue. On the offering table, the bread is black, the foreleg of beef is red with a black hoof, the joint is red, vegetables are green, the top of the spouted ewer is green; and the chair is black. The hieroglyphs are all in

<sup>283</sup> Note that the line drawing in *TPC* II, pl. 67 (2), shows this figure with short hair.

<sup>284</sup> For this furniture feature see, Fischer, *Varia*, 4.

<sup>285</sup> Cf. Hassan, *Giza V*, 171-2.

<sup>286</sup> Similar decoration can be seen in the central niche of false door of *Ḥw.f-n-mwt.f* (4.2.3), see below.



green, apart from those on the cross-bar which are blue, and those on the panel are as follows: ♂, ♀ black; — blue; ♀, □ green; ♂, ♂, ♂, ♀, ♀ red, ♀ top green, stalk red, bottom part is blue, ♂ upper half blue, lower is red.

### Transliteration:

(H) 1. *st-ḥb ḥ(knw sft nhnm tw3t) ḥ3tt n(t 'š tḥnw)* (A) 2. *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw ḥnty imntiw* (B) 3. *nb 3bdw prit-ḥrw n im3ḥw Ipi-ḥnw* (C) 4. *inpw tpy ḏw.f imy-wt nb t3 ḏsr imy-r pr Ipi* (F) 5-7 *im3ḥw ḥr inpw tpy ḏw.f Ipi-ḥnw* (G) 8-10. *im3ḥw sd3wty bity smr w'ty Ipi-ḥnw* (E) 11. *im3ḥw ḥr ntr '3 nb pt Ipi-ḥnw* 12. *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnq.t ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥ.t n im3ḥw Ipi-ḥnw*

### Translation:

1. *st*-festival oil, *ḥknw*-oil, (*sft*-oil, *nhnm*-oil, *tw3t*-oil), and top quality (*'š*-oil, and *tḥnw*-oil)  
2. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentyamentiu, 3. lord of Abydos, a voice offering to the revered *Ipi-ḥnw*. 4. (An offering which the king gives and) Anubis who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, Overseer of the house *Ipi*. 5-7. He who is honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain *Ipi-ḥnw*. 8-10. The honoured, Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, *Ipi-ḥnw*. 11. The honoured one by the great god lord of heaven, *Ipi-ḥnw*. 12. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the revered one *Ipi-ḥnw*.

### Comment:

The theophorus name *Ipi-ḥnw* is frequently used during the Herakleopolitan Period and the Middle Kingdom.<sup>287</sup> However the nickname *Ipi* occurs much earlier, at least since the Fifth Dynasty, both as a full name and as a nickname,<sup>288</sup> although it is not entirely clear to what the element *Ipi* stands for. Probably it refers to the goddess *Ipi*, called also *Ipt*, or *Ipt wrt*:<sup>289</sup> a female hippopotamus, usually depicted standing in a similar representation to that of

<sup>287</sup> Ranke, *PN I*, 22:16, citing CCG 1571; Berlin 7796; 10184; Louvre C1; CCG 20780; *TPC I*, 50. The name also is used for women, cf. E. Chassinat, *Fouilles de Qattah*, 73; K. Hoffmann, *Die Theophoren Personennamen des alten Ägyptens*, *UGÄÄ VII/1* (Leipzig, 1917), 43, n.1, 45, n. 14, 62, n. 6, 77-8.

<sup>288</sup> *PN I*, 22: 15. See also the PM III<sup>2</sup>, 370, 957.

<sup>289</sup> *Wb I*, 68: 8-9; Meeks, 'Ipet', *LÄ III*, 172-6.

Tawert.<sup>290</sup> *Ipi* was a benign and sage goddess, who appears in the Pyramid Texts as suckling and nursing the king.<sup>291</sup> It is likely too that it refers to a saint who lived earlier, and whose tomb was in the vicinity of Teti's pyramid.<sup>292</sup>

The cult of Khentyamentiu had a long history at Abydos from at least the mid-Fifth Dynasty.<sup>293</sup> It is thereafter that this god starts to appear in the offering formulae,<sup>294</sup> a role which is confirmed by mentioning him as a god of the afterlife who provides food for the deceased.<sup>295</sup>

The titles of the stela's owner are indicative of his social standing: two of the three titles held by *Ipi-nḥw* are characteristic of the late Old Kingdom, and are probably honorific ranks.<sup>296</sup> However, the functional office is perhaps *imy-r pr* 'Overseer of the house', a common title of the Old Kingdom.<sup>297</sup> As Fischer suggests, holders of this title were stewards of private estates or civil officials whose activities were shown in the increasing number of their inscriptions in the period after the Old Kingdom.<sup>298</sup> At the capital the holders of this office also manage the funerary service in the necropolis. At least ten of the stewards cited by the Topographical Bibliography for Memphis are either *ḥm-k3*, *shd ḥmw-k3* or even *imy-r ḥmw-k3*. This association was also seen in the tomb relief: stewards are depicted performing funerary rites in front of the tomb owner. An instance can be seen in the offering chapel of the mastaba of *Hnty-k3i/iḥhi*, where *imy-r pr* is depicted acting as a lector-priest and reads the spells during the performance of the *dit-mw* rite.<sup>299</sup>

<sup>290</sup> For the goddess *T3-wrt* see Gundlach, 'Thoeris', *LÄ* VI, 494-7; see also, Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), 107.

<sup>291</sup> *Pyr* 381 a.

<sup>292</sup> However it could be also a nickname of one of the local deities in the Memphite necropolis, probably in Teti Pyramid Cemetery, where names associated with *Ipi* are frequently found. It is suggested by Fischer that the name refers to the *Ipi* represented by CCG 1536, cf. Fischer, *Varia*, 87, n. 33.

<sup>293</sup> Brovarski, *Naga-ed-Deir*, 73-79.

<sup>294</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, 50; Barta, *Opferformel*, 15, 229.

<sup>295</sup> *Pyr* 474. In later Pyramid Texts this god was identified with Osiris, and became an epithet for the latter see *Pyr* 1665, 2020-2021; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, 50-2; Griffith, *The Origin of Osiris* (Berlin, 1966), 116.

<sup>296</sup> Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 111-112; Strudwick, *Administration*, 307-12, tb. 30 (1-3).

<sup>297</sup> See PM III<sup>2</sup>, 928-9.

<sup>298</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 157, 177.

<sup>299</sup> See James, *The Mastaba of Khentika*, pl. xiv.



One can probably assume that the *ṭpi-ḥnw* was involve in directing and managing the funerary service in private tombs and perhaps mortuary temples too.<sup>300</sup>

### Dating:

The typology and overall design of the false door, as well as its small size, would indicate a date after the Old Kingdom. This can be verified in the shape of the panel, adopted frequently in the Memphite necropolis. This form may, as suggested by Gunn, be a rectangular wooden shutter swinging on two horizontal pivots at the top corners.<sup>301</sup> This design probably started about the mid-Sixth Dynasty, perhaps the earliest example is that of *Dd-Ppy* the eldest son of the vizier *Hnty-k3/ihhi*.<sup>302</sup> This vizier probably out-lived his king Teti and witnessed the early years of his successor Pepy I,<sup>303</sup> that would date the vizier's son to the later part of Pepy I reign, early part of Pepy II. This panel design then became a favourite style and continued in use during the end of the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period, together with other panel designs.<sup>304</sup> The horizontal lay-out of the inscriptions on the inner jambs is a rather late feature, which does not occur before the end of the Old Kingdom. It probably appears during the Herakleopolitan Period on a group of stelae from the Teti Pyramid cemeteries.<sup>305</sup>

The composition of the offering table with its rectangular bread slices-like shape, surmounted by a foreleg of beef, a bundle of lettuce, and *swt*-joint is a composition which is not known before the Herakleopolitan Period. The simplified shape of the bread slices was perhaps favoured as a rapid and easy way of representing them, was also a characteristic feature during this period.<sup>306</sup>

<sup>300</sup> For the *K3*-priests and their daily tasks, see, Kaplony, 'Ka-Diener', *LÄ* III, 282-4; idem, 'Totenpriester', *LÄ* VI, 679-693.

<sup>301</sup> *TPC* I, 179, n. 6.

<sup>302</sup> James, *The Mastaba of Khentika*, pl. XLII.

<sup>303</sup> For the dating of *Hnty-k3/ihhi* cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 125-6 (109).

<sup>304</sup> This sort of panel is called by Strudwick T-shape panel (*Administration*, 18). However, one should differentiate between the T-shape panel, e.g. that used in the false door of *Q3r* (*BMHT* I, pl. 32:1; *ḥḥ-Mry-R* (*TPC* II, pl. 64), and that with outcurved top used frequently during the Herakleopolitan Period, see A. Ruch, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 118, Taf. b, abb. 2 d (y); S. Wiebach, *Die Ägyptische Scheintür*, 10-11, abb. on p. 11, n. 32.

<sup>305</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XVI; *TPC* II, pls. 71 (2), 68, 70 (1-2); unpublished false door of *Rdi* (4.8.1).

<sup>306</sup> This simplified shape of the bread slices probably first appeared as unfinished relief. The earliest datable occurrence is perhaps that of Queen Iput, (cf. *TPC* II, pl. 55. 1), wife of Teti and mother of his successor Pepy



Another important iconographical criterion appears on the right inner jamb of the false door: the posture of adoration seems to be associated first with minor figures. Its earliest appearance can be observed in the royal relief in the mortuary temple of Sahure, where these entreating figures are raising their hands and offering glorification to Sahure.<sup>307</sup> Not much later such postures were copied for minor figures in private tombs. In the tomb *Ti-mry* at Giza, and next to his false door, one of his dependents is represented in an adoration pose.<sup>308</sup> The pose, which probably expresses 'obeisance, reverence, or adoration', is not applied to major figures before the later part of the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period in the Memphite necropolis.<sup>309</sup> In the Memphite necropolis this posture is associated with false doors and door entrances, at least three of false doors with this posture belong to officials who served in the mortuary cult of Merykare.<sup>310</sup> However, in the provinces it seems that the adoration posture is applied for major figures as early as the mid Sixth Dynasty, especially on the entrance thickness. The earliest occurrence is probably in the tomb of *Hw.n-wh/Tty* of Quseir el-Amarna, who probably dates to the mid Sixth Dynasty.<sup>311</sup> At Hagarsa *Mry* is seen raising both his hands in an adoration pose on the right thickness of the doorway to his chapel.<sup>312</sup> Of a little later date, *Mry-ʿ3* is represented in a similar pose on the entrance to his chapel.<sup>313</sup> At Naga ed-Deir the posture of adoration does not appear before the very end of Old Kingdom or even the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>314</sup> At

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I (Seipel, 'Iput I', *LÄ* III, 176). See also, Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, critère 21. By the end of the Old Kingdom and during the Herakleopolitan Period this rectangular bread-like shape was frequently in use.

<sup>307</sup> L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'a3hw-Re*, I (Leipzig, 1913), 87-8; II, pls. 11-13.

<sup>308</sup> See, *LD Erg.*, Taf. IV (c); *Ti-mry* is probably to be dated to the reign of King Neferirkare or later, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 170-4.

<sup>309</sup> See above (3.1.5), n. 97; Fischer, 'Proskynes' *LÄ* IV, 1125-7, n. 11; Brunner-Traut, 'Gesten', *LÄ* II, 577-8 Abb. 1 (c); see also, Müller, 'Darstellung von Gebärden auf Denkmäler des Alten Reiches' *MDAIK* 7 (1937), 94; L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches* (Heidleberg, 1922), 177-8; Fischer and Caminos, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 36, n. 34, fig. 3.

<sup>310</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pls. XIII, XV; *TPC*, pl. 27 (B).

<sup>311</sup> Kanawati and El-Khouli, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 36. For the dating of the tomb owner, see p. 11-25.

<sup>312</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* I, pl. 42 (b). The date of *Mry* has been much debated. Petrie dates him to Dynasty Six (*Athribis*, 2). Smith on the other hand places him, on stylistic grounds in the First Intermediate Period (*HESPOK*, 225), while Harpur suggests a date during the reign of Pepy II or even later (*Decoration*, 281). Edel, (*Hieroglyphische Inschriften des Alten Reiches* (Göttingen, 1981), 76), Kanawati (*El-Hagarsa* I, 57), and Fischer (*JEA* 65 (1979), 46) assign *Mry* to the reign of Pepy II.


<sup>313</sup> Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa* III, pl. 34 (a).

<sup>314</sup> The posture appears on the stela of *Iri* (Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 18, pl. X (2)); also *Mrw's* son was portrayed in this posture in his father tomb (Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs*, 100, 123-27).



Abydos, the adoration posture is probably first attested in the second half of Pepy II's reign on the stela of *Ppy-nht* who is depicted raising both his hands on the jambs and panel of his false door.<sup>315</sup> *Wni/Hddi* is also seen in this posture on his stela, but he is probably to be dated to very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>316</sup>



an arrangement which frequently occurs in the offering formula from the very end of the Old Kingdom,<sup>317</sup> as is the writing of the *t3*  sign with two pellets underneath. It is probably first attested in burial chambers in South Saqqara, but only a little later does this arrangement appear on false doors and offering tables.<sup>318</sup> The *hnty*-sign appears with three jars instead of the usual four, a feature which has been used for dating purposes in the Herakleopolitan Period and Middle Kingdom.<sup>319</sup> However, the distinction between the use of the two may not be so clear.<sup>320</sup> The abbreviated west ideogram is another feature which frequently occurs during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>321</sup> It seems that this feature was first developed in burial chamber and coffin inscriptions,<sup>322</sup> where figures of men, birds and animals were eliminated. However, the earliest occurrence of the abbreviated form of the west ideogram in the tomb superstructure is probably that of *Mry-r<sup>c</sup>-nfr/Q3r* of Edfu,<sup>323</sup> who is probably to be assigned to the reign of Pepy I or later.<sup>324</sup> It was not before the very end of the Old Kingdom and early Herakleopolitan Period that this form became frequently in use. The degenerated shape of the town determinative is expected at

<sup>315</sup> CCG 1574. For the date of *Ppy-nht* see Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 89; Strudwick, *Administration*, 303; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 71, 289 (135).

<sup>316</sup> Brovarski, in Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka*, 37, n. 71.

<sup>317</sup> E.g. Jéquier, *La Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, 71; Drioton and Lauer, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 231, 249, 250-51; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 76, fig., 90, pl. 11.

<sup>318</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pls, XIII, XV; idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. XI (2); *TPC* II, pls 68, 70 (1-2), 71 (1-2), 72 (1-2), 75, pl. 27 (B). At Busiris, such an arrangement appears around that time or later, see Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), figs, 4-6; The same orthographical arrangement is found also at Herakleopolis on the false doors which date to the Herakleopolitan Period see, Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1975), figs, 7-16. pls XX-XXIII.

<sup>319</sup> Brovarski, *JNES* 32 (1973), 459, n. 23; Fischer, *Dendera*, 81 (11), 83.

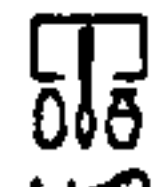


<sup>320</sup> Silverman, *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 88, n. 25.

<sup>321</sup> *JNES* 32, 464, n. 31.

<sup>322</sup> E.g. *Tombeaux de particuliers*, pls. VI-VII, XI-XII; see also, Lapp, *Typologie*, Bl. 28-32.

<sup>323</sup> Daressy, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 136.

<sup>324</sup> For the date of *Q3r* see Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 29-31; Strudwick, *Administration*, 318.

the Herakleopolitan Period or slightly earlier.<sup>325</sup> The arrangement of *pr̄t-hrw*  frequently occurs on Memphite stelae of this period,<sup>326</sup> as is the use of the combined determinative   for *wt*.<sup>327</sup> The abbreviated writing of *im3hw* is expected during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>328</sup> The reverse of the *w*<sup>c</sup>-sign in the title *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* should also be noted.<sup>329</sup> The overall style of the false door, the iconographic, epigraphic and palaeographic features suggest a date during the Herakleopolitan Period for *Ḥpt-nḥw*, who was probably directing, or rather associated with, mortuary service in the necropolis either in the tombs or the royal temples.

#### 4.1.7. Stela of *Ḥi-m-ḥtp* (Plate XIV)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 31, 38, 48 (HMK 5), and plan in p. 63 (top); II, pl. 67 (1); Gunn, MSS. XVIII. 41 (2) (photo).

The small false-door of *Ḥi-m-ḥtp*, which is still in situ, was placed into the eastern face of the mastaba of *Ḥtw*.<sup>330</sup> The limestone stela measures 116.5 x 67 x 24 cm. It is surmounted by the usual cavetto cornice, and framed by a torus moulding. Both text and relief are incised; traces of background red paint were still visible at the time of its discovery. The flat surface above the cornice is slightly damaged, but the stela is otherwise in a fair condition. The texts on the false door is arranged in a conventional way: on the lintel a horizontal line of text runs from right to left. Each jamb has a vertical column of inscription in which the signs were directed towards the central niche. At the end of each column is a portrait of the deceased, standing and facing inwards. The four figures are mirror images of each other. The deceased is represented wearing a shoulder-length wig

<sup>325</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 78-80 (1).

<sup>326</sup> Cf. *TPC* II, pl. 70 (1), 72 (1), pl. 27 (B); Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pls. XV, XVIII (2); cf. also, Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), figs, 3a, 4a, A-B, 5a, 6a; Ziegler, *Stèles*, 244-52 (45).

<sup>327</sup> See, Fischer, *Dendera*, 84 (15); Schenkel, *FMÄS*, 40, 119-20; cf. also, Brovarski, *JNES* 32 (1973), 464; idem, in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 135; Kanawati, *Akhmim*, 132.

<sup>328</sup> See comment above on the stela of *S3t-Ḥtnw*.

<sup>329</sup> For the reversal of hieroglyphs see Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, 112.

<sup>330</sup> See *TPC* I, plan in p. 63 (top).



which leaves his ear exposed, a ceremonial short beard.<sup>331</sup> and a knee-length kilt. The deceased holds a long staff in one hand, while the other hand hangs by his side, grasping a baton which passes behind the body horizontally.<sup>332</sup> On the square panel above the offering table is a short ideographic offering list, in which the signs are directed towards the deceased. The scene on the panel displays the usual funerary meal, as the deceased sits on the left facing right. He sits on a low-back chair of which the back leg is visible, while the front leg disappears behind the deceased's leg. The chair leg is formed in the shape of a lion's leg.<sup>333</sup> *Ti-m-ḥtp* wears a shoulder-length wig, which leaves his ear exposed, a ceremonial short beard, and a knee length kilt. His left arm is clasped fist to his chest, while the other hand is extended towards an offering table. The offering table, with a forked pedestal, is loaded with the usual bread slices which appear in a late degenerated form, in which the bread-slices became fused together, leaving the top and the bottom of the bread-slices recognisable. On the right of the offering table, and resting directly on the floor, is a nested ewer and basin. The spout of the ewer is directed outwards,<sup>334</sup> and the usual ground or base-line appears underneath the scene.

#### Transliteration:

(A) 1. *ḥtp di nswt inpw prit-ḥrw n smr wʿty Ti-m-ḥtp* (B) 2. *smr wʿty ḥry-ḥb im3ḥw Ti-m-ḥtp* (C) 3. *smr wʿty ḥry ḥb im3ḥw Ti-m-ḥtp* (F) 4. *im3ḥ Ti-m-ḥtp* (G) 5. *im3ḥ Ti-m-ḥtp* (E) 6. *smr wʿty Ti-m-ḥtp* (D) 7. *ḥ3 t, p3t, ḥ3 ḥnqt, ḥ3 3pdw, ḥ3 k3w, ḥ3 šs, mnḥt n smr wʿty Ti-m-ḥtp*.

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, a voice offering to the Sole Companion *Ti-m-ḥtp*. 2. The Sole Companion, Lector-priest, the honoured *Ti-m-ḥtp*. 3. The Sole Companion, Lector-priest the honoured *Ti-m-ḥtp*. 4. The honoured *Ti-m-ḥtp*. 5. The honoured *Ti-m-ḥtp*. 6. The Sole Companion *Ti-m-ḥtp*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, cakes

<sup>331</sup> The beard appears here thin and long, which gradually replaced the short and chunky style of the Fifth Dynasty. For more discussion see K.A. Daoud, *VA* (forthcoming issue).

<sup>332</sup> For the pose of major figures holding a staff and baton see Harpur, *Decoration*, 126-7, tb. 6.1.

<sup>333</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 4; Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, critère 12 (tb. p. 160).

<sup>334</sup> For similar cases see e.g. CCG 1505, 1450, 1418, 1413. For more discussion of the appearance of the ewer and basin in the offering table composition see Brovarski, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant I*, 102, n. 26; see also, Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, critère 25 (tb. on p. 174).

and jars of beer, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of alabaster and clothing to the Sole Companion *Ti-m-ḥtp*.


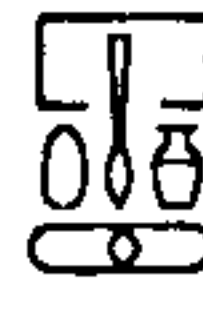
Comment:

The name of the stela owner *Ti-m-ḥtp* 'He who comes in peace' is first known in the Third Dynasty, for the legendary vizier and architect of King Netjerykhet. The name was frequently used during the Fifth Dynasty and thereafter.<sup>335</sup>

As an ordinary lector-priest he probably directed ceremonial services in private tombs or in the royal mortuary cults.<sup>336</sup> The other title, *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*, is rather characteristic of the late Old Kingdom and thereafter.<sup>337</sup> Interestingly, by the end of the Old Kingdom holders of this office seems to have served as royal envoys, as clearly pointed out from the Royal Decrees.<sup>338</sup>

Dating:

The typology of the false door, its small size, and the use of a single column of inscription on each jamb are indicative of a later date in the Old Kingdom. An iconographical feature which is indicative of this date is the degenerated shape of the bread-slices.<sup>339</sup> Although the palaeographic details indicate a late Old Kingdom date in general -the writing of Anubis on

a stand ,<sup>340</sup> and the writing of *pr̥t-ḥrw*  with the elongated bread-, they offer no significant features of the Herakleopolitan Period. However, the location of *Ti-m-ḥtp*'s false door embedded into the eastern façade of the mastaba of *Ttw*, and the re-use of one of the family shafts of *Ttw* tomb, strongly suggests strongly a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom. If the date suggested for *Ttw* is correct, that he may belong to the very end of the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>341</sup> that would place *Ti-m-ḥtp* at least generation or two later, probably in the

<sup>335</sup> Ranke, *PNI*, 9:2; see also, *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 117, 275, 547, 722.

<sup>336</sup> See, Otto, 'Cheriheb', *LÄ I*, 940-43; see also comments on this title (under *Tti* (4.4.1)).

<sup>337</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 310, tb. 30:1.

<sup>338</sup> Cf. Eyre, in *The Unbroken Reed*, 110, n. 38; Franke, *SAK* 11 (1984), 233.

<sup>339</sup> See comment under *Ipi-ḥnw* (4.1.6); see also, Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, critère 21, tb. 171. See also for similar bread-slices representation Hassan, *Giza V*, 171, fig. 25, nos. 20-22.

<sup>340</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 84 (14).

<sup>341</sup> Kanawati first assigned the vizier *Ttw* to the reign of Pepy II (Kanawati, *Administration*, 14), then he reconsidered this dating (*Governmental Reforms*, 34-5), and brought the date of *Ttw* forward, and assigned him to the reign of Pepy I. On the other hand Strudwick suggests a date in the Herakleopolitan Period



Eighth Dynasty or early Herakleopolitan Period. This may be supported by the fact that Firth and Gunn found two burial chambers in the shaft re-used by *Ti-m-htp*, in one of which fragments of a Herakleopolitan coffin were found.<sup>342</sup>

#### 4.1.8. Stela of *Hry-š.f-nht* I (Plate XIV)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 183 (7); II, pl. 71 (1); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544; Gunn, MSS. XVIII. 45 (1).

A small false door made of limestone, it measures 99 x 69 x 10 cm. The stela has the usual cavetto cornice, torus moulding, and T-shape panel. The inscriptions are laid out on the lintel, panel cross-bar and four jambs, each of them having a single line or column. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, but the table scene and the palm leaves of the cornice are in raised relief. Traces of colour are still visible, and the condition of the stela is fair, apart from slight weathering of the inscription on the panel. The figures on the jambs show the deceased standing with his feet apart in a striding attitude facing inwards. Both left and right outer jambs display mirror images for the deceased with slight differences in the type of wig worn. The left hand side figure appears with short hair, while the opposite figure has been depicted wearing a shoulder-length wig. Both figures show the deceased wearing a broad collar, and a pointed kilt. He holds a long staff in one hand, and a baton in the other, the baton passing behind the body of the figure on the right jamb.

Each of the inner jambs has a different portrait: on the left jamb is a naked portrait of the deceased with short hair, wearing a broad collar. He holds a lotus blossom to his nose by his left hand, while the other hand is extended at his side grasping the stem of another lotus. On the opposite jamb the deceased is depicted with short hair, wearing a broad collar, and knee-length kilt. Both hands hold a lotus blossom in a similar way to that on the left inner jamb. Some alteration might have occurred here: the left hand is seen as if grasping two objects; a lotus stem, and probably an end of a baton which is not completed, or even likely a papyrus roll.

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(Strudwick, *Administration*, 160-1 (160)), a date which was later favoured by Harpur (*Decoration*, 330). However a date in the late Sixth Dynasty for *Tiw* is preferred here on the grounds of the tomb location and other epigraphic as well as iconographic considerations.

<sup>342</sup> *TPC* I, 48 (HMK. 5).

The panel displays the traditional table scene. The deceased sits on the left facing right on a low-back chair. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, and knee-length kilt. He holds a lotus blossom to his nose by his left hand, while he extends his right hand towards an offering table. The table is of a simple style, carrying a rectangular bread slices-like shape, above which are a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck, which have now almost disappeared. Next to the table, and resting directly on the floor is a large nested ewer and basin, with ewer spout facing outwards.

#### Transliteration:

(A) 1. *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw prit-ḥrw n.f* (B) 2. *m is.f Ḥry-š.f-nḥt* (C) 3. *im3ḥw Ḥry-š.f-nḥt* (F) 4. *Ḥry-š.f-nḥt* (G) 5. *Ḥry-š.f-nḥt* (E) 6. *im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt* (D) 7. ... ..

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, a voice offering 2. to him in his tomb *Ḥry-š.f-nḥt*. 3. He who is honoured *Ḥry-š.f-nḥt*. 4. *Ḥry-š.f-nḥt*. 5. *Ḥry-š.f-nḥt*. 6. He who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven. 7. ... ..

#### Comments:

The name of the stela owner is associated with a deity called *Ḥry-š.f* 'He who is upon his lake'.<sup>343</sup> He is a god of power and virility,<sup>344</sup> known since the early Fifth Dynasty, where he first appears in the temple relief of King Sahure.<sup>345</sup> His main cult-centre was in the 12<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian Nome. The peak of his cult seems to emerge with governors of Herakleopolis taking power and claiming the throne of Egypt.<sup>346</sup> Hence, it is likely that the association of his name with personal names became fashionable

#### Dating:

The small format of the stela and the overall design are typical of the very late Old Kingdom, and the Herakleopolitan Period.

<sup>343</sup> B. Altenmüller, *LÄ* II, 1015-8.

<sup>344</sup> Gardiner, *AEO* II, 113-14\*; Kees, *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 65-83.

<sup>345</sup> *Ḥry-š.f* appears with a human body and a ram's head, leading a row of gods and goddesses who are bringing different sorts of offering to the King. cf. L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ahu-re* II (Leipzig, 1913), Bl. 28.

<sup>346</sup> Altenmüller, *LÄ* II, 1016.



The relief and decoration of the false door display some late features as well as other unique ones: the table composition with its rectangular bread-like shape surmounted by a foreleg of beef, and a trussed duck is not expected in offering table iconography before the Herakleopolitan Period. Another rare feature is the male deceased holding a lotus blossom to his nose. The beauty and delicacy of the lotus may explain why it is associated with women from their earliest representations in private tombs.<sup>347</sup> Although the lotus is associated with men in special scenes during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties,<sup>348</sup> the association of this feature with false doors is not known before the mid Sixth Dynasty: the earliest occurrence is that of *Q3r* of Idfu,<sup>349</sup> who is known to be dated to the reign of King Merenre. Yet it seems unlikely that artists working at Memphite cemeteries would have taken up a provincial innovation, particularly since the majority of examples known so far, are from Saqqara and Giza rather than provincial sites. This conclusion probably suggests that this feature was originated in the Memphite art repertoire.


I know of 13 examples of false doors and stelae on which male figures is represented holding a lotus blossom to his nose:

<i>Ttw</i> (Giza)	Late O.K or Herak. Period.	<i>West Cemetery</i> , fig. 118.
<i>Qd-ns</i> (Giza)	Late O.K or Herak. Period.	Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , Abb. 104.
<i>Tti-m-s3.f</i> (Saqqara)	Herak. Period.	Gunn MSS. XIV. 45 [2]; Nbk.9.9.
<i>Nt-htp</i> (Saqqara)	Herak. Period.	<i>TPC II</i> , pl. 72 (2).
<i>Hry-š.f-nht I</i> (Saqqara)	Herak. Period.	<i>TPC II</i> , pl. 71 (1).
<i>Hry-š.f-nht II</i>	Herak. Period.	<i>TPC II</i> , pl. 71 (2).

<sup>347</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 134-5.

<sup>348</sup> For instance the representation of the deceased sitting in a kiosk or pavilion, and seen accepting a long stemmed lotus, or the lotus blossom as part of the funerary meal in front of the deceased, cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 135 and tb. 6.11.

<sup>349</sup> Cairo J.d'E 43370 = Daressy, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 131.

The false door inscriptions show some characteristic features which are frequently associated with false door stelae of the very late Old Kingdom, and the Herakleopolitan Period: the arrangement of *wsir nb* , the degenerated town determinative are typical of that period.

Another significant criterion is the theophorus name of the owner which is hardly known before the very end of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty),<sup>353</sup> but frequently adopted by private individuals during the Herakleopolitan Period. An aspect which seems to correspond to the increasing popularity of this deity during this period. The stela with its style, iconography and palaeography fits nicely into in the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 4.1.9. Stela of *Hry-ḥf-nḥt* II (Plate XV)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 184 (8); II, pl. 71 (2); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 545; Stockholm Mus. MM. 11407; another monument belonging to same official is a side piece, also in Stockholm Mus. MM. 11408; Gunn, MSS. XVIII. 50 (2) [photo].

A small limestone false door measuring 83 x 51.5 x 10 cm. The door displays all the conventional elements of the late Old Kingdom false door: the cavetto cornice, torus moulding, and window-shutter type panel. Texts are incised, while figures on jambs and panel are executed in raised relief. Some patches of colours are still visible: blue, green and red on the cornice palm leaves; red for the figures' skin, black for wigs, and white for garments. Hieroglyphs are green, and the general background is red, probably to imitate woodwork. The texts are laid out in a conventional way on the lintel, panel, cross bar, and the outer jambs. Each of the inner jambs has two horizontal lines of inscription. At the end of the inscriptions on each of the four jambs is a portrait of the deceased. Each of these shows the deceased standing and facing inwards, but each shows him in a different posture.

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*Old Kingdom*, *ÄA* 39 (Wiesbaden, 1984), Cat. 43, 46, 154, 155; see also Fischer, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 20-21; E.R. Russmann, *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 272.

<sup>353</sup> The name in question is not quoted by Ranke, but of other theophorus names constructed with the element *ḥry-ḥf*, see Ranke, *PN* II, 307 Nr. 20.



The figure on the left outer jamb shows the deceased wearing a shoulder length wig which leaves his ear exposed, a broad collar, bracelets, and pointed kilt. Both hands are extended open at his side, perhaps as a gesture of respect,<sup>354</sup> or more likely they show the movement of hands when walking. On the opposite right outer jamb the deceased is seen with short hair, wearing a similar attire to the figure on the left jamb. However, he is depicted here with abbreviated shoulders, raising his hands in a posture of adoration.<sup>355</sup>

On the inner left jamb *Hry-š.f-nḥt* appears with short hair, wearing a broad collar, bracelets, and pointed kilt. He holds a long staff in his left hand, and grasping a baton with the other hand. The inner right jamb shows the deceased with short hair, and a broad collar, but otherwise naked, probably a representation of his younger ideal. The deceased is seen holding a lotus blossom to his nose with his right hand, while the other hand is extended at his side grasping a stemmed lotus bud.

The panel displays the conventional table scene: the deceased sits on the left facing right on a low-back chair. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, bracelets, and a knee-length kilt. He holds his left hand to his chest, and extends his right hand towards an offering table. The table carries the usual bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck. To the right of the table and resting directly on the floor is a large nested ewer and basin. Above the deceased and table of offerings is a short ideographic offering list.

#### Transliteration:

(A) 1. *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw prit-ḥrw* (B) 2. *n.f nfr m is.f n ḥrt-ntr Hry-š.f-nḥt* (C) 3. *smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty im3ḥ(w) Hry-š.f-nḥt* (F) 4. *(i)m3ḥw* 5. *Hry-š.f-nḥt* (G) 6. *im3ḥw* 7. *Hry-š.f-nḥti* (E) 8. *im3ḥw ḥr ntr-<sup>c</sup>3 nb pt* (D) 9. *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n im3ḥw Hry-š.f-nḥt*

#### Translation:



1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, a voice offering 2. to him, beautifully in his tomb of the necropolis, *Hry-š.f-nḥt*. 3. The Sole Companion, the revered *Hry-š.f-nḥt*. 4. He who is honoured 5. *Hry-š.f-nḥt*. 6. He who is Honoured 7. *Hry-š.f-nḥt*. 8. The revered one by the great god lord of heaven. 9. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand

<sup>354</sup> Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 5-9, Abb. 1 (1-a).

<sup>355</sup> Ibid, 28-32, Abb. 9.

jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the revered one *Hry-š.f-nḥt*.

Comments:

The name *Hry-š.f-nḥt* is written in three different ways on the stela;  ,  
.

The addition of the *i* to the name doubtless indicates a pseudo-participle and suggests strongly the reading *Hry-š.f-nḥt* and not *Nḥt-ḥry-š.f*.<sup>356</sup>

The stela owner's social status is not clear. *smr wṯy* is the only title which appears on the stela. The title was simply honorific,<sup>357</sup> and is characteristic of the late Old Kingdom.<sup>358</sup> However the size of the false door, the quality of the relief, and the ability to have a tomb-chapel of his own may hint at his social class.

On the right inner jamb the deceased appears in a naked portrait, probably showing his younger ideal,<sup>359</sup> and probably also symbolises his rebirth<sup>360</sup> or, as suggested by Junker, it may represent the deceased's ka.<sup>361</sup> Whatever the meaning, it is clear that the naked figure shows the juvenile ideal of the deceased, in contrast to his mature or elderly appearance on the outer right jamb.<sup>362</sup>

<sup>356</sup> Although the god *Hry-š.f* is known in iconography since at least the Fifth Dynasty (*Götterwelt*, 264 n. 1), his name does not appear in theophorus names before the very end of the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period cf. *PN I*, 253: 1; II, 379. For other personal names associated with this deity cf. *PN I*, 253: 2.

<sup>357</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 310-11, table 30.

<sup>358</sup> See comments above (3.1.7).

<sup>359</sup> Kees, *Kulturgeschichte*, 199.

<sup>360</sup> This idea is perhaps seen clearly early in the relief of the Fifth Dynasty royal temples, cf. the scene of the king suckled by the goddesses, cf. *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ahure*<sup>c</sup>, Bl. 14. The idea of rebirth and rejuvenescence of the King, and its association with Osiris, is frequently reflected in the Pyramid Texts cf. *Pyr.* 589, 343, 882, 714, 811.



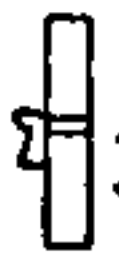


<sup>361</sup> Cf. Junker, *Giza VII*, 40-44; idem, 'Zu dem Idealbild des menschlichen Körpers in der Kunst des Alten Reiches', *AÖAW* 17 (1948), 171-181. For the ka and its meaning see, U. Schweitzer, *Das Wesen des ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der Alten Ägypten*, *ÄF* 19 (Glückstadt, 1956); L. Greven, *Der Ka in Theologie und Königs kult der Ägypter des Alten Reiches*, *ÄF* (Glückstadt, 1952); P. Kaplony, 'Ka' in *LÄ III*, 275-82; see recently, Bolshakov, *Man and his Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom*, *ÄAT* 37 (Wiesbaden, 1997).

<sup>362</sup> For the corpulent portrait and its indication of maturity or old age see, Harpur, *Decoration*, 133-4; Bolshakov, op. cit., 218-234.



### Dating:

Apart from the small format and style of the stela, the horizontal layout of the inscriptions on the inner jambs is indicative of an even later date than the Old Kingdom.<sup>363</sup> Two of the deceased's figures provide postures which are indicative of the very late Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period: the adoration posture, and the representation of a male smelling a lotus blossom. The composition of the slices of bread surmounted by a foreleg of beef, and a trussed duck is also characteristic of the table scene during that period.

The variation of the deceased's pose on each jamb is a later phenomenon.<sup>364</sup> The arrangement of  , the writing of *pr̥t hrw*, the degenerated shape of the town determinative, and the writing of the *is*-sign with two ties, resembling the book roll sign at that time , instead of the usual Eighth Dynasty writing <sup>365</sup> are all characteristic orthography of the Herakleopolitan Period. The abbreviation of the epithet *imꜣh* also points to a date in this period, as are the writing  with a vertical stroke, and the writing of *hrt-ntr* . The addition of *nfr* + adverbial phrase, directly after *pr̥t-hrw* is characteristic phraseology of the Herakleopolitan Period. On these grounds, the stela should be dated to the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 4.1.10. Stela of *Htp* (Plate XV)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 185 (11); II, pl. 73 (1); Gunn, MSS XVIII. 44 (1) (photo).

A small format limestone false door measuring 103x 53x 12.5 cm. It displays the traditional cavetto cornice, and torus moulding. Both figures and texts are incised, except the table scene on the panel which is in raised relief. The false door was fractured into four pieces, and no colour remains. The inscriptions are laid out in a conventional way on the lintel and the four jambs. On the jambs at the end of each column is a representation of the

<sup>363</sup> See comments on this feature above under the stela of *Ipi-m-sꜣ.s* (4.1.5).

<sup>364</sup> See comments under the stela of *Ipi-m-sꜣ.s* (4.1.5).

<sup>365</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 133, fig. 23 (9); Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 8 c.

deceased, who is seen standing facing inwards, as if walking towards the central door. On the left outer jamb the deceased is wearing a shoulder-length wig which leaves his ear exposed, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar, and pointed kilt. He holds a long staff in one hand, and a baton in the other. On the opposite right outer jamb *Htp* appears in a corpulent portrait, showing what is probably a later phase in his life. He is represented with short hair, wearing a broad collar, and long skirt: his left hand is extended open at his side, while the other hand is holding a long staff.

The left and right inner jambs display mirror images of the deceased, who appears with a shoulder-length wig, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar, and pointed kilt, with both hands extended open at his side, probably in token of respect.<sup>366</sup> The window-shutter type panel has the usual table scene: to the left, the deceased sits on a low-back chair, facing right, wearing a shoulder-length wig, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar, and a knee-length kilt. He holds his left hand fisted to his chest, and extends his right hand open towards an offering table. The table shows the usual Old Kingdom type, with bread slices divided into two groups of tall slices, directed outwards.<sup>367</sup> To the right of the table pedestal, resting directly on the floor, is a large nested ewer and basin, with the ewer spout directed outwards. Above the offering scene a single line of inscriptions runs from right to left.

#### Transliteration:

(A) 1. *htp di nswt inpw tpy-dw.f imy-wt nb t3 dsr prit-hrw nt* 2. *hrp-sh pr-3 im3hw hr ntr-3 nb pt Htp* (B) 3. *hrp-sh pr-3 im3hw hr pth-skr Htp* (C) 4. *hrp-sh pr-3 im3hw hr wsir nb Ddw Htp* (F) 5. *hrp-sh pr-3 Htp* (G) 6. *imy-r3 pr šn<sup>c</sup> Htp* (E) 7. *im3hw hrp-sh pr-3 Htp* (D) 8. *im3hw hr nb.f hrp-sh pr-3 Htp*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, a voice offering of (2). the Director of the Dining Hall of the Great Palace, who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven, *Htp*. (3). Director of the Dining Hall of the Great Palace, revered by Ptah-Soker, *Htp*. (4). Director of the Dining


<sup>366</sup> Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 6-9, Abb. 1 (1).

<sup>367</sup> Hassan, *Giza V*, 170, fig. 125.



Hall of the Great Palace, revered by Osiris, lord of Busiris, *Htp.* (5). Director of the Dining Hall of the Great Palace, *Htp.* (6) Overseer of the Storehouse, *Htp.* (7). He who is honoured the Director of the Dining Hall of the Great Palace, *Htp.* (8). He who is honoured by his lord, the Director of the Dining Hall of the Great Palace, *Htp.*

### Comments:

*Htp* the name of the stela's owner is spelt with signs *t* and *p* reversed thus  each time it is written. This spelling is not uncommon.<sup>368</sup> It is suggested by Gunn that the name should read *Htp.ti*, which explain the ending *t*.<sup>369</sup>

On the outer left jamb the deceased is honoured by Ptah-Sokar. Ptah was the chief god of Memphis.<sup>370</sup> Sokar is also a god of Memphite origin who adopted the shape of a falcon.<sup>371</sup> A character of a craftsman, and patron of artisans are his outstanding feature during the Old Kingdom.<sup>372</sup> The identity of Sokar as a god of death during the Old Kingdom is not clear as it is in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>373</sup> Nevertheless, certainly the mortuary aspect of Sokar began long before the Middle Kingdom, at least as early the Sixth Dynasty. This is demonstrated by texts in which individuals are qualified as *im3hw hr skr*.<sup>374</sup> The combination of these two gods, in which Ptah is always mentioned first, is not known before the very end of the Fifth, or early Sixth Dynasties.<sup>375</sup> It was not before the end of the Sixth Dynasty and thereafter, that this relationship is well established.<sup>376</sup> This combination of the two gods was regarded as a single being, who sometimes received epithets originally

<sup>368</sup> Cf. *TPC* I, 110, n. 17, pl. 7; Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 14.

<sup>369</sup> See *TPC* I, 185 (11).

<sup>370</sup> Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Uppsala, 1942).

<sup>371</sup> Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, pl. 25.

<sup>372</sup> See, Brovarski, in *LÄ* V, 1056-7; Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 124.

<sup>373</sup> Sokar does not occur in the offering formula before the Middle Kingdom, cf. Barta, *Opferformel*, 8, 15, 25, 38, 45, 56; Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 124.

<sup>374</sup> Cf. Hassan, *Giza* VI/3, 9-17; *CCG* 1419; Macramallah, *Mastaba d'Idout*, pl. 20; G. 5110 (MFA. photo B 3980); *Götterwelt*, 185-9.

<sup>375</sup> Cf. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 28 = Mariette, *Mastabas*, 377; *Urk* I, 120, 124; *ASAE* 17 (1917), 134.

<sup>376</sup> Cf. *TPC* II, pls. 73 (1), 76 (1), 77 (A); Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XVIII (2-3); *CCG* 1358, 1446, 1455, 1512, 1619, 1624; Berlin 10184; more examples of unpublished false doors on which the deceased is referred to as *im3hw hr Pth-Skr* will be discussed below. It has been suggested that the occurrence of the epithet *im3hw hr Pth-Skr* in inscriptions of individuals from outside the Memphite necropolis would indicate an early tie with residence, cf. E. Marin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*, *HAB* I (Hildsheim, 1976), 134, 137, n. 1.



confined to Ptah and at other times epithets originally reserved to Sokar.<sup>377</sup> Yet, it was not until the New Kingdom that this combined god was represented in art, where Ptah-Sokar is usually viewed as Sokar in the guise of falcon's head and human body. However, in a very few cases this god adopted the shape of Ptah.<sup>378</sup>

The title *hꜣrp-sꜥ pr-ꜥ3* 'Director of the Dining Hall of the Great Palace' is best explained in the Pyramid Texts, where the butler and 'Director of the Dining Hall' of *Rꜥ* and of the chief temple of Ptah was the one responsible for feeding the dead King.<sup>379</sup> The office is known since the early dynastic Period, when it was probably then just a domestic palace office.<sup>380</sup> According to Helck this office became a honorific rank by the Fifth Dynasty on the grounds that a seemingly low ranked office was held by high-ranking officials.<sup>381</sup> There is no reason to believe such a conclusion, as it seems that this office from the Fifth Dynasty and thereafter was frequently held by servants and funerary attendants.<sup>382</sup> This is also demonstrated by tomb-scenes which show the Directors of Dining Hall bringing offerings to the tomb owner,<sup>383</sup> cooking food for the deceased,<sup>384</sup> hanging up meat to dry and preparing which for cooking,<sup>385</sup> and working as butlers, presenting the deceased with cups of drink.<sup>386</sup> Other scenes show these official taking up role of *hꜣm-k3* priests, as they are represented, for instance, burning incense in front of the statue of the tomb owner,<sup>387</sup> purifying the offering and food in front of the deceased, or being engaged in the final ritual *int-rd* with the lector priests.<sup>388</sup> Such iconography probably suggests that the *hꜣrp-sꜥ*, as a servant and funerary attendant, shared with the *hꜣm-k3* priests many of the same duties at the tomb, perhaps comparable but not exactly the same as the role played by both *hꜣmw-nꜥtr* and

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<sup>377</sup>; Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 129-31.

<sup>378</sup> Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 135-47; *LÄ* V, 1055-74; C. Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, *GoF* 28/1-2 (Wiesbaden, 1994).

<sup>379</sup> Pyr. 560 (a-c); cf. also, Sethe, *Kommentar zu den Pyramiden Texten* III, 54-5.

<sup>380</sup> Kaplony, *IFÄ* I, 366-7, 500; Helck, in *LÄ* IV, 647-8.

<sup>381</sup> Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 34.

<sup>382</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 167, n. 715; Posener-Kriéger, *Néferirkare-Kakai*, 293.

<sup>383</sup> E.g. von Bissing, *Mastaba des Gem-Ni-Ka*, 19 (172); Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. XLII; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 112; cf. also, *LD* II, Bl. 23, 30.

<sup>384</sup> El-Khouli and Kanawati, *El-Hammamiya*, pl. 42 (C, E), 44, 47-8.

<sup>385</sup> Blackman, *Meir* IV, pl. VIII; Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, pls. 37-8.

<sup>386</sup> Clère, *RdE* 7 (1950), 24, n. 2.

<sup>387</sup> Cf. Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. IX (a).

<sup>388</sup> Cf. James, *Khentika*, pl. XIV (top).



*ḥntiw-š* priests in the royal cult.<sup>389</sup> The association of *ḥrp-šh* and the palace institution *pr-ʿ3* is known from early periods, but surprisingly does not occur as a combined title before the early Sixth Dynasty.<sup>390</sup> The nature of *ḥrp-šh*, and *ḥrp-šh pr-ʿ3* as a servant and funerary attendant has, as one would expect, an association with other offices of the same nature. For instance, some of these office holders were also *šḥd ḥmw-k3*,<sup>391</sup> or even sometimes a ritualist.<sup>392</sup> Being controllers of the dining hall they were associated with food departments such as the slaughter house, food supplies, and stores,<sup>393</sup> or in other cases with the *pr-šnʿ* ‘the storehouse’.<sup>394</sup>

*imy-r pr šnʿ* ‘Overseer of the Storehouse’ or ‘Overseer of the Department of the Stores’ is a post concerned with food provisions and storage in general. It is a department associated with the palace/state as well as other institutions.<sup>395</sup> The structure of this office is headed by the rank of Overseer, who is assisted by other officials of the ranks of *šḥd* and *imy-ḥt*.

<sup>389</sup> For the last two priestly classes see Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom*, 83; idem, *BSAK* 4 (1991), 179. Note that Roth suggests no alternative for the *ḥntiw-š* priests in private tombs.

<sup>390</sup> Contrary to Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 33-4, the title is known from early Sixth Dynasty onwards, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 210; Hassan, *Saqqara* II, 65, 75; Barsanti, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 155, fig. 9. For some late Old Kingdom examples see, e.g. Kanawati, *Saqqara* II, pl. 22; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 114-115, fig. 130; see also M. Gracia, ‘Administration territoriale et organisation de l’espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire J.-C. (III-IV)’, *ZÄS* 125 (1998), 49.

<sup>391</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 272 = Hassan, *Giza* II, 32-45; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 210 = Sayce MSS 21d; CCG 1410; LD II, Bl. 52.

<sup>392</sup> Cf. *Rḥy* who was *ḥrp-šh* and *ḥry-ḥb imy-r st pr-ʿ3* (Brussels E 5293 = Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes*, 13).

<sup>393</sup> Cf. *Ḥnt* who was *ḥrp-šh* and *qbḥ-nmt* ‘Master Butcher’ PM III<sup>2</sup>, 279 = Hassan, *Giza* VI/3, 199; *Ny-ḥnh-irty-Ppy* who was also *imy-r ḡw* ‘Overseer of the Fat’ PM III<sup>2</sup>, 739 = Koefoed-Petersen, *Recueil inscriptions*, 38 (22); *Nfr-sšm/Iḥi* held different jobs some of them linked to food provisioning like *qbḥ-nmt*, *imy-r lʿw-r nb nswt* ‘Master Butcher and Overseer of every Breakfast of the King’, see also Fischer, *Or* 29 (1960), 174-5; *Ph-r-nfr* also held other titles referring to provisioning, such as *imy-r ḡw ḥrp rḥw* and other titles cf. Junker, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 63-73.

<sup>394</sup> E.g. Kanawati, *Saqqara* II, pl. 22; Brussels E 2674. see also comments below on the title *imy-r pr-šnʿ*.

<sup>395</sup> See e.g. J.J. Perepelkin, ‘Das Shnau-Haus im Alten Reiche’ in *Trudy 25 Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa Vostokovedov* I (Moscow, 1962), 138-42; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 59, n. 1, 60, ns. 1-3; D. Polz, ‘Die *šnʿ*-Vorsteher des Neuen Reiches’ in *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 43, anm. 9; P. Andrassy, ‘Das *Pr-šnʿ* im Alten Reich’ in *SAK* 20 (1993), 17-23; C.J. Eyre, in *The Unbroken Reed*, 110, n. 35; idem, in M.A. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven, 1987), 29-30. For the various materials stored in the *šnʿ*-stores see Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives*, 327-8, 333-5, 406-9, 346, 357-8, 362-65, 368-88, 392.



It is suggested by Andrassy and others that the post probably had greater responsibilities than the supervision of one or more store houses.<sup>396</sup> In some cases this office seems to embrace the entire process of taxation and land division.<sup>397</sup> However the Overseer of the Storehouse could be a person of relatively little importance, as indicated by examples in which the rank of *imy-r pr-šn*<sup>c</sup> is attributed to some funerary attendants with the rank of *hrp-šh* or *hrp-šh pr-š*.<sup>398</sup> This probably represents the case for *Htp* the owner of the present stela. *Htp* was probably a middle class functionary,<sup>399</sup> possibly a funerary attendant employed by the state (*pr-š*), to serve in the royal cult of probably King Teti, near which he had his tomb built.

### Dating:

The false door of the *Htp* is the only inscribed piece left from his chapel which is built possibly to the north of the Teti pyramid. Dating criteria are, therefore, confined to the style, iconography and palaeography of the false door. The overall design and the small format is an expected feature at the very end of the Old Kingdom in the Teti cemeteries.<sup>400</sup> This view is enforced by the design of the panel and its apertures: as in a great number of false doors of the very end of the Old Kingdom and later, the recess does not clearly demarcate the inscribed area above it.<sup>401</sup> The relief displays some rather familiar features, which perhaps are known from earlier times such as the shoulder length wig, which leaves the ear exposed, a phenomenon which probably made its first appearance in the reign of Pepy I, and became more popular thereafter.<sup>402</sup> Another late feature is the lengthening of the skirt, worn by the

<sup>396</sup> See Andrassy, *SAK* 20 (1993), 23-6, ns. 25-9, pp. 28-33.

<sup>397</sup> See, *Coptite Nome*, 59, n. 2, 60, n. 1; Fischer, *Dendera*, 120-3; Petrie, *Dendera*, pl. 7 A; *Urk* I, 294: 7, 15; Hayes, *JEA* 32 (1946), 9 (3).

<sup>398</sup> See comment above on the title *hrp-šh pr-š*; see also, *Coptite Nome*, 60, n. 2; C. Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs*, 103-4; De Morgan *Cat. mons.* I, 157, 174; Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 11 (left).

<sup>399</sup> In term of the social standing of the holders of this office, the rank in general is of a middle class standing, although sometime otherwise high ranking officials have this rank in their titulary, cf. *SAK* 20 (1993), 31, n. 66; *The Unbroken Reed*, 110, n.35. Note that the office *imy-r pr-šn*<sup>c</sup> is unattested in any of the Viziers' titulary.

<sup>400</sup> *TPC* I, fig. 88.

<sup>401</sup> The earliest dated example of a similar panel is that of Princess *Nbt* of the Eighth Dynasty, cf. Habachi, *SAK* 10 (1983), 205-13, fig. 3; see also Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), Taf. VI; idem, in *MMJ* 11 (1976), 9, n. 30, figs. 3-4.

<sup>402</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, critère 31, n. 79, fig. 46-7, table, p. 180.



corpulent figure of the deceased, which appears on the right outer jamb, and the placing of the navel and the buttock higher on the figure.<sup>403</sup>

The palaeography also provides some late features: the degenerate form of the town determinative with three cross-roads is typical of very late Old Kingdom.<sup>404</sup> The writing of the *pt*-sign with out-curved ends instead of the usual  $\equiv$ , is frequently used during the period under consideration.<sup>405</sup> This palaeographic feature is known in the provinces at the very end of the Old Kingdom and thereafter.<sup>406</sup> The writing of *pr**t*-*hrw* is also indicative of a later date, as is the writing of the beer-jar with two handles.<sup>407</sup> The qualification of the deceased as *im3hw hr pth-skr* and the title *hrp-sh pr-3* are known in the Sixth Dynasty, but they do not become familiar before the very end of that Dynasty. One would suggest a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty) for the false door of *Htp*.

#### 4.1.11. Stela of *Hnwt.i* (Plate XVI)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 183 (6); II, pl. 70 (2); Gunn MSS XIV. 45 (3), XVIII. 46 (1); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544.

A limestone stela measuring 96 x 56.5 x 12 cm. The small format false door is of a simple design, typical of the late Old Kingdom: a cavetto cornice, torus moulding and a square panel flanked by two narrow apertures on either side. Inscriptions and figures are incised. From the description of Gunn the door was incomplete, as the opening of the offering formula was left just in paint, as were some of the palm leaves, the lashing of the torus moulding and the lines framing the inscriptions.<sup>408</sup> Colouring: some of the palm leaves, lashing on the torus moulding, lines framing the inscriptions, wigs, lower part of  $\mathfrak{I}$ -sign are black; thick end of the haunch, basin under the table, stalks of  $\mathfrak{I}$ -sign,  $\delta$ -sign are red; some leaves of the cornice, apertures, rectangular-shaped bread are yellow.

<sup>403</sup> See Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 245, fig. 10; Harpur, *Decoration*, 131-3, table 6.9.

<sup>404</sup> cf. *MMJ* 11 (1976), 8, n. 12; E. Brovarski, *JNES* 32 (1973), 460, fig. 4.

<sup>405</sup> E.g. *TPC* II, pls. 70 (1), 71 (1-2), 72 (1-2).

<sup>406</sup> See Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 18; Fischer, *Dendera*, 86, n. 383; Brovarski, *Nag-ed-Deir*, 178-9 (6), 212 (6) and references there.

<sup>407</sup> Fischer, *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 20; idem, in *BES* 9 (1987-88), 18, n. 15.

<sup>408</sup> *TPC* I, 183 (6).

The inscriptions are laid out in a traditional way, as each of the four columns of inscriptions on the jambs ends with a figure of the deceased standing, facing towards the central niche. The outer jambs display mirror images of the deceased, wearing a long lappeted wig, a broad collar, and a long tight fitting dress with shoulder straps. She holds a lotus blossom to her nose with one hand, and extends her other hand open at her side, on the left jamb, while the right jamb shows the hand fisted. A slight difference can be seen in the anklets worn by the deceased figure on the right jamb, and the representation of the lotus flower which appears on the right jamb with short stem and a simpler flower umbel.

The inner jambs display another pair of mirror images of *Hnwt.i*. She is seen with short hair, wearing a broad collar, a long tight fitting dress with only one shoulder strap, and anklet. She extends one hand open in front of her, probably in a token of respect, while her other hand is extended fisted at her side. On the square panel, the deceased sits on a low-back chair on the left facing right. She wears a long lappeted wig, a broad collar, bracelets, a long garment, and a pair of anklets. She holds an unguent jar to her nose with her left hand, and extends her right hand open towards an offering table. The offering table appears with the rectangular-shaped bread slices, surmounted by a foreleg of beef. Next to the table and resting on the floor is a large nested ewer and basin.

#### Transliteration:

(A) 1. *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb Ddw prit-hrw* (B) 2. *n im3hwt h̄krt nswt wʿtt Hnwt.i* (C) 3. *im3hwt hr inpw tpy dw.f nb t3 dsr Hnwt.i* (F) 4. *im3hwt Hnwt.i* (G) 5. *im3hwt Hnwt.i* (E) 6. *h̄krt nswt wʿtt im3hwt Hnwt.i* (D) 7. *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht*

#### Translation:


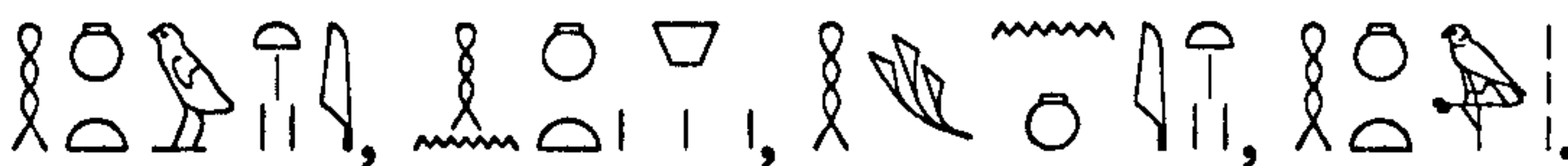
1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of Busiris, a voice offering 2. to the revered, the Sole Ornament of the King<sup>409</sup> *Hnwt.i*. 3. She who is honoured by Anubis who is upon his mountain, lord of the sacred land, *Hnwt.i*. 4. The revered *Hnwt.i*. 5. The revered *Hnwt.i*. 6. The Sole Ornament of the King the revered *Hnwt.i*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing.

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<sup>409</sup> For the title *h̄krt nswt wʿtt* in the Old Kingdom see comment above on the stela of *S3t I-tnw* (4.2.2).



### Comments:

The name *Hnwt.i* 'my mistress' is spelt differently each time it occurs on the stela: , . The name appears during the Old Kingdom.<sup>410</sup> It is interesting to note that one of the spellings includes the divine determinative for the word *hnwt*. This leaves no doubt that the *hnwt* refers to a royal or perhaps a celestial mastership. The term *hnwt* can be used as an epithet for the royal pyramid,<sup>411</sup> as well as Hathor in the Old Kingdom.<sup>412</sup>

The deceased is seen on the inner jambs, and the outer right jamb, with one of her hands extended fistful at her side rather than the open hand that is more characteristic of women.<sup>413</sup>

### Dating:

The style and format is similar to that of *Ti-m-htp* whose false door comes from the same site,<sup>414</sup> and who is probably a contemporary. The representation of *Hnwt.i* smelling an unguent jar is first seen on the false doors of male officials at the end of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>415</sup> It was probably only a little later that this motif was adopted for women. *Idwt*'s relief which shows her holding the ointment jar to her nose, is probably the earliest occurrence for women.<sup>416</sup> Roughly contemporary with *Idwt*, the pose is also seen in the provinces,<sup>417</sup> but it is not before the very end of the Old Kingdom, that the motif became

<sup>410</sup> Cf. *PN I*, 242:18; II, 306: 5; *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 69, 955 (index); Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, fig. 9.

<sup>411</sup> *Urk I*, 109; cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 41 (1955)121; Wilke, *ZÄS* 70, 56-63; cf. also Fischer, *BiOr* 36 (1979), 25.

<sup>412</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 211, n. 820.

<sup>413</sup> Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 15, n. 55; cf. also *TPC II*, pl. 68.

<sup>414</sup> Cf. comment above on the stela of *Ti-m-htp* (4.1.7).


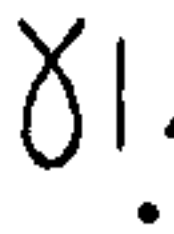
<sup>415</sup> One of earliest examples occurs in the chapel of *Pth-htp II* at Saqqara, cf. *Atlas III*, 3; see also, Brovarski, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant I*, 101.

<sup>416</sup> Cf. Macramallah, *Le mastaba d'Idout* (Cairo, 1935), pls XIV-XV, XVII. The tomb of *Idwt* was originally built and decorated for the Vizier *Ihy* who probably lived in the reign of King Unas at the end of the Fifth Dynasty. The tomb was later usurped by Princess *Idwt*, whose artist probably used some of *Ihy*'s postures, such as the motif under consideration, but changing the identity of the deceased.

<sup>417</sup> Brovarski, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant I*, 107.

familiar as a female posture either in the Memphite necropolis or in the provincial cemeteries.<sup>418</sup>

The rectangular bread-like shape surmounted by a foreleg of beef is a typical composition of the Herakleopolitan Period table iconography. Also the representation of the deceased with her hand fisted on her door jambs is indicative of a later date.<sup>419</sup>

The arrangement of  is expected on stelae from the Memphite necropolis during the Herakleopolitan Period, as are the degenerated shape of the town determinative, the abbreviation of *im3hwt*, and the application of vertical stroke in the writing of *šs* .<sup>420</sup> The writing *t3*-sign with two pellets points also to a later date.<sup>421</sup> The variation in the spelling of the name is also a phenomenon which seems to be characteristic of this period: it appears on at least eight stelae known to come from Teti pyramid cemeteries, all of which seem to date to the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>422</sup> Although the style is of a late Sixth Dynasty date, the iconographic features and particularly the palaeographic details suggests a date in the Herakleopolitan Period.

<sup>418</sup> In Memphis, cf. *TPC II*, pl. 72 (1); Louvre E 14 184 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-06*, pl. XVI (right); idem, *Saqqara 1906-07*, pls X (1), XI (1); Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), figs. 3 a, 4 a; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 102; Florence Museo Archeologico no. 2560. In the provinces e.g. at Abydos, cf. Brovarski, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant I*, 107; at Dendera, cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, pl. XVII; at Naqada, cf. idem, *Coptite Nome*, pls. XVII, XXIII.; cf. also CCG 1649.

<sup>419</sup> Cf. Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 15; *TPC II*, pl. 68.

<sup>420</sup> *FMÄS*, 32-6.

<sup>421</sup> Fischer, *BES* 9 (1987-88), 14; idem, *Varia Nova*, 26.

<sup>422</sup> Cf. *TPC II*, pls 69, 70 (1), 71 (1-2), 72 (1); Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-07*, pls VI (1), X (1); idem, *Saqqara 1905-6*, pl. XV. The last stela belongs to an official who served in the mortuary cult of King Merykare.



#### 4.1.12. Stela of *Ṭpi-m-s3.f/ṭpi*

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 567; Gunn MSS XV.27; Notebook 9, no. 21, probably the same owner of the calcite head rest, *TPC I*, 270 (5).<sup>423</sup>

A small format limestone false door, according to Gunn, it measures 106 x 66 x 10 cm. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the panel scene is in raised relief. The only surviving colours are traces of red on the some of the leaves of the cornice. The cross bar is decorated in sunk relief with a pair of *wḏ3t*-eyes. The workmanship is good. The stela is fractured into six fragments, and chipped in some places, particularly on the flat surface above the cornice.





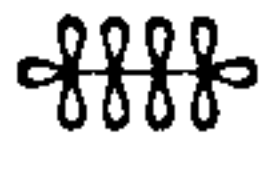
##### Transliteration:

1. (H) *sṭ-ḥb ḥknw sṭ nḥnm tw3t ḥ3tt ʿš (ḥ3tt ṭhnw) (ʿrfwy) w3ḏw [msdmt]* 2. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ḍdw ḥnty* 3. (B) *imntiw nb 3bḏw prit-ḥrw im3ḥw Ṭpi-m-s3.f* 4. (C) *im3ḥw ḥr i[n]pw tp ḏw.f imy-wt (nb) t3 ḏsr prit ḥrw im3(ḥw) Ṭpi* 5. (F) *im3(ḥ) ḥr nṯr-ʿ3 nb pt Ṭpi-m-s3.f* 6 (G) *im3(ḥ)w ḥr inpw* 7. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt (n) im3ḥw Ṭpi-m-s3.f*











##### Translation:

1. *sṭ* festival oil, *ḥknw* oil, *sṭ* oil, *tw3t* oil, *nḥnm* oil, the best ʿš oil, (the best of the *ṭhnw* oil, two bags) of green eye-paint, and (black eye-paint). 2. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu, 3. lord of Abydos, a voice offering (to) the honoured *Ṭpi-m-s3.f*. 4. He who is honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, (lord) of the sacred land, a voice offering (to) the honoured *Ṭpi*. 5. He who is honoured by the great god lord of heaven, *Ṭpi-m-s3.f*. 6. He who is honoured by Anubis. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing (to) the honoured *Ṭpi-m-s3.f*.

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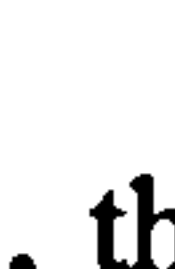
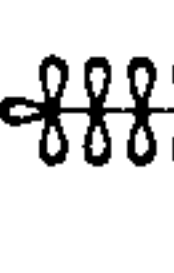

<sup>423</sup> The ink inscription on the head rest reads, *im3ḥw ḥr nṯr-ʿ3*    *Ṭpi-m-s3.f*. This group was read by Gunn as *[n] ḥrt-nṯr*, which may be better read as *nṯr-ʿ3 nb [pt][m] ḥrt-hrw* 'lord of heaven, in the course of every day'. Note the hieratic form  of the sign .

### Comment:

A general feature worthy of mention is the omission of some of the signs, as in the writing of *pr̥t hr̥w*,  for *inpw*, and ,   for *im3h* or the adding of irrelevant ones, as in the writing of   ,   . Note also the omission of the preposition *n* before *im3h* and *nb* before *t3 dsr*. The *m* sign replaces the *3* sign in the writing of the word *tw3t* on the flat surface above the cornice, which is rather unusual.

### Dating:

The most telling feature for dating the stela is the decoration of the cross bar. The appearance of the pair of *wḏ3t*-eye in this location is probably first evidenced in the reign of Merykare.<sup>424</sup> The table scene is otherwise characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period.

The arrangement   , the full writing of the Anubis phonetically as well as ideographically   , the writing of *pr̥t-hr̥w* with the ox's and bird's head, and the abbreviated west ideogram, all points to a date in that period. The name formation of the stela owner in itself points to a later date, perhaps not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period, when theophorus names with the element *ṭpi* are frequently known.<sup>425</sup> The substitution of  for the ideogram  is significantly evidenced during that period, and became frequent thereafter.<sup>426</sup> The stela evidently dates to a period not earlier than that of Merykare.

<sup>424</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 40, n.1; idem, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 248-250, n. 12; idem, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (New York, 1976), 46-7, n. 66. See also comments above under the stela of *ṭpi/in* (4.1.28) whose false door cross bar is decorated with a pair of *wḏ3t* eyes, and who was contemporary with the reign of Merykare.

<sup>425</sup> Cf. *PNI*, 22:14-20; II, 49.

<sup>426</sup> Fischer, *MMJ* 9 (1974), 26.



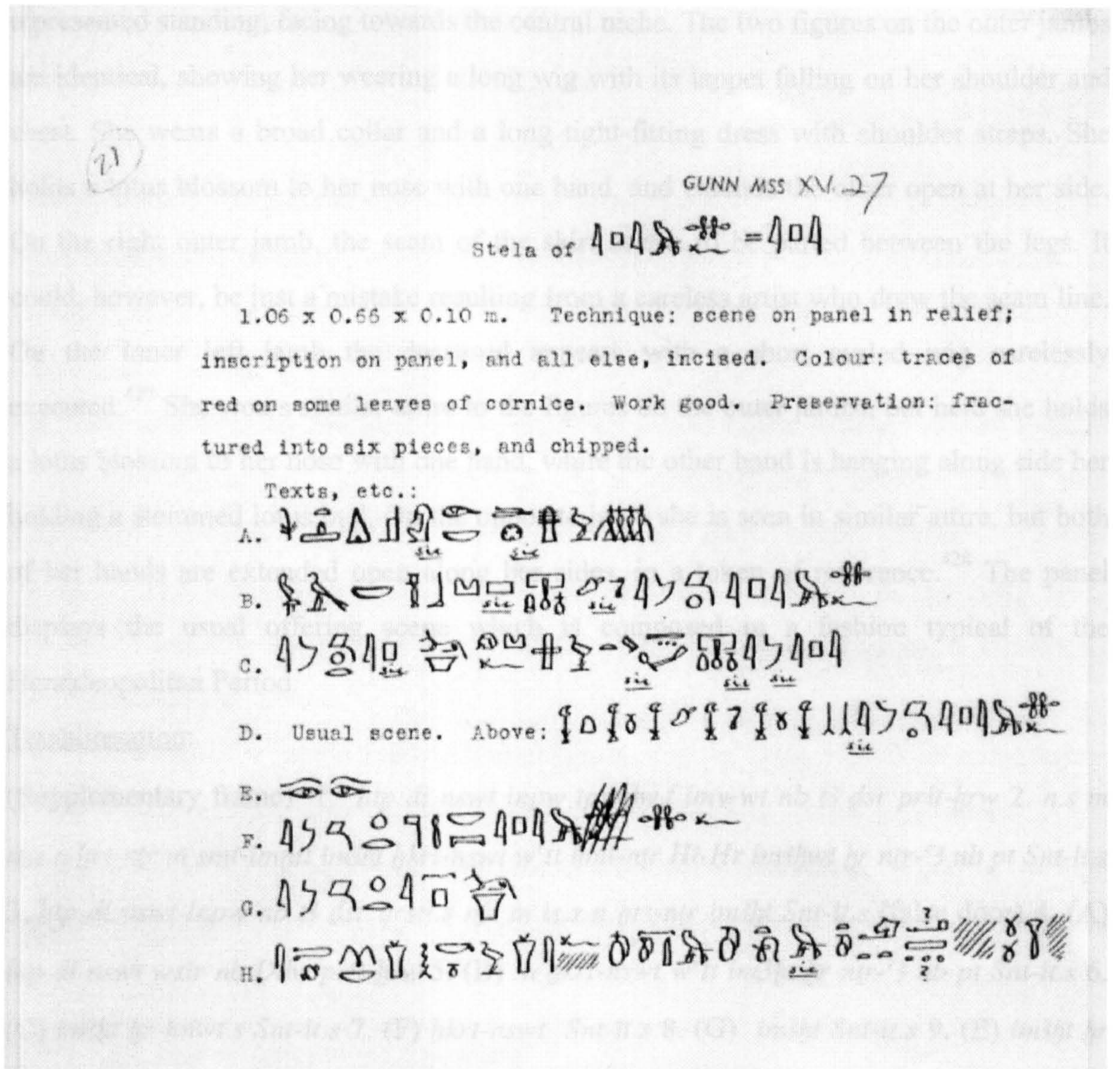


Fig. 1. (false door of *Ipi-m-s3.f*)

#### 4.1.13. Stela of *Snt-it.s* (Plate XVII)

Bibl: Medelshavemuseet, Stockholm 11434; Gunn MSS XIV. 51 (1), (2); Notebook, 9 no. 22; R.1.9; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 568; Wangstedt, *Medelahavsmuseet Bulletin* I (1961), 43-45, Abb. I; Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, 115, n. 17.

A limestone stela measuring 106 x 62 cm. It is of the usual late Old Kingdom design and has an inscribed supplementary frame. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the table scene on the panel is in raised relief. On the jambs the deceased is



represented standing, facing towards the central niche. The two figures on the outer jambs are identical, showing her wearing a long wig with its lappet falling on her shoulder and chest. She wears a broad collar and a long tight-fitting dress with shoulder straps. She holds a lotus blossom to her nose with one hand, and extends the other open at her side. On the right outer jamb, the seam of the skirt seems to be parted between the legs. It could, however, be just a mistake resulting from a careless artist who drew the seam line. On the inner left jamb the deceased appears with a short curled wig carelessly executed.<sup>427</sup> She wears similar attire to the figures on the outer jambs, but here she holds a lotus blossom to her nose with one hand, while the other hand is hanging along side her holding a stemmed lotus bud. On the opposite jamb she is seen in similar attire, but both of her hands are extended open along her sides, in a token of reverence.<sup>428</sup> The panel displays the usual offering scene which is composed in a fashion typical of the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### Transliteration:

(Supplementary frame) 1. *h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy-ḏw.f imy-wt nb t3 ḏsr prit-ḥrw* 2. *n.s m is.s n h̄rt-n̄r m smt-imntt im3h̄t h̄krt-nswt wʿtt h̄mt-n̄r H̄t-H̄r im3h̄wt ḥr n̄r-ʿ3 nb pt Snt-it.s* 3. *h̄tp di nswt inpw nb t3 ḏsr qrsti.s nfr m is.s n h̄rt-n̄r im3h̄t Snt-it.s* (false door) 4. (A) *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb Ḍdw prit-ḥrw* 5. (B) *n h̄krt-nswt wʿtt im3h̄t ḥr n̄r-ʿ3 nb pt Snt-it.s* 6. (C) *im3h̄t ḥr hnwt.s Snt-it.s* 7. (F) *h̄krt-nswt Snt-it.s* 8. (G) *im3h̄t Snt-it.s* 9. (E) *im3h̄t ḥr inpw Snt-it.s* 10. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 hnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnht n im3h̄t Snt-it.s*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, a voice offering 2. to her in her tomb of the necropolis in the western cemetery, the honoured, Sole Ornament of the King, Prophetess of Hathor, she who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven, *Snt-it.s*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Anubis lord of the sacred land, may she be buried beautifully in her tomb of the necropolis, the honoured *Snt-it.s*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord

<sup>427</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, critère 43, tb. on p. 190.

<sup>428</sup> Cf. Domenicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 5-6, 28.



of Busiris, a voice offering 5. to the Sole Ornament of the King, the one honoured by the great god, lord of heaven *Snt-it.s*. 6. She who is honoured by her mistress *Snt-it.s*. 7. Ornament of the King *Snt-it.s*. 8. The honoured *Snt-it.s*. 9. She who is honoured by Anubis *Snt-it.s*. 10. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the revered *Snt-it.s*.

### Comments:

The short wig worn by the stela owner is known in two types, with or without fillet.<sup>429</sup> Contrary to Brovarski,<sup>430</sup> the short female wig is known in the Memphite area in both forms. The short wig with fillet is found as early as the Fifth Dynasty or probably a little earlier.<sup>431</sup> The other style without fillet was probably introduced in the early Sixth Dynasty<sup>432</sup> and continued in use during the later part of the Old Kingdom,<sup>433</sup> and during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>434</sup>

The use of a supplementary frame surrounding the false door is an architectural feature which was probably introduced at the end of the Old Kingdom, probably in the reign of Pepy II.<sup>435</sup> The style of door with frame is known from the early part of the long reign of this king.<sup>436</sup> The innovation probably derived from earlier chapel designs such as

<sup>429</sup> With fillet cf. Cherpion, op. cit, critère 44, tb. p. 190-1; without fillet cf. ibid, critère 43, tb. p. 190

<sup>430</sup> Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 180-181, 239, n. 272.

<sup>431</sup> See Cherpion, op cit, tb. p. 190-191.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid, tb. p. 190.

<sup>433</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, figs. 9-12, 33; idem, *Mastabat Faraoun*, fig. 24; idem, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 22, 36, 98, 102, 129.

<sup>434</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XVI; idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (1); *TPC II*, pl. 68. This fashion is known in sites other than Saqqara: at Dendera, cf. Petrie, *Denderah*, pls. 10, 11; Fischer, *Dendera*, pl. 13; at Naqada and Zawayda, cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 2, 4-6, 8-9; at Thebes, see Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs*, pls. 3, 6, 8-9, 11-12, 14, 18; at Abydos, Fischer, *JARCE 2* (1963), figs., 2, 3, pls. 1,2; Brovarski, 'An unpublished stele of the First Intermediate Period in the Oriental Institute Museum', *JNES* 32 (1973), figs. 3-4; at Meir, cf. Blackman, *Meir V*, pl. XXVII; at Quseir El-Amarna, cf. El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir El-Amarna*, pls. 34-35; at Naga ed Deir, this type of wig was worn by women at the very end of the Old Kingdom: it is suggested by Brovarski that this fashion passed out by the beginning of the Herakleopolitan Period in Upper Egypt, and re-appeared again at the end of the period, see, Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 180-181, 239, n. 272.

<sup>435</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 17; cf. also, cf. *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 98, 107, 111, 119, 135, 138; cf. also *Deir el Gebrâwi*, II, pl. 16.

<sup>436</sup> Perhaps the earliest is the stela of *Nfr-sšm-sš3t/hnw* buried at Saqqara, cf. Mariette, *Mastabas*, 407-410. The stela frame here is itself enclosed by a second torus moulding and cavetto cornice. This individual is probably to be dated to the end of the reign of Merenre, or early in the reign of Pepy II, cf. Baer, *Rank and*




that of Princess *Inti*,<sup>437</sup> as well as that of *Tsi* and *Q3r* of Idfu.<sup>438</sup> These chapels display a similar layout to the stela with frame, and date to the early part of the Sixth Dynasty.




The title and offices held by the stela's owner are undoubtedly indicative of her social standing, as probably does the high quality of her stela. She was probably effectively participating in the Memphite cult of Hathor, to whom the epithet *hnwt.s* probably refers, which may be supported by the fact that the word has the divine

determinative .<sup>439</sup>

### Dating:

Following the usual criteria, the door style and design with the supplementary inscribed frame points to a date not earlier than the end of the Sixth Dynasty. Characteristically, this style is also frequently adopted at South Saqqara during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>440</sup> The offering table composition of the rectangular-like bread slices shape, surmounted by a foreleg of beef, and a trussed duck is typical of this period. The

arrangement of , the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht* are not evidenced on Memphite stelae before the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of the epithet *imy-wt* with both the pustule and town determinative, the writing of *t3* sign with two pellets underneath are also indicative of a later date. The combined writing of Anubis, phonetically and ideographically is also not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period.

The separation of  and ,<sup>441</sup> and the use of the filling stroke in the writing of *šs* .

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*Title*, 93-4 (275); cf. also Strudwick, *Administration*, 112-13 (89). Kanawati, however, suggests that this official is the same vizier, *Hnw* depicted in the mortuary temple of Pepy II, cf. *Governmental Reforms*, 79. The style in question is also found at Giza as early as the reign of Pepy II, cf. Junker, *Giza VII*, Abb. 8, 107.

<sup>437</sup> Malek, 'Princess Inti, the companion of Horus', *JSSEA* 10/3 (1980), 229-241, figs. 1-3.

<sup>438</sup> *Fouilles Edfou 1933*, pls. 8-9; Cairo, JE 43370.

<sup>439</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 211, n. 820; cf. *Deir el Gebrâwi I*, pl. 18.

<sup>440</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 98, 107; *TPC II*, pl. 69. See also below, some unpublished false doors which consistently display this architectural feature, cf. also, Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIV, XVII (4).

<sup>441</sup> The separation of the two signs occurs occasionally on stelae of the late Herakleopolitan Period and early Eleventh Dynasty from Abydos, cf. Müller, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), 187; Deir el Ballas, cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 107, , fig. 15 (3); and Thebes, cf. *TPPI* §§ 4 (2), 22 (7), 27 (3). However, it is known somewhat earlier at Saqqara, cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 62



features which are not known before the Herakleopolitan Period. The phonetic writing of *nfr* after *qrsti.s* is unusual. The occurrence of the adjective *nfr* after *qrs.ti.s* is also indicative of a later date. One might therefore, suggest a date in the Herakleopolitan Period to which most of the features on the stela point.

#### 4.1.14. Stela of Hry-š.f-nht III (Plate XVIII)

Bibl: Formerly Cairo JE 38556; now in Port-Saïd Mus; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 20, pl. XII; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 562.

According to Quibell, this limestone stela had lost its upper part, including the cavetto cornice, the upper lintel, and the top part of the outer right jamb as well as the top corner of the left outer and inner jambs. The preserved lower part is cracked in the middle, and measures 106 x 89 cm. The stela is of large format,<sup>442</sup> with six jambs, three on each side. The panel type is that which fills the entire space between the middle jambs. Traces of colours are still visible: red for the figures' skin, and white for the garments. Each of the jambs has a portrait of the deceased depicting him standing, facing towards the central niche. On the outer and middle left jambs and the middle right jamb the deceased is represented identically, wearing a shoulder length wig which leaves his ear exposed, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt, holding the usual long staff and baton. The inner jambs and the outer right jamb show the deceased raising his hands in a posture of adoration. The figures on the inner jambs have short hair and abbreviated shoulders,<sup>443</sup> while the figure on the outer right jamb is seen with a shoulder length wig, and full shoulders.

On the panel the deceased sits before an offering table, towards which he extends his right hand, while the other hand is held fisted to his chest. The table is surmounted by the usual rectangular-like bread slices shape, above which are a foreleg of beef, a skinned duck, an ox heart, a joint of meat, and onions. Underneath the table on the left is an ewer and basin, on the right is a tall *hs*-jar. The line indicating the floor is not carved, giving

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<sup>442</sup> TPC I, 179-80, fig. 89.

<sup>443</sup> This particular example is not included by Harpur, cf. *Decoration*, tb. 6. 9, 6. 10.

the impression that the man and the table are floating. The back of the chair on which the deceased sits seems slightly higher than usual, but this is not infrequent.<sup>444</sup>

### Transliteration:

1. (H) [Missing] 2. (A<sup>1</sup>) [Missing] 3. (B<sup>1</sup>) ... .. *im3hw Hry-š.f-nht* 4. (C<sup>1</sup>) ... .. *[lmy]-wt nb t3 dsr prit-hrw n.f nfr m s3d-hb tpy-rnpt hb im3h Hry-š.f-nht* 5. (A) *im3hw mty-n-s3 imy-r [mš<sup>c</sup>]* 6. (B) ... .. *[hr] inpw tpy-dw.f imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> Hry-š.f-nht* 7. (C) *htp di nswt wsir prit-hrw n.f nfr m 3bd smdt hb Hry-š.f-nht* 8. (F) *mty-n-s3 rh-nswt Hry-š.f-nht* 9. (G) *prit-hrw nt im3h Hry-š.f-nht* 10 (E) *rh-nswt im3hw hr ntr ʿ3 Hry-š.f-nht* 11. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3h imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> (Hry-š.f-nht)*

### Translation:

1. and 2. are missing. 3. ... .. the honoured *Hry-š.f-nht*. 4. ... ..[who is in] the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, a voice offering to him beautifully in the *s3d* feast, the beginning of the year feast, the honoured *Hry-š.f-nht*. 5. He who is honoured, Regulator of the Phyles, Overseer of the Expedition ...6. ... ..(honoured) by Anubis who is upon his mountain, Overseer of the Expedition *Hry-š.f-nht*. 7. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, a voice offering to him beautifully at the monthly feast and half-month feast, *Hry-š.f-nht*. 8. Regulator of the Phyle, Royal Acquaintance *Hry-š.f-nht*. 9. A voice offering of the honoured *Hry-š.f-nht*. 10. Royal Acquaintance, he who is honoured by the great god, *Hry-š.f-nht*. 11. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured, Overseer of the Expedition *Hry-š.f-nht*.

### Comments:

The offices held by the stela owner associate him with civil as well as priestly activities. He was a Phyle Regulator of an unspecified cult temple, possibly that of Teti or Merykare, since the tomb of this official was found in the vicinity of these two pyramids. The title *mty-n-s3* is apparently a functional one and unlike these which were awarded on




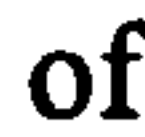
<sup>444</sup> Cf. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 38, n. 48, fig. 24 a-b, critère 23, tb. p. 164 (366); cf. also Fischer, *Dendera*, pls. xiii, xxv, xxviii; idem, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 16, figs. 8-9, fig. 12; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, figs. 16, 23, 24; CCG 1492, 1588, 1581, 1616, 1662.



economic grounds.<sup>445</sup> He also pursued a civil career, as he held a post heading the department of expeditions *imy-r mšꜥ*. *mšꜥ* here probably to be translated as 'army' or 'soldiers'. This meaning, rather than 'expedition', is probably justified given the troubled times the country was enduring.<sup>446</sup>

### Dating:

The full panel, which fills the entire space between the middle jambs and has no recess on either side, is a significant stylistic feature of the false doors of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>447</sup> The composition of bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck, meat cuts, and onions is a frequent combination in the table iconography of the Herakleopolitan Period. In addition the adoration posture is also significant: although known as early as the late Old Kingdom, it did not become frequent on Memphite stelae before the advent of the Herakleopolitan Period. There is also a noteworthy iconographic feature in the way the chair on the panel is produced: that is, the front leg overlaps the side of the chair, a realistic feature which is frequently found in provincial reliefs during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>448</sup>

This dating is also supported by palaeographic and textual features: the writing of *pr̥t hrw* with ox's and bird's heads as well as the additional bread loaf. Although the writing of *pr̥t-hrw* with ox and bird heads is known at Giza from much earlier date,<sup>449</sup> the way it is arranged here and the use of the elongated loaf  instead of the round  is indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period. The abbreviated writing of the epithet *im3h* is not evidenced before that period. The use of the adjective *nfr* plus an adverbial phrase directly after *pr̥t-hrw nfr* is also significant of the Herakleopolitan Period. The interchange or reversal of  and  in the writing of *pr̥t-hrw* on the outer and inner right

<sup>445</sup> Cf. Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* IV, 203-216.

<sup>446</sup> Unfortunately no biographical text found at Memphis from this period speaks about such a time; for texts from outside the Memphite necropolis, see e.g. Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 162, 174, 176, 178, 294; idem, *Governmental Reforms*, 110, 120; Fischer, *Kush* 9 (1961), 78; Goedicke, *JNES* 19 (1960), 288-91.

<sup>447</sup> See, Fischer, *Dendera*, 196, n. 778.

<sup>448</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 53-4, n. 1, fig. 6.

<sup>449</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 83, n. 359; Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 155; see also e.g. Hassan, *Giza* VI/3, 77, fig. 59; VII, 17, 26, figs. 10, 26; II, 163, fig. 193; *Hier. Text* 1, pl. 15 (1); LD II, 95 a.

jambes are also indicative of a later date.<sup>450</sup> One might suggest a date in the Herakleopolitan Period, probably very close to the reign of Merykare. This date may also be supported by the location of the chapel of *Hry-š.f-nht*: the stela was found with other stelae which mention the cult temple of Merykare, probably part of a cemetery which was constructed in the vicinity of the pyramid of this King.<sup>451</sup>

#### 4.1.15. Stela of *Sni* (fem) (Plate XVIII)

Bibl: Neuchâtel Mus. Eg. 426; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 568; Gunn MSS R.I.5, XIV 45 (4), 45 (B); Notebook, 9, no. 24; see also Gabus *175 ans.* I, 54.

A limestone stela found by Firth and Gunn probably after the 1922 season, published in *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 2 vols (Cairo, 1926). It measures 104 x 62 x 16 cm. Texts are incised, while figures on the outer jambs and the panel scene are in raised relief. Colours: some of the cornice leaves and the haunch of beef are red; garments are white; figure's skin yellow. The lashings on the torus moulding are only black-painted on a yellow back-ground. The hieroglyphic text on the flat surface above the cornice is also painted. Texts are arranged in a conventional way on the lintel and jambs, each having either a single line or column. The workmanship is good, signs and figures are carefully cut. Only the outer jambs bear portraits of the deceased, showing her standing facing the central niche. The portraits depicts the deceased with clumsily drawn face, large eyes, and big nose. The figures are identical, representing her wearing a long wig with lappet falling on her shoulder and chest, a broad collar, and a long tight-fitting dress with shoulder straps. She holds a lotus blossom to her nose with one hand, while the other hand is extended along side her grasping an 𓆎 sign. On the panel is the usual funerary meal scene showing the deceased sitting on a low-back chair, facing towards an offering table stacked with bread slices, above which are a foreleg of beef, a joint of meat, an ox's

<sup>450</sup> For the second palaeographic feature see e.g., Fischer, *Dendera*, 153, fig. 28, 183; cf. also CCG 1588.

<sup>451</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII, XV. Both belong to officials who were contemporaries of King Merykare.



heart, and fruit. Underneath the table to the left, and resting directly on the floor, is a tall  $\bar{\text{Y}}$  jar. To the right of the table pedestal is a large ewer and basin.

Transliteration:

1. (H) *ḥtp di nswt st-ḥb ḥknw sft nhnm tw3t ḥ3tt ʿš ṯḥnw ... ..* 2. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw ḥnty* 3 (B) *imntiw nb 3bdw prit-ḥrw n im3ḥt Sni* 4. (C) *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy-ḏw.f imy-wt nb t3 ḏsr prit-ḥrw n (im3ḥt Sni)* 5 (F) *ḥkrt nswt wʿtt ḥmt-ntr Ḥt-ḥr nbt im3ḥ Sni* 6. (G) *im3ḥt ḥkrt nswt wʿtt ḥmt-ntr Ḥt-ḥr nbt im3ḥ Sni* 7. (E) *im3ḥt (ḥr) inpw tpy-ḏw.f ḥkrt nswt wʿtt Sni* 8. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 rw ḥ3 srw ḥ3 trp ḥ3 mnwt ḥ3 mnḥt n im3ḥt ḥkrt nswt wʿtt Sni*

Translation:




1. An offering which the King gives (of) *st*-festival oil, *ḥknw*-oil, *sft*-oil, *nhnm*-oil, *tw3t*-oil, and the best of *ʿš* oil and *ṯḥnw* oil, ..., ... 2. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu, 3. lord of Abydos, a voice offering to the revered *Sni*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, a voice offering to (the honoured *Sni*). 5. Sole Ornament of the King, Prophetess of Hathor, possessor of reverence *Sni*. 6. She who is honoured, Sole Ornament of the King, Prophetess of Hathor, possessor of reverence *Sni*. 7. She who is honoured (by) Anubis who is upon his mountain, Sole Ornament of the King *Sni*. 8. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of *rw*-geese, a thousand of *srw*-geese, a thousand of *trp*-geese, a thousand of *mnwt*-geese, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured, Sole Ornament of the King *Sni*.

Comments:

The stela is of high quality, appropriate to the social status of the owner. She was ‘Priestess of Hathor and Sole Ornament of the King’, the latter probably associated with her office in the temple of Hathor. However, both offices indicate a high social standing in the community at the end of the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>452</sup>

<sup>452</sup> Cf. Leprohon, *JARCE* 31 (1994), 45-6; Gillam, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 227-8.

On the right outer jamb the figure of the deceased directly follows the phrase *pr̥t-hrw n*. It is possible that the scribe run out of space, but more likely that the large figure of the deceased serves as the ideographic writing of the pronoun *i* in which case the phrase should read *pr̥t-hrw n.i* 'a voice offering to me (*Sni*)'.<sup>453</sup>

Some of the signs are reversed, like  on the inner left jamb, as are the title *h̥krt nswt* on the same jamb, and  comes before  in the writing of *pr̥t hrw* on the outer left jamb.

### Dating:

Stylistic and architectural features point to a date not before the very end of the Old Kingdom, particularly the shutter-type panel,<sup>454</sup> and the arrangement of the text on the jambs and lintel. The offering table composition, bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef, cuts of meat, and other offering items, is particularly frequent on false doors of this period in the Memphite necropolis.

The most telling iconographic feature is the representation of the deceased holding the *ḥn̥h*-sign in her hand. Earlier in the Old Kingdom considerable reticence was felt about placing this emblem in the hand of any but gods, kings, and occasionally queens.<sup>455</sup> It is probably not before the Herakleopolitan Period that non-royal individuals were allowed to be seen holding such an emblem.<sup>456</sup> It is reasonable to suggest from, surviving examples, that this artistic motif originated at Memphis during the Herakleopolitan Period, and was probably adopted by individuals at Thebes during the Eleventh Dynasty, perhaps after the Theban invasion of the north.<sup>457</sup> At least three more examples are known to me from Saqqara, and all three are to be dated to the Herakleopolitan Period on the basis of stylistic, iconographic and palaeographic features.<sup>458</sup>

<sup>453</sup> For discussion see Fischer in, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 34-37; cf. idem, *Orientation*, 64-65, nn. 168-169. Here the offering formula is directed towards the deceased, and the name is omitted and replaced by the deceased's figure.

<sup>454</sup> See above passim; cf. also Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 12.









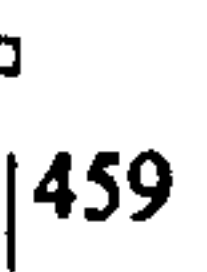
<sup>455</sup> Fischer, *ZÄS* 100, 22.

<sup>456</sup> Ibid, 23-24, nn. 31-33.

<sup>457</sup> Cf. ibid, cf. also Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 27; Brussels, E 8244; BM 159 (96); CCG 20006; Lutz, *Steles*, no. 22; Abdalla, *JEA* 79 (1993), 249.

<sup>458</sup> TPC II, pl. 75; cf. Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, fig. 136. A recent visit to the Egyptian Museum brought to light another example (CCG 57186) which is likely to come from Saqqara on the grounds of its design, style,



On this stela the arrangement , the abbreviated west ideogram, the full writing of *inpw*, and the writing of the epithet *imy-wt*    are all indicative of a date in the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of *t3* sign with only two pellets underneath points also to a later date. Significantly, the abbreviation of the epithet  and  is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period. The use of the filling stroke in the writing of *Ddw*    <sup>459</sup> is also significant: it is not known to me to occur in Memphite inscriptions of this period.<sup>460</sup> This writing is also known in the provinces at a similar date.<sup>461</sup> To sum up the given evidence, one would assign the door to a date close to that of *Dw3t-htp* (4.1.41), *S3t-hmt* (7.1.5) and *Ns-wsrt* (9.3.4), probably not earlier than the end of the Herakleopolitan Period, particularly as indicated by the occurrence of the *nh* in the hand of the deceased and the writing of the *Ddw* with expletive stroke.

#### 4.1.16. Stela of ...-htp (fem)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 568; Gunn, MSS XV.32; Notebook, 10, no. 39.

A limestone stela of small format, measuring 87.5 x 57 x 14 cm. Inscriptions and reliefs are incised, no colour remains, and the surface of the stela is much weathered. The

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and epigraphy. This false door which is dated to the Old Kingdom by the Museum card, is displayed in the Old Kingdom Galleries (Room 31), see below (Egyptian Museum 9.3.4).

<sup>459</sup> Note that the town sign is left with no interior details.

<sup>460</sup> The filling stroke frequently appears in the spelling of *Ddw* on some unpublished false doors from South Saqqara cf. stelae of *Nfr-hsf* (4.8.8), *Impy-lqr* (4.8.3), *Pth-htp* (4.8.6), *Pth-nht* (4.8.4). It also appears on the stela of *Isw-s3-impy* (5.1.1) from Kom el-Fakhry. Cf. also CCG 1446 (9.3.1) from Saqqara too. It also occurs on a false door fragment from the same period, found by Ahmed Fakhry at South Saqqara (7.3.1), cf. Moursi, *GM* 106 (1988), 66, Abb. I, taf. 1. It is found also on Abusir coffins, cf. Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, 23, 29. See also the double false door of *Pth-nht* and his wife, *Catalogue of the National Archaeological Museum Athens*, no. 28.

<sup>461</sup> At Naga ed-Deir, cf. Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 828-9, n. 14; see also CCG 1588. At Dendera, cf. unpublished Eleventh Dynasty stela in Cairo Museum JE 44303. At Beni-Hasan, cf. Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, 89-93. It also occurs on Herakleopolitan coffins inscriptions from Siut, Bersheh, Beni-Hasan, Gebelein, Meir, Qatta, and Thebes, cf. Lapp, *Typologie*, Bl. 1-35 passim.

panel displays the usual table scene, while outer jambs show the usual standing portrait of the deceased. The stela seems incomplete, as the cross bar and the inner jambs are blank.

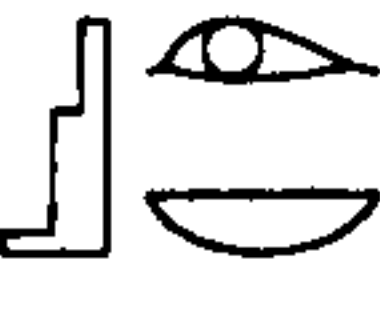
Transliteration:

1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. (B) *ntr-ʿ3 nb 3bdw prit-ḥrw n im3[ḥt]...* 3. (C) *im3ḥt ḥr inpw.....-ḥtp* 4,5,6 blank 7. inscriptions are lost.

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of Busiris, 2. the great god lord of Abydos, a voice offering to the honoured .... 3. She who is honoured by Anubis ... ... -*ḥtp*

Dating:

The overall design of the stela points to a later date in the Old Kingdom generally. The surviving text, however, shows some features which are usually associated with texts from the Herakleopolitan Period: the arrangement of  is expected during this period, as is the writing of *prît ḥrw* with the determinative of ox and bird's heads. In addition the occurrence of *ntr-ʿ3 nb 3bdw* as an epithet for Osiris is a phenomenon which is first known during the reign of Merykare.<sup>462</sup> Therefore, one would assign this stela to a date not earlier, as well as not much later, than the reign of Merykare.

4.1.17. Stela of *Hnw-ḥti* (fem.)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 511; Gunn, MSS XIV. 10 (2). photo); Notebook 19, 26-7; James, *Khentika*, 7 (lower).

A large format limestone false door, measuring 156 x 106 x 13 cm. It is designed in a typical late Old Kingdom fashion, with the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding, which is mostly missing, as is most of the cornice. The scene on the panel is in raised relief, while texts and figures on the jambs are incised.

Transliteration:

<sup>462</sup> Cf. CCG 57212 (JE 38557) = Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare); cf. also the stelae of the family of *Sk-wshṯ* which consistently display this feature. In Upper Egypt, the earliest occurrence of this feature seems to be dated to the reign of King *Sʿnh-ib-t3wy Mnṯw-ḥtp* of the early Eleventh Dynasty, cf. BM 1203 = *TPPI* § 23; cf. also Fischer, *GM* 128 (1992), 72.



1. (A') *h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy-dw.f imy-wt nb t3 d̄sr prit-h̄rw n* 2. (B') *h̄krt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt im3h̄wt h̄r inpw tpy-dw.f Hnw-h̄ti* 3. (C') *h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy-dw.f... ..* 4. (A) *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb Ddw prit-h̄rw n* 5. (B) *im3h̄wt h̄r n̄tr-<sup>c</sup>3 nb pt Hnw-h̄ti* 6. (C) *h̄krt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt h̄mt-n̄tr H̄t-h̄r nbt [im3h̄t] Hnw-h̄ti* 7. (F) *im3h̄wt h̄r nb.s Hnw-h̄ti* 8. (G) *im3h̄wt Hnw-h̄ti* 9. (E) *im3h̄wt h̄r n̄tr-<sup>c</sup>3 nb pt* underneath the cross bar 10. *r̄h̄t nswt Hnw-h̄ti* 11. (D) *h̄3 t h̄3 h̄nqt h̄3 k3w h̄3 3pdw h̄3 šs h̄3 mn̄ht n im3h̄t h̄krt nswt Hnw-h̄ti*

### Translation:



1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt* , lord of the sacred land. A voice offering to 2. the Sole Ornament of the King, one who is honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain *Hnw-h̄ti*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain ... .... 4. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris. A voice offering to ... .... 5. She who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven *Hnw-h̄ti*. 6. The Sole Ornament of the King, Prophetess of Hathor, possessor of [reverence] *Hnw-h̄ti*. 7. She who is honoured by her lord *Hnw-h̄ti*. 8. She who is honoured *Hnw-h̄ti*. 9. She who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven 10. Royal Acquaintance *Hnw-h̄ti*. 11. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured, Ornament of the King, *Hnw-h̄ti*.

### Dating:

The style and overall design indicate a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom, but bear no significant features indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period. However, the stela was found right in front of the mastaba of Khentika, which must have been in state of decay by the very end of the Old Kingdom and the early Herakleopolitan Period. The stela, which was part of a shallow chapel, was found next to other contemporary chapels from the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>463</sup>

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<sup>463</sup> Cf. James, *Khentika*, 7 (lower).

Palaeographic features such as the arrangement of , the phonetic writing of Anubis, and the abbreviation form of the epithet *im3ht*  are characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period. On these grounds, one would assign this stela to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period, perhaps earlier rather than later.

#### 4.1.18. Stela of *Hry-š.f-htp*

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 567; Gunn MSS XV 42; Notebook, 10, no. 51.

A small limestone stela measuring 41 x 27 x 10.5 cm. According to Gunn, all the surviving texts and reliefs are incised. The cross bar is decorated with a pair of *wd3t*-eyes. The skin of the figures on the jambs is painted red. Most of the stela's surface is decayed or chipped away.


#### Transliteration:

1. (A) [*htp di nswt wsir nb D*]dw 2. (B) *pr̥t-ḥrw m 3bd-ḥb m smndt-ḥb n im3ḥ Hry-š.f-htp*
3. (C) *pr̥t-ḥrw m is n im3ḥ Hry-š.f-htp* 4. (F) [*i*]m3[ḥ] [*Hry-š.f*]-*htp* 5. (G) *im3ḥ Hry-š.f-htp*
6. (D) lost.

#### Translation:

1. [An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of] Busiris. 2. A voice offering in the monthly feast, in the half month feast to the honoured *Hry-š.f-htp*. 3. A voice offering in the tomb of the honoured *Hry-š.f-htp*. 4. He who is honoured [*Hry-š.*]f-*htp*. 5. He who is honoured *Hry-š.f-htp*. 6. lost

#### Comments:

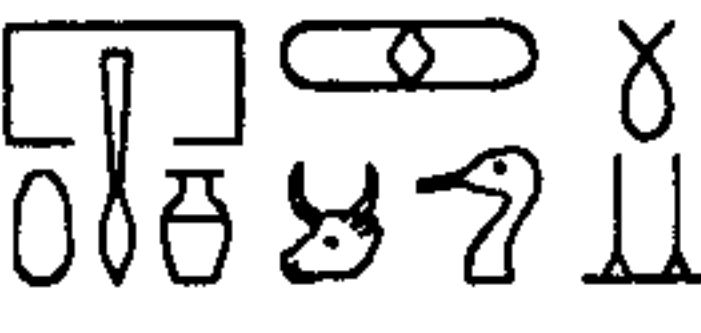




The sign  on the left and right outer jambs is reversed to face the name of the deceased,<sup>464</sup> as does the *is* sign.

#### Dating:

Although no photograph exists of this false door, Gunn's notes suggest that the style and design follow the tradition of the late Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period false




<sup>464</sup> On the orientation of this sign see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 194-201, fig. 12.



doors. According to Gunn's notes, the cross bar was decorated with a pair of *wd3t*-eyes. Although the association of the *wd3t*-eye with the false door is evidenced at least as early as mid-to late Sixth Dynasty, it is not known to decorate the cross bar above the central niche, as here, before the reign of Merykare.<sup>465</sup> Palaeographic features also assign the stela to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period: the writing of *pr̄t-hrw*  with determinatives     is first known before the end of this period and early Eleventh Dynasty, perhaps introduced later in the period, but it did not become frequent with the advent of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>466</sup> It occasionally occurs during the Eleventh Dynasty and the end of the Herakleopolitan Period, for instance on the coffin of Queen *Nfrw* wife of Monthuhotep II.<sup>467</sup> Earlier examples can be seen on some unpublished false doors from South Saqqara, dated to the Herakleopolitan Period on the grounds of their style, iconography and palaeography.<sup>468</sup> The abbreviated writing of the epithet *im3h* and its writing with the filling stroke is well attested feature during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>469</sup> On these grounds, the stela should be assigned to a date in the later part of the Herakleopolitan Dynasty, not earlier than the reign of Merykare.

#### 4.1.19. Stela of *Htp-mrt-Tti*

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 567; Gunn MSS XV. 35 b; Notebook, 11, no. 72.

A small format limestone stela measuring 53 (now) x 45 x 9 cm. The panel scene is cut in raised relief, while the rest of inscriptions and figures on the jambs are incised. Colouring: skin of the male figures, haunch of beef, , , the upper part of , stalks of

<sup>465</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. 13 (mentions Merykare); cf. also Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 12; cf. also TPC II, pl. 74; Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. 10 (1).

<sup>466</sup> Cf. G. Lapp, *Opferformel*, § § 206 (7), 207 (13-15; cf. also, Capart, *Recueil*, pl. 23, 25; CCG 20014, 20055, 20610, 20760, 23043, 23027, 23035; also consistently occurs on Twelfth Dynasty coffins inscriptions, cf. Lapp, *Typologie*, Abusir, nos. 2, 4; Bersheh, nos. 2, 4, 3, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15; Meir, nos. 37, 45, 47, 38, 39, 17, 41, 5, 6, 18, 40, 55, 25, 28, 33; Suit, nos. 51, 78, 76; Rifa, nos. 1-3; Saqqara, no. 76.

<sup>467</sup> Cf. *BMMA* Feb. 1928, p. 5, fig. 2f; *GM* 72 (1984), 36; Fischer, *MMJ* 6 (1972), 152, fig. 5; Lapp, *Typologie*, T 19 a-b.

<sup>468</sup> See also the unpublished stelae from South Saqqara which were probably contemporary with the stela in question and provide the earliest occurrence of such writing (chapter 4.8).

<sup>469</sup> See comment above *passim*; Cf. also Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare).

ἱ are red. The workmanship is good. The scene on the panel shows the conventional table scene, with the table composed according to the Herakleopolitan tradition, with bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef. Only the upper part of the stela was seen by Gunn; the lower part is missing, but it was perhaps seen by Quibell earlier, near the south west corner of Teti's pyramid.<sup>470</sup> The text on the lintel is symmetrically arranged, as the two offering formulae start at the middle and read towards the outside of the lintel →← .

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *hṭp di nswt Wsir* 2. (B) *nb Ddw prit-hrw n im3h ....* 3. (A) *hṭp di nswt inpw tpy dw.f*  
4. (C) *qrst-nfrit [n im3h Mrt-Tti-hṭp]* 5. (D) *h3 t, hnkt p3t k3w 3pdw n im3h Mrt-Tti-hṭp*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris 2. lord of Busiris. A voice offering to the honoured ... 3. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain.  
4. A beautiful burial to[the honoured *Hṭp-Mrt-Tti*. 5. A thousand loaves of bread, jars of beer, cakes, oxen, and fowl to the honoured *Hṭp-Mrt-Tti*

#### Comment:

The element *Mrt-Tti* occurs in other personal names from the same period, but exclusively from around the pyramid of Teti.<sup>471</sup> It has been suggested by Gunn that the element is perhaps the name of one of King Teti's daughter, but it is more probable that *Mrt-Tti* refers to the small chapel or temple which is associated with the cult of Hathor and was part of the mortuary temple in the Old Kingdom.<sup>472</sup>

#### Dating:

The date of the stela is indicated by its style and design, as well as the layout of the offering formulae on the lintel: although such layout was known occasionally at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and early Sixth Dynasty,<sup>473</sup> it did not become frequent before the


<sup>470</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, 3.

<sup>471</sup> Cf. *Mrt-Tti-hṭp* cf. TPC I, 184 (9); *Mrt-Tti-Ti* cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-7*, pl. X (1-3); *Mrt-Tti-Ti.t*, cf. idem, *Saqqara 1905-6*, p. VII; *Mrt-Tti-Ti.t* cf. ibid, pl. XVII (2); *Mrt-Tti-hṭp*, ibid, pl. XIX (2); *Mrt-Tti-hṭp*, cf. Quibell and Hayter, *Teti Pyramid North Side*, 8.

<sup>472</sup> See comment above (4.1.4).

<sup>473</sup> Cf. LD II, 48; Paget-Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pl. XXXIX.



Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>474</sup> The panel scene, and particularly the table composition point to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period. The other telling indications are palaeographic features: the arrangement , the writing of *pr̥t hrw* with the additional ox and bird's heads, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* are all expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. As does the addition of the filling stroke in the writing of *Ddw*. The occurrence of the *qrst-nf̥rt*, however, assigns the stela to a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare.<sup>475</sup>

#### 4.1.20. Stela of ...nt or Dhwtj (Plate XIX)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 568; Gunn, MSS XV.29; Notebook 9, no. 27; Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, 118 n. 17.

A limestone stela measuring 33 x 30 x 8 cm. According to Gunn it is only painted. The back ground is white. Some of the cornice leaves, signs (except the stand of Anubis), the skin of the figures, the lashing of the torus, and the offering table are dark yellow. Some of the cornice leaves, the background of the torus, space between D and B and C, arms of the figures, ear of figure on the panel, and the cross bar are red. Framing lines, outlines of the leaves on the cornice, wigs, eyes, chair on D, upper part of ewer under the table, the stand of Anubis, the horizontal band at the bottom of the stela are black. Outlines of the figures and signs are pink. Between E and the black band at the bottom are nine vertical stripes, respectively from left to right: red, yellow, red, white, yellow, white, red, yellow, red. Work is extremely rough, but preservation is good. The panel shows the usual table scene with the female deceased sitting in front of an offering table. On the jambs are two standing figures: the left hand side for a female, while the right hand side figure shows a standing man holding a long staff.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *h̥tp di nswt wsir [n] Nt* 2. (B) *im3h̥t hr wsir nt* 3. (C) *im3h̥ hr inpw Nt*


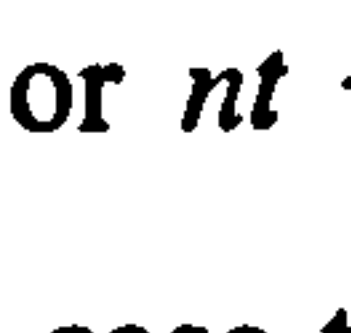

<sup>474</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Orientation*, § 7; idem, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1986), 121-130, fig. 47-8; see also comment above.

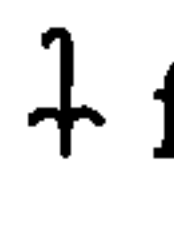

<sup>475</sup> See Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-07*, pl. VI (2) (4.1.32).


### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris to *Nt*. 2. She who is honoured by Osiris  
*Nt*. 3. He<sup>sic</sup> who is honoured by Anubis *Nt*.

### Comment:

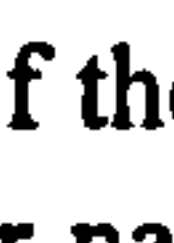

The name of the stela's owner is a problematic. It is to be read *Nt* and not *t* as previous studies suggested,<sup>476</sup> being clearly written  on the panel and on the jambs. It is probable that the name was formed as *n* or *nt* + . A writing group that might as suggested by Spanel, read *Dḥwty*, in which case the name probably means 'she/he who belongs to *Dḥwty*'. The sign  appears in the name seems to represent a later version, where the bottom of the sign spread and was then frequently used for the loaf of bread.<sup>477</sup>

The writing of  for  is a rare palaeographic feature in the Memphite necropolis in general.<sup>478</sup> It does not appear, however, before the very end of the Old Kingdom, and is also known from Gebelein inscriptions from that period and from the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>479</sup> It also occurs at least once from Abydos.<sup>480</sup>

The writing of  for Osiris is also known from later monuments, perhaps not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. It occurs on a coffin of *Ipi-ḥnw*, who was

<sup>476</sup> Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, 118, who also proposes the reading *Dḥwty* citing J. Parlebas, *GM* 15 (1975), 39-43; see also Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 201-205.

<sup>477</sup> Fischr, *Dendera*, 83, n. 366; Cf. also *TPPI* § § 13, 27 æ (8).

<sup>478</sup> It appears, as far as I know in only one other example, a small false door found by the present author near the Teti pyramid, to the north of the pyramid of Iput. This small limestone stela measures 38 x 23.5 cm. and has incised inscriptions. The design of this small stela is rather unusual. It displays small cornice and jambs. Each of the jambs has a column of inscription, both of which show the signs directed to the right. The left jamb column reads: *ḥtp di nswt ḥtp di wsir nb Ddw prlt-ḥrw n im3ḥw Nmty-m-ḥ3t* 'An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of Busiris, a voice offering to the honoured *Nmty-m-ḥ3t*'. The right column reads: *ḥtp di nswt ḥtp di inp n im3ḥw ḥr ntr 3 Nmty-m-ḥ3t* 'An offering which the King gives and an offering which Anubis gives to the honoured *Nmty-m-ḥ3t*'. It is difficult to date this small stela, but the occurrence of  instead of the usual  perhaps assigns it to the very late Old Kingdom. For the name of the stela's owner and other names formed with the element *Nmty* see Malek, *OLP* 8 (1977), 119-122; cf. also *CCG* 1525.

<sup>479</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Orientation*, 65, 68-69, figs. 69-70.

<sup>480</sup> *CCG* 20012, perhaps Eleventh Dynasty date.



probably a contemporary of Merykare.<sup>481</sup> It is also known from Akhmim, perhaps slightly later,<sup>482</sup> and found at least once in Thebes.<sup>483</sup>

𓂏 the ideogram of a seated god is confusing as it is known to appear with *ntr*-ꜥ as well as with Osiris. The god determinative is probably first evidenced after *ntr*-ꜥ at the end of the Fifth Dynasty in the reign of Isesi.<sup>484</sup> Perhaps, around the same time the determinative frequently appears with Osiris.<sup>485</sup>

#### Dating:

The style and overall design of the stela is unusual. However the shutter type panel is characteristic of false doors of the Herakleopolitan Period. The occurrence of 𓂏 for 𓂏 and 𓂏 for *wsir* are significant late features, as is the abbreviation of the epithet *imꜣht*. The palaeography of the 𓂏 points to later date. One would therefore assign this stela to the Herakleopolitan Period, perhaps not earlier than the reign of Merykare.

#### 4.1.21. Stela of *Hnw* (Plate XX)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 567; Gunn, MSS R.6.3; XIX. 46 (2) [photo, and tracing]; Notebook, 9, no. 23.

A small format limestone stela measuring 104 x 62 x 14 cm. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the scene on the panel, which fills the entire space between the outer jambs, is in raised relief. No colour remains, but the workmanship is good. Preservation is good apart from the cornice which is broken away. The stela design is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period. The lintel and each of the outer jambs have two lines or columns of inscription with no dividing lines between the lines or columns. Each of the inner jambs and the cross-bar has one column or line of inscription. The columns

<sup>481</sup> Berlin 7796 = *Ägyptische Inschriften* I, 131 (mentions Merykare).

<sup>482</sup> CCG 28007; cf. Lapp, *Typologie*, Ach. 13.

<sup>483</sup> CCG 200530; *Lesestücke*, 89: 9.

<sup>484</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 25, n. 104.

<sup>485</sup> Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 17; see also, Fischer, *GM* 128 (1992), 73.

on the inner jambs are enclosed by framing lines. The short ideographic offering list on the panel is in raised relief.

Each jamb has a portrait of the deceased showing him standing and facing towards the central niche. The figures on the outer jambs are identical, depicting the deceased in a mature portrait,<sup>486</sup> with short hair, a broad collar, bracelets and a long skirt, which indicate the seniority and level of authority. He holds one hand to his chest in a gesture of respect, while the other hand is extended open along his.<sup>487</sup> The inner jambs show younger ideal portraits of the deceased, representing him with a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, bracelets, a pointed kilt, and holding the usual staff and folded cloth.

On the panel the deceased is depicted sitting on the left facing right. He sits on a low-back chair, wearing a shoulder length wig, which leaves his ear exposed, a broad collar, and a knee length kilt. He holds his left hand to his chest, grasping a folded cloth, and extends his right hand towards an offering table. The table carries the usual tall slices of bread, above which are a foreleg of beef, and a skinned duck. Underneath the table, to the right and resting directly on the platform, is a large ewer and basin. The offering scene seems here to be depicted above a sort of platform or more likely a mat.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt inp ḥnti sh-ntr nb sp3 ḥpi.f ḥr w3wt nfrr* 2. *ḥq3 ḥwt sd3wty-bity smr wʿty imy-r pr imy-y prwy-ḥd Hnw* 3. (B) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw prit-ḥrw n sd3wty-bity imy-r sšwy Hnw* 4. *im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ʿ3 imy-r šnwty imy-r sšw n ḥryw-ḥtmt sš ʿ n nswt Hnw* 5 (C) *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy-dw.f imy-wt nb t3 dsr qrsti.f Hnw* 6. *imy-r sqbbwy sdm sdmt wʿty i3m-ʿ mty n s3 Hnw ḥry-ib* 6. (F) *sd3wty-bity Hnw* 7. (G) *rḥt-nswt m3ʿ Hnw* 8. (E) *[i]m3ḥw ḥr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt Hnw* 9. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n sd3wty bity imy-r pr Hnw*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, the foremost of the divine booth, lord of *sp3*, may he travel on the beautiful roads, 2. Manager of the Estate, Seal Bearer of the

<sup>486</sup> Cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 132-33.

<sup>487</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Varia*, 10; Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, 1-9.



King of Lower Egypt, Steward, Overseer of the Two Treasuries *Hnw*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, a voice offering to the Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Overseer of the Two Ponds *Hnw*. 4. He who is honoured by the great god, Overseer of the Two Granaries, Overseer of the Registry, Scribe of the Royal Documents, *Hnw*. 5. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, may he be buried, 6. Overseer of the Two Cooling Rooms, Judge of that which one alone judge, *ỉ3m-ꜥ*, Regulator of the Phyle, *Hnw* the middle. 7. Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt *Hnw*. 8. True Royal Acquaintance *Hnw*. 9. He who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven *Hnw*. 10. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Steward *Hnw*.

#### Comments:

The finishing and the workmanship of this stela is clearly indicative of the social standing of the stela's owner. His class is also shown by the important offices he held. Some of these were perhaps granted purely on economic grounds, and they were not functional offices, for example *smr wꜥty* and *sd3wty-bity*. The other offices are highly significant in two aspects: first they highlight Memphite administrative roles during the Herakleopolitan Period; and secondly is the absence of the vizier's title here although the stela's owner oversaw three very important administrative institutions, previously only controlled by viziers.<sup>488</sup> Significant also is the mention of '*Hnw* the middle' on the outer right jamb. There can be only two suggestions: either this is a full version of the stela owner's name to distinguish him in the family, or it is perhaps the name of a son or brother also named *Hnw*, who dedicated this door to his father or older brother. It is not clear which, but here they will be looked at as two individuals, a son and father.

#### Titles of *Hnw*

##### 1. *hq3 hwt*

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<sup>488</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 307-319.

2. *imy-r pr*
3. *imy-r prwy-ḥd*
4. *imy-r šswy*
5. *imy-r šnwt*
6. *imy-r sš n ḥryw ḥtmt*
7. *sš ʿ n nswt*

#### Titles of *Hnw* the middle

1. *imy-r sqbbwy*
2. *sdm sdmt wʿty*
3. *i3m-ʿ*
4. *mty n s3.*

1. The title of *ḥq3 ḥwt* 'Manager of the Estate',<sup>489</sup> is held by officials of both high and middle rank who are associated with land administration. Its earlier occurrence in the titularies of viziers and royal family members indicate its importance.<sup>490</sup> The title is known as early as Fourth Dynasty, is well documented in the Fifth Dynasty, and becomes widespread during the Sixth Dynasty in both the residence and the provinces. Notably in the provinces the title appears in the titularies of the nomarchs, in particular those of the Upper Egyptian Nome 15 (Sheikh Said),<sup>491</sup> 12, 8 (Deir el Geberawi),<sup>492</sup> 7 (Qasr es Sayyad),<sup>493</sup> 6 (Dendera),<sup>494</sup> 19 (Sharuna),<sup>495</sup> 8 (Naga ed Deir),<sup>496</sup> 4 (Thebes),<sup>497</sup> 2

<sup>489</sup> See P. Piacentini, *Gli Amministratori di proprieta nell' Egitto del III millennio a.c.* (Pisa, 1989); idem, 'On the title of *ḥq3w ḥwt*', in Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten* (Tübingen, 1994), 235-249; idem, 'Gli *ḥk3w ḥwt* Addenda', *SEAP* 13 (1994), 3-42.

<sup>490</sup> Murray, *Index*, 33, cf. also, Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 10.

<sup>491</sup> Cf., Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. 21 (*Wiw*); pl. 17, 19 (*Mrrw*).

<sup>492</sup> *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pls, 5, 17 9 (*Tbi*); II, pls. 9, 11, 12 (*Dʿw/Šm3i*); pl. 10 (*Dʿw* II).

<sup>493</sup> E.g. (*Idw*) cf., Kemi 6, 111; (*T3wti*), 100; cf. T. Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamara Dom (El Qaser wa Es-Saiyad)* (Stockholm, 1994), 28, 35, and 36-55 consecutively. Cf. also from the same nome (*Dmd*), see ibid, 62; (*D3d3i*), cf. ibid, 63.

<sup>494</sup> Cf. Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 7 (*T3wti*), pl. 6 (*Idw* I), pl. 11 (*Idw* II), pl. 11A (*Ni-ibw-nswt*).

<sup>495</sup> Cf. *ASAE* 8 (1908), 150 (*Ppl-ʿnh*); cf. also, *Ipl*, *S3bi*, and *Gs3/Mry*, cf. F. Gomaà, *WdO* 14 (1983), 135-146.

<sup>496</sup> Cf. Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 20.

<sup>497</sup> Cf. *ASAE* 4 (1904), 98 (*Ihy*) = Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), no. 186, pl. 18.



(Edfu),<sup>498</sup> 9 (El-Hagarsa),<sup>499</sup> and at the Upper Egyptian Nome 16 (Zawiet el Mayetin).<sup>500</sup> At Dendera, the nomarchs *Idw* I and *Mni* held the office in association with the pyramid temples of both Pepy I and II..<sup>501</sup> After Dynasty Six the office seems to be decreased in importance and becomes less evidenced.<sup>502</sup> *hwt* probably refers to 'estate or large farm',<sup>503</sup> a major land holding.<sup>504</sup> Such land holdings seem to be either royal foundations or of private ownership.<sup>505</sup> It is probable that the officials who carried out the office of *hq3 hwt* were responsible for running and managing such farms, and that they might be held personally responsible for the flow of the revenues to the landlords.<sup>506</sup> In cases where this office appears in the titularies of high class officials, they may, in practice, be the landlords.

2. *imy-r pr* 'Overseer of the House', or 'Steward' is an office with different tasks; here it is probably associated with farms and estate administration. One might compare this case with another 'Overseer of the House' from Dendera who boasts of his efficiency in managing, and achieving good control over the estate of his father, looking after its people and agricultural activities.<sup>507</sup> This conclusion can be seen also in the light of the tomb scenes, which show the overseers of the house drawing up the final reports of the

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<sup>498</sup> *Fouilles d'Edfou 1933*, 22-27 (Ist).

<sup>499</sup> Kanawati, *Hagarsa I*, 11, 39.

<sup>500</sup> Cf. A. Varille, *La tombe de Ni-Ankh-Pepi à Zâouyat El-Mayetîn* *MIFAO* 70 (Cairo, 1938), 9, pl. 11 (Ny-*nh-Ppi*); see also Garstang, *The Burial Customs of the Ancient Egypt as Illustrated by the Tombs of the Middle Kingdom* (London, 1907), 36-8 (*Hry-ib/Ipy*).

<sup>501</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 72, n. 296, and p. 170; see, E. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 54-7, 138-141; Goedicke, *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 24; Junker, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 75-6; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 91, 125, n. 39.

<sup>502</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 72-3, Kanawati, *Akhmim*, 293.

<sup>503</sup> Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms*, 3-4, 12; Fischer, *Dendera*, 11, n. 53; Eyre, in *Labor*, 33-4

<sup>504</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 11, n. 53; Eyre, in *Labor*, 34.

<sup>505</sup> Cf. Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v.Chr.* (Leiden, Cologne, 1975), 35-44, 68, 72; see also, Eyre, in *Labor*, 33-5; Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms*, 21-25; Menu and Harari, 'La notion de propriété privée dans l'ancien empire égyptien', *CRIPEL* 2 (1974), 141-5, 134-5.

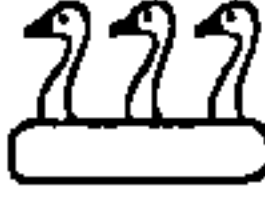
<sup>506</sup> See Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 79, 126; Junker, *Giza III*, 90-7; cf. also Eyre, in Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden*, 127. A comparison is made between these officials and the *rwḏw* in the New Kingdom, and the holders of the liturgies in the Ptolemaic Period or the village head man, cf. R. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, 150-2; see also Eyre, 'Peasants and "modern" leasing strategies in Ancient Egypt', *JESHO* 40 (1997), 367-390. It is probably similar to the role of Nazer el 'Azeba in modern times who were also held responsible for the flow of the farms revenue, hired by wealthy families to look after and manage their large estates.

<sup>507</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 154.



states account and submitting them to their landlord.<sup>508</sup> These officials were perhaps also held personally responsible for the credibility of the *ḥqw ḥwt* who managed these farms.<sup>509</sup> In addition to the civil character of this office, some of those who hold this office are often shown undertaking priestly tasks in the tomb daily rituals.<sup>510</sup>

3. *imy-r prwy-ḥd* 'Overseer of the Two Treasuries', was one of the most important offices in the administration of the state.<sup>511</sup> The official who headed this institution was held responsible for the country's finance system. He was probably in charge of central governmental expenditure plans, and assessment of the dues from various institutions and individuals. It is significant then to find that the head of this institution at that time was buried here in the Memphite necropolis, throwing some light on the administrative role of the Memphis during the Herakleopolitan Period,<sup>512</sup> and perhaps providing some substance to support the suggestion that the kings of this period transferred the residence back to Memphis a few years after establishing their kingship in Herakleopolis.<sup>513</sup>

4. *imy-r sšwy* 'Overseer of the Two Ponds'.<sup>514</sup> To understand the meaning of this office, it is useful to review the word *sš*.<sup>515</sup> The sign  shows ducks or geese heads

<sup>508</sup> LD II, 56 a; van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef* (Bruxelles, 1978), pl. 11-12; Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. xvi; LD II, 105a, 106b, 107; see also C. Ransom-Williams, *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-Neb* (New York, 1932), pl. 6 = Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, fig. 51; Hassan, *Giza VI/3*, fig. 40; von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai* I, Taf. 12-13; Wild, *Le tombeau de Ti. La chapelle*, pl. 44, 167; Duell, *Mereruka* I, , pl. 51; LD II, 96; Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 12; Junker, *Giza II*, Abb. 19; LD II, 30; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 20; A.-M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants, Giza Mastabas 6* (Boston, 1995), pls. 68b, 172c; P. Munro, *Der Unas Friedhof Nord-West I. Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut* (Mainz am Rhein, 1993), pl. 38; see also Der Manuelian, 'Presenting the scroll: papyrus documents in the tomb scenes of the Old Kingdom', in *Studies Simpson II*, 563-568.

<sup>509</sup> Eyre, in *Labor*, 34; cf. also Duell, *Mereruka*, pl. 36; *Nianchchnum*, fig. 24 (top); *Idout*, pl. Va-b.


<sup>510</sup> For instance, *Snnw* an Overseer of the House is seen standing burning incense in front of the deceased, and another is seen carrying the ewer and basin before the deceased, cf. Fischer, *Varia*, fig. 9 (BM 1173, 1174); see also comment above.

<sup>511</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 276-299; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 59-63.

<sup>512</sup> See also Berlin 7779, stela of *Pth-špss* who was 'Overseer of the two Treasuries', probably from Memphis and dating to the very end of the Old Kingdom or early Herakleopolitan Period, Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 13-29.

<sup>513</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 290-2; L. Gesterman, *Kontinuität und Wandel*, 106; Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant IV*, 203-216.

<sup>514</sup> *Wb* III, 484:12-14; cf. also Behrens, 'Geflügelhof', LÄ II, 505-6.

<sup>515</sup> The reading *sš* is doubtful, cf. Montet 'Contribution a l' étude de mastaba de l'ancien empire', *Kêmi* 4 (1931), 174-178, who proposes *lwn* as a reading for the ideogram .



coming out of a water pond,<sup>516</sup> indicating a duck pond or fowl swamp.<sup>517</sup> The Westcar Papyrus mentions *sšw nfrw n š* 'beautiful swamp birds of the lake' implying the same meaning.<sup>518</sup> This term is also used to describe the place where activities such as fishing and fowling took place in the marshes of Delta.<sup>519</sup> These ponds which were full of birds seem to be the place in which the tomb owner could practice a pleasurable sport, as well as an important places from which the tomb owner could guarantee the flow of fowl to his offering table. This was the practical side of participating in these activities, which was not only for pleasure, but also of religious significance.<sup>520</sup> It is probable that the office of the man who headed the two ponds had two functional aspects: on one hand he was probably responsible for the maintenance of these marshes for the king, royal family and wealthy elite who come here for entertainment,<sup>521</sup> and probably religious

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<sup>516</sup> EG<sup>3</sup>, G 49.

<sup>517</sup> Wb III, 483.

<sup>518</sup> Westcar 5.5 = A.M. Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians* (Reading, 1988), 5.

<sup>519</sup> Cf. Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien Empire* (Strasbourg, 1925), 4-11, 11-22; Vandier, *Manuel IV*, 715-89; Cf. also, LD II, 105a; Urk I, 139; *El-Bersheh I*, pls. 8-9; Macramallah, *Idout*, pl. 7; *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 34.

<sup>520</sup> Cf. Gillam, *GM* 36 (1979), 17-18; For the significance of fishing and fowling in the afterlife see Derchain, *RdE* 21 (1969), 24-5. Note also the strong connection between Hathor and the marshes, see e.g. Blackman, *JEa* 22, 41; Gammer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im Alten Ägypten*, 20-1, 110ff; cf. Staehlin, *ZÄS* 105, 76; Westendorf, 'Bemerkungen zur Kammer der Niedergeburt im Tutanchamungrab', *ZÄS* 94 (1967), 142-3; C. Desroches-Noblecourt, 'Poissons tabaus et transformations du mort nouvelles. Considerations sur le pelèrinages aux villes saintes', *Kémi* 13 (1954), 32-42; see also Assmann, in *World of the Coffin Texts*, 25-28; Feucht, in Luft, *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (Budapest, 1992), 157-169; van Walsem, 'The interpretation of iconographic programmes in Old Kingdom elite tombs of the Memphite area. Methodological and Theoretical (re)considerations', in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptology* (Leuven, 1998), 1206.

<sup>521</sup> Fishing and fowling are a usual theme in the Egyptian tomb reliefs, cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 140-141. The pleasure and entertainment which the wealthy class enjoyed in the marshes can be seen in the application of the term *šmḥ-ib* 'recreation, enjoyment' with titles associated with marshes and activities like fishing and fowling. It is a term which is usually applied to a variety of light hearted activities, such as dancing and singing, cf. Junker, *Giza VII*, 32-6; Hassan, *Giza II*, 204, fig. 228. It also associated with fishing and trapping birds, cf. Paget and Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pls. 32-33; cf. also the title *imy-r wh'w n šmḥ-ib* 'Overseer of the Fowlers of the heart's delight', cf. *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 73. Note that Dilwyn Jones interprets the title as a nautical *imy-r wī3 b3w n šmḥ-ib* 'Commander of the Barque *b3w n šmḥ-ib*' cf. Jones, *Glossary of the Nautical Titles and Terms*, 55, 244. However the group of birds read by Jones as *b3w* is apparently the determinative of the word *wh'* 'fowlers', cf. Fischer, *GM* 126 (1992), 63-4; cf. also Wb I, 350:17, citing Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 11; Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 39; cf. also Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 41 (B); Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 20, pp. 128, 144, 151; Fischer, *Dendera*, 171, n. 727, fig. 30, where the word in question is followed by both a bird and a fish, indicating its implication; van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 9. Jones op. cit, no. 29, p. 56, provides another example from the tomb of *Mḥw* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 619-22 Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*, *ÄV* 42 (Mainz, 1998), read by Jones as *imy-r gb* perhaps following Strudwick, *Administration*, 101. This term *šmḥ-ib* is also applied to




pilgrimages. On the other hand, this official may have been responsible for the economic exploitation of such ponds too. This title is usually held by officials who were associated with both the treasury, and granary department, understandably, since fowl are an important commodity. The list compiled below, however, shows also that ‘Overseers of All Works’ also held this office. The association between this institution and overseeing the two ponds is not clear, but in the light of the text of *Nḥbw*, who mentions that he is been sent to *ḥ-bity* in the Delta to dig a canal,<sup>522</sup> one may assume that these canals and similar projects facilitated exploitation of these swamps economically, as well as providing facilities for the people visiting them for sports and religious reasons. The following is a preliminary list of officials who held the office ‘Overseer of the Pond’ or ‘the Two Ponds’:

<i>Ty</i>	<i>imy-r sš w<sup>c</sup>b-R<sup>c</sup> m sḥt,</i> mid Dyn. V. <i>ḥ<sup>c</sup>d mr wḥ<sup>c</sup>w<sup>523</sup></i>	CCG 1380; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 137-142.
<i>Ty</i>	<i>imy-r sš, imy-r kṣt nbt</i> later Dyn. V. <i>nt nswt, imy-r ḥrt</i> <i>imy-r iw<sup>c</sup>-r nswt imy-r</i> <i>pḥw</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 468-78; Steindorf, <i>Das Grab des Ti</i> , e.g. Taf. 27, 109
<i>Ty</i>	<i>imy-r sš, ḥry sštṣ</i> Late Dyn. V.	He is the eldest son of the former, <i>ibid</i> , , Taf.

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the title *imy-r sšwy* during the Old and Middle Kingdom, perhaps to demonstrate that the officer in charge of such department was held responsible for providing the facilities, with which the wealthy elite enjoyed their visits and practiced their pleasurable sport as well as their religious rituals in these ponds, cf. *ḥ<sup>c</sup>nḥ-m-ḥ<sup>c</sup>* *Hr* = PM III<sup>2</sup>, 512-15; cf. also, Ward, *Index*, 45 (352), citing CCG 20053; *Dahshur* I, 19; *TPC* I, 273, 281; *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 7; *RT* 1, 107; cf. also CCG 20539 I/B (23); *GM* 36 (1979), 17; Fischer, *Titles*, 52-3. During the New Kingdom a fragment of papyrus provides more evidence how fishing and fowling in the marshes of the Delta were source of excitement, joy and rewards, and how such light hearted activities provided a pleasurable sport for wealthy Egyptians, cf. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford, 1956), 1-21.

<sup>522</sup> *Urk* I, 220:14, 221:1.

<sup>523</sup> It is probable that the word  reads *wḥ<sup>c</sup>w* and not *ḥ<sup>c</sup>d mr wṯ3/dpt* as suggested by Jones, who translates as ‘Administrator of the Navy’, cf. *Glossary*, 71-2 (92), or Fischer who suggests the reading *ḥ<sup>c</sup>d mr ḥ<sup>c</sup>w* ‘Border Administrator of the Ships’, cf. Fischer, *Titles*, 13 (638a). Cf. also Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 52 ff. she proposes a similar translation to that of Fischer, but reads the title as *ḥ<sup>c</sup>d mr nnw*. For the writing of the word *wḥ<sup>c</sup>w* ‘fowlers’ with determinative of a bird see above, note 99.



<i>Dmḍ</i>	<i>imy-r sš imy-r šn t3 nb</i>	Late Dyn. V.	94. Steindorff, <i>Das Grab des Ti</i> , Taf. 23-24.
<i>Hssi</i>	<i>imy-r sš, imy-r prwy ḥḍ, imy-r šnwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt</i>	Late Dyn. V.	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 506; CCG 1413.
<i>Ty</i>	<i>imy-r sš, s3b ʕḍ mr, ḥry sšt3 wr mḍ šmʕw</i>	Late Dyn. V. early Dyn VI.	Probably son of the former, see MMA 51.37; cf. Scott, <i>MMA Bull</i> XI (Dec. 1952), 116-118; PM III <sup>2</sup> , 729.
<i>K3y</i> <sup>524</sup>	<i>imy-r sš, imy-r prwy-ḥḍ, imy-r ḥrt</i>	mid Dyn. VI.	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 479; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 229.
<i>K3.i-gm.n.i</i>	<i>imy-r sšwy, imy-r prwy ḥḍ imy-r šnwt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt</i> <sup>525</sup>	Teti temp.	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 521-5; TPC I, 107.
<i>Nfr-sšm-rʕ/šši</i>	<i>imy-r sšwy, imy-r prwy-ḥḍ, imy-r šnwt</i>	early VI. Dyn. Teti temp.	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 511-2; Capart, <i>Rue de tombeaux</i> , pl. xi.
<i>Hnti-k3.i/iḥhi</i>	<i>imy-r sšwy, imyr-prwy ḥḍ</i>	early VI Dynasty, Teti-to Pepy I.	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 508-11; James, <i>Khentika</i> , pls. 20, 21, 26.
<i>ʕnh-m-ʕ-Hr</i>	<i>imy-r sšwy, imy-r sš n šmḥ-ib, imy-r prwy-ḥḍ, imy-r k3t nbt</i>	Pepy I temp.	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 512-15.

<sup>524</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 142-144.

<sup>525</sup> Note here that the title is written also as *imy-r sš nswt* 'Overseer of the King's Fowl Pond'.

<i>Ṭšfi</i>	<i>imy-r sšwy imy-r pr</i>	mid VI Dyn.	<i>Rue de tombeaux</i> , pl. 73.
	<i>ḥd, imy-r šnwt, imy-r qbḥwy, imy-r šn-t3, imy-r whꜥw n šmḥ-ib</i>		
<i>K3.i-irr</i>	<i>imy-r sšwy, imy-r prwy ḥd, ḥry sšt3 n pr dw3t</i>	Mid to late VI Dyn.	unpublished; PM III <sup>2</sup> , 631.
<i>S3bw-ptḥ/ibbi</i>	<i>imy-r sšwy, imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt, imy-r niwt</i>	Mid VI Dyn.	Brovarski, in <i>L'égyptologie</i> en 1979 II, 118; Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 130-1.
<i>Ḥnm-ḥtp</i>	<i>imy-r sšwy, imy-r prwy-ḥd, imy-r šnwty</i>	Pepy II.	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 684.
<i>Ny-Ppy</i>	<i>imy-r sš</i>	Pepy II.	<i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> I, pl. 9.
<i>Dꜥw</i>	<i>imy-r sš, imy-r šmꜥw, ḥq3 ḥwt</i>	Pepy II.	<i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> II, pl. 6.
<i>Ṭbi</i>	<i>imy-r sš, imy-r šnwty, imy-r pr ḥd</i>	Pepy II.	<i>Deir el-Gebrâwi</i> I, pls. 3, 12, 18.
<i>Ṭdi</i>	<i>imy-r sš, imy-r šnwty, iry-nfr ḥ3t m šḥkr ntr.f</i>	Pepy II.	CCG 1577.
<i>ꜥnh-Ppy/ḥni km</i>	<i>imy-r sš, imy-r šnwt, imy-r pr ḥd</i>	Pepy II.	<i>Meir</i> V, pl. 41
<i>Ṭww</i>	<i>imy-r niwt imy-r sšw ꜥ nswt ḥry-tp ḥry-ḥb imy-r iswy ḥkrt-nswt</i>	Teti to Pepy II temp. <sup>526</sup>	LD I, 65; LD Texts I, 176 (5)

<sup>526</sup> On the dating of *Ṭww*, see Brovarski, in *For His Ka*, 24-33.



*imy-r sšwy imy-r*

*prwy ḥd* and also a

Vizier.

*K3i-ꜥpr*

*imy-r ḥwt-wrt imy-r*

Late Teti-early Pepy

Kanawati and Hassan,

*šs ꜥ n nswt imy-r sšwy* I temp.

*The Teti Cemetery at*

*imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt*

*Saqqara*, I (Sydney,

*ḥry sšt3 n pr dw3t ḥry-*

1996), 35-51.

*ḥb*

*Ny-ꜥnh-Ppy/sbk-*

*imy-r sš, imy-r šnwt,* Pepy II or later.

*Meir V*, pl. 12.

*ḥtp*

*imy-r pr-ḥd*

The title seems to be associated with the court as one can see from the formation of the title of the vizier Kagemni who was an Overseer of the Royal Fowl Pond.<sup>527</sup> In the case of *Ty* of CCG 1380, it is probable that the fowl pond is a temple one, since this official was a priest in the sun-temple of Sahure, and an ‘Administrator of the Fowlers’. As in the case of *ꜥnh-m-ꜥhr*, the Middle Kingdom titles is usually supplemented with the application *šḥmḥ-ib*, perhaps to highlight its entertainment aspect, but it was also associated with food-provision posts as well as the treasury, and granary department as it was during the Old Kingdom.<sup>528</sup>

5. *imy-r šnwt* ‘Overseer of the Two Granaries’, one of the most common Old Kingdom titles.<sup>529</sup> A highly important office, and usually under the direct supervision of the country vizier.<sup>530</sup> It is understood that the dual term for the granaries here means control over the granaries of the whole of the country and not two particular ones.<sup>531</sup> The

<sup>527</sup> The title was also held by some provincial officials who were probably associated with the royal court earlier in their career.

<sup>528</sup> Cf. Ward, *Index*, 45 (350-2); Gillam ‘An instance of the title *imy-r šwt nšmt* on a statuette in a private collection’, *GM* 36 (1979), 17-18; for the association of *imy-r sšwy* with *imy-r šwt nšmt*, see, Loret, *RT* 38, 61ff; Wiedemann, *RT* 17, 4; Fischer, *Dendera*, 171-2; idem, *Varia*, 58. For its association with both treasury and granary, cf. CCG 20539, 20053; Rowe, *ASAE* 39 (1939), 189; Hayes, *JEA* 35 (1949), 47.

<sup>529</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 251-4; for the Middle Kingdom, see, Ward, *Index*, 49 (385-89).

<sup>530</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 259-60; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 64-7.

<sup>531</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 265; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 64.



Memphite region provides considerable evidence for this post at the time after the end of the Old Kingdom, and during the Herakleopolitan Period,<sup>532</sup> which is highly significant in highlighting the role that Memphis played during that period.<sup>533</sup>

6. *imy-r sšw n hryw-ḥtmt* 'Overseer of the Scribes of the Registry'.<sup>534</sup> The book roll determinative which follows *ḥtm* probably indicates the type of documents which the head of this department dealt with.<sup>535</sup> Royal decrees mention *is n hryw-ḥtm* 'bureau of the registry', apparently, a registry office for royal decrees, labours and fields.<sup>536</sup> It is also suggested that this department together with the other related departments mentioned in the Coptos Decrees,<sup>537</sup> were not only workforce registry offices, but also were tax registration offices.<sup>538</sup> The internal hierarchy of this institution included both *šḥd sšw n*

<sup>532</sup> Strudwick, op. cit., 253, 265. It is probable that in this period the office was decreased in rank as it was held by non-viziers. The table given by Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 253, lists three officials who held the office of the 'Overseer of the Two Granaries' who date to the Herakleopolitan Period. One of these officials *Gmnl-m-ḥ3t* (154) mentions Merykare.

<sup>533</sup> At the end of the Old Kingdom this office is evidenced more in the provinces than in the capital, perhaps indicating a sort of decentralisation or expansion of the state administration the end of the Old Kingdom, cf. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 44-80; Strudwick, *Administration*, 266-7; Eyre, in *The Unbroken Reed*, 107-124. This may have meant that at the end of the Old Kingdom, Memphis lost control over one of the main institutions of the country's administration. It is probably correct to assume that such important offices went back to the Memphite capital sometime after the Herakleopolitan Kings took over, and established their reign in Herakleopolis, (cf. Gesterman, *Kontinuität und Wandel*, 103-105) when they realised the importance of Memphis as a cultural, religious and strategic centre, and used its necropolis for their burial places, cf. *ibid*, 105-6; cf. also Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, 204-216.

<sup>534</sup> On the reading of this title see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 50-52

<sup>535</sup> Cf. *Wb* III, 396: 6; Cf. *Urk* I, 158:4 *ḥtm r ḥtm ḥt m b3ḥ d3d3t nt Ḥwfw-3ḥt* 'sealing the contract of processions in front of the magistrates of the pyramid temple of Khufu'. This contract is written on a block of limestone now in Cairo Museum JE 56994, cf. Grdseloff, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 155; Clère, in *Mélanges Maspero* II, 785; Goedicke, *Die Privaten Rechtsinschriften*, 117-118, 222-229

<sup>536</sup> Cf. *Urk* I, 280-3; see also Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux*, 15, fig. 7; see also Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 87, 166; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 52.

<sup>537</sup> *Urk* I, 281 98), 284 (15).

<sup>538</sup> Cf. Eyre, in *Labor*, 18-19; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 100-104; Hofmann, 'Zum der staatlichen Arbeitspflicht im alten Ägypten', *AoF* 12 (1985), 3-21. It seems also that this department was responsible for land registration in terms of its size and produce, as well as farmers or people who maintained these lands, cf. P. Andrassy, 'Überlegungen zum Boden-eigentum und zur Ackerverwaltung im Alten Reich', in Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden*, 344-49; cf. also titles such as 'Overseer of the Scribes of the Registry of the Royal Decrees of the Great House for the Serf and Fields', cf. Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux*, 15, fig. 7; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 52. *mrt*-people are perhaps farmers or tenantry, gangs of supervised labours: see for the identities of these people, Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*, *CASAE* 18, 22ff; Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 211-12; Eyre, in Allam, *Grund und Boden*, 112. It is probable also that this department was held responsible for registration of labourers for national service and keeping records of people, land and legal contracts for tax purposes.



*hryw hmt* 'Inspector of the Scribes of the Registry',<sup>539</sup> as well as Overseer,<sup>540</sup> who was probably in charge of the two bureaux of registrations mentioned in the titularies of officials during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, *imy-r iswy hryw htm*.<sup>541</sup> It is also likely that the official who headed these registries was under the direct supervision of the 'Overseer of the Royal Documents', one of the main departments of state administration.<sup>542</sup>

7. *sš ' n nswt* 'Scribe of the Royal Documents' is a well documented office during the Old Kingdom.<sup>543</sup> Its occurrence in the Old Kingdom viziers' titulary indicates its high status, as does its occurrence here in this stela, with the title of 'Overseer of the Scribes of the Registry' providing more evidence of the link between these two offices.<sup>544</sup>

#### Titles of *Hnw* the middle:

1. *imy-r sqbbwy* 'Overseer of the Two Cool Rooms',<sup>545</sup> an office which is well known during the Old Kingdom, particularly its later part, and in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>546</sup> To come as close as possible to the actual function of this title, one has to look at the meaning of the word *sqbbwy*. The word usually appears with the determinative of a tall jar with water pouring out of its spout, perhaps implying meanings such as 'libation', 'cooling' and related words.<sup>547</sup> The addition of the house determinative perhaps adds a

<sup>539</sup> Cf. CCG 1515, 101, 208; see also, Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 72.

<sup>540</sup> See e.g. Hassan, *Giza VII*, 101-105; Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux*, 11-16; Gunn, MSS. XIV. 46.

<sup>541</sup> See, *Rš-špss*, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 494-6; *Pth-htp/dšr* cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 462-3; *Pth-htp* I, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 596-7; *Pth-htp*, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 463; *K3.l-gm.n.l*, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 521-5; *Nfr-sšm-r'šš*, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 511-12. All are Overseers of the Scribes of the Royal Documents.

<sup>542</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 210-14. It is noteworthy here that the officials who headed the *iswy hryw hmt* were usually Overseers of the Scribes of the Royal Documents, cf. note above, an office usually held by the viziers, see, note above, to which add: *M33-nfr* = PM III<sup>2</sup>, 456-7; *Mhw* was 'Vizier, Overseer of the Two Treasuries, Overseer of the Royal Documents, Overseer of the Two Bureaus of Registry' cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 619-22; *H'-b3w hnmw/biw* also 'Vizier, Overseer of the Two Treasuries, Overseer of the registry', cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 684; *K3y*, 'Vizier, Overseer of the Royal Document, Overseer of the Two Bureaus of Registry', cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 479; *Ttti* 'Vizier, 'Overseer of the Two Granaries, Scribe of the Royal Documents, Overseer of the Registry, Overseer of the Scribes of the Registry', cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 566-7; *Ttw* 'Vizier, Overseer of the Two Treasuries, Overseer of the Two Granaries, Scribe of the Royal Documents, Overseer of the Registry', cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 537.

<sup>543</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 199-216; for the Middle Kingdom, see, Ward, *Index*, 158 (1360-1364).

<sup>544</sup> Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 71-2.

<sup>545</sup> *Wb* IV, 305:12, for the reading as such see, Fischer, *Or* 29 (1960), 175-6: it is sometimes confused with the reading of *qbh*, cf. *Wb* V, 27:12.

<sup>546</sup> See e.g. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 15, 25, 28, 110, 115; idem, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, pl. 52; *Urk* I, 127:13; cf. also Ward, *Index*, 46 (361-2).

<sup>547</sup> Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, sign list W15.



location: in another words it probably means ‘cooling room’, either for drinks and food, as suggested by *Wörterbuch*.<sup>548</sup> A passage from the story of Sinuhe refers to *sqbbwy* as ‘bath room’,<sup>549</sup> ‘I was placed in the palace of the prince: in which are luxuries, a bath room is there, mirrors are there, luxurious from the treasury, clothes made of royal linen, myrrh and choice perfume of the king and of his favourites. Courtiers were in every room, every servant was at his task, years were removed from my body, I was shaved, and my hair was combed’.<sup>550</sup> On the grounds of this passage the word is apparently associated with the bath-room where Sinuhe has been bathed, refreshed and prepared to meet the king. An association of these two rooms with storage is also supported by a passage occur in the autobiography of Harkhuf, where ‘the Count, Overseer of the Two Cool Rooms’ was sent to meet ‘the Overseer of the Expedition’ Harkhuf and had in his company ships laden with dates, wine, cakes, bread and beer.<sup>551</sup> So two different texts give two possible different applications for this office.<sup>552</sup>

Following is a preliminary list of holders of this title during the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>553</sup> This list which cites the main titles of these individuals might help in associating the office to a particular groups of offices, which might attribute a function to the title:

<i>Nn-ḥft-k3.i*</i> <sup>554</sup>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy, imy-r sšrw, ḥry-</i>	CCG 14 84; Mariette,
	<i>sšt3 n pr-dw3t</i>	<i>Mastabas, D 47.</i>

<sup>548</sup> *Wb* IV, 305

<sup>549</sup> Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 249; for the bathroom, see Decker, *LÄ* I, 598-99.

<sup>550</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 110.

<sup>551</sup> *Urk* I, 127:11-15; cf. Fischer, *Or* 29 (1960), 175-6.

<sup>552</sup> One wonders if there is any sort of association between *sqbbwy* and *qbḥw*; which means libation, refreshment, and purification, see *Wb* V, 27:12; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary* 249; Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* III, 103; Meeks, *Année lexicographique* III, 273 (79-2791); Cf. Kaplony, ‘Wasser’, *LÄ* VII, 16-44; D. Arnold ‘Reinigungsgefäße’, *LÄ* V, 213-220. For libation rituals like *dit qbḥw* and *qbḥw ḥ3*, see Junker, *Giza* III, 103ff; Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 106ff; Hassan, *Giza* VI/2, 106ff; Spiegel, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 190ff; Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 74ff; Barta, *Opferliste*, 28ff; Badawy, *ZÄS* 108 (1981), 85ff; Lapp, *Opferformel*, 163-192. It is worth mentioning here that the word *qbḥw* can also imply pleasure and recreation, cf. Rowe, *ASAE* 39 (1939), 189-91.

<sup>553</sup> For this office during the Middle Kingdom, see Ward, *Index*, 46 (361-7); Fischer, *Titles*, 53 (361).

<sup>554</sup> The asterisk refers to officials who hold some other offices which associate them with clothing and toiletries.



<i>Tn-ḥti</i>	<i>sš sqbbw pr-ʿ3, ḥrp sqbbw pr-ʿ3</i>	Daressy, <i>Mera</i> , 527531; Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> , pls. 9, 19.
<i>K3.i-ḥr-išt.f</i>	<i>imy-ḥt sqbb pr-ʿ3, šḥd sqbb pr-ʿ3, wʿb-nswt, imy-r ḥmw-k3 n ḥmt nswt, imy-r wpt</i>	Hassan, <i>Giza VI/3</i> , 73-9.
<i>Thy-m-s3.f*</i>	<i>imy-r sbbwy pr-ʿ3 sš ḥry tp d3t imy-r ḥnti-š pr-ʿ3</i>	Kanawati, <i>Saqqara I</i> , 21
<i>Mrw*</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy pr-ʿ3, sš ḥry tp d3t, ḥrp šndt</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 520; Daressy, <i>ASAE</i> 43 (1943), 508.
<i>Mrri*</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy pr-ʿ3, imy-r ḥnti-š pr-ʿ3, ḥry-sšt3 n pr dw3t, imy-r prwy ḥd</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 518-19; <i>ASAE</i> 43, 488; Davies et al, <i>Saqqara I</i> , 2-20.
<i>Mrrw-k3.i</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy pr-ʿ3, imy-r ḥnti-š pr ʿ3, ḥry sšt3 n pr dw3t, he was also Vizier, and Overseer of the Two Treasuries besides some other titles.</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 525-35; <i>TPC I</i> , 133 (37).
<i>Nfr-sšm-rʿ/šši</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy pr ʿ3, he was also Vizier, and Overseer of the Two Treasuries, and Overseer of the Two Bureaux of the Royal Ornament.</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 511-12.
<i>Nfr-sšm-ptḥ/šši*</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy pr-ʿ3, iry-nfr ḥ3t, ḥrp šndt nbt</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 515-16.
<i>Mry-Tti*</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy sš ḥry tp d3t, ḥrp šndt</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 520.
<i>Tšfi/twtw*</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy pr ʿ3, ḥry sšt3 n pr dw3t, he was also Overseer of the Two Granaries, and</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , <i>Rue de tombeaux</i> , pl. 73.

Overseer of the Two Fowl-  
Ponds.

<i>Hwni</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy pr ʿ3, smr wʿty</i>	<i>Urk I, 127:11-15.</i>
<i>Fsi.t</i>	<i>imy-r sqbb, imy-r pr šnʿ</i>	<i>CCG 1349.</i>
<i>Hʿ-b3w-hnmw*</i>	<i>imyr-r sqbbwy, hry tp d3t hrp</i> <i>šndt, iry nfr-h3t, he was also</i> <i>Vizier and held other titles.</i>	<i>Jéquier, Le monument funéraire</i> <i>de Pepi II, III, pl. 52; PM III<sup>2</sup>,</i> <i>684.</i>
<i>Dr-snd*</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy, hry-tp d3t</i>	<i>Jéquier, Tombes des</i> <i>particuliers, 110.</i>
<i>Tbbi</i>	<i>imy-r skbbwy pr ʿ3</i>	<i>PM III<sup>2</sup>, 680; Jéquier, op. cit.,</i> <i>114-115.</i>
<i>Tdi/tp-m-ʿnh</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy pr ʿ3, hry tp d3t</i>	<i>PM III<sup>2</sup>, 680; Jéquier, Tombes</i> <i>des particuliers, 9-21.</i>
<i>Pth-w3š</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy pr-ʿ3</i>	<i>PM III<sup>2</sup>, 680; Jéquier, Tombes</i> <i>des particuliers, 23-7.</i>
<i>Hnni</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy pr-ʿ3, hry-hb</i>	<i>PM III<sup>2</sup>, 681; Jéquier, op. cit.,</i> <i>28.</i>
name lost.	<i>imy-r sqbbwy h3ti-ʿ, hry tp ʿ3 n</i> <i>+ nome<sup>555</sup></i>	<i>CCG 1646.<sup>556</sup></i>
<i>Wni*</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbw, hry tp d3t</i>	<i>CCG 1619.</i>
<i>H3-išt.f</i>	<i>imy-r sqbbwy, smr wʿty</i>	<i>Fischer, Varia, 82, fig. 1.</i>

The above table shows that the office was held by high as well as low ranking officials. It was also frequently associated with offices concerned with clothing and toiletries, such as *hry-tp d3t*, *imy-r sšrw*, *hrp šndt*, *hry sšt3 n pr dw3t* and *hry-hb*. The hierarchy of this office includes both *shd* and *hrp* ranks, who probably worked under the direct supervision of the

<sup>555</sup> Not that he was probably also [*hry tp*] *dʿt*, see *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* II, 1646 (4). Also note *hry tp-ʿ3 n ʿ*, probably the Tenth Upper Egyptian nome.

<sup>556</sup> This example is cited by Ward as of Middle Kingdom date, *Index*, 46 (361); it is definitely earlier than the Middle Kingdom.



overseer of that department. It seems also that the two cool rooms employed scribes, perhaps to register the entries and material stored there as well as recording daily activities. Apart from CCG 1646, and 1619, all the examples cited above, are Memphite. It is likely that these two officials had associated with the Residence earlier in their career.<sup>557</sup>

2. *sdm sdmt w<sup>c</sup>ty* 'Judge of that which one alone judges', a title which seems not to be attested before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>558</sup> To my knowledge, the title occurs in the Memphite necropolis at least in another two examples, both are contemporary with the present stela. At least one of these three examples is definitely contemporary with the reign of Merykare.<sup>559</sup> The office is translated by Ward as 'Judge of hearing alone'.<sup>560</sup> Recently Fischer, reconsidering the title, suggested the translation 'Judge of that which one alone judges',<sup>561</sup> associating the post with judicial hearing. Probably this supported by the occurrence of the word *sdm* 'hear',<sup>562</sup> in reference to judicial hearing or court hearing,<sup>563</sup> in such title as *hry sšt3 sdmt w<sup>c</sup> m hwt-wrt 6* 'Privy to the secrets that one alone hears in the six great mansions'.<sup>564</sup> In the Pyramid Texts, this term was used with reference to judgement, *hrw pw n sdmt mdw* 'on that day when judgement was heard'.<sup>565</sup> The legal character of this term also can be seen in the light of *Wni*'s account. He stresses

<sup>557</sup> Note that the owner of CCG 1619 was a 'Regulator of the Phyle, and Inspector of Priests' in the cult temple of King Merenre.

<sup>558</sup> *Wb* IV, 387:12; cf. also Fischer, *Titles*, 87 (1503-1504); cf. also, Ward, *Index*, 174 (1503-4, and no. 1277).

<sup>559</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XV (*Inpw-m-h3t*) (mentions Merykare); and *Snnl*, Cf. *TPC* I, 246 (8).

<sup>560</sup> Ward, *Index*, 174 (1503).

<sup>561</sup> Fischer, 'Marginalia II', *GM* 128 (1992), 69-71.

<sup>562</sup> *Wb* IV, 386-7; cf. also Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, III, 125-6; cf. also, *qnbwt n sdmw* assembly of hearing (jury), cf. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka*, 34 #13, pl. 8; Meeks, *Année lexicographique* I, no. 77.4043; II, 78.4001-2; III, 79.2890, 79.8891; cf. also Gaballa, *Mose*, pl. LXII (57).

<sup>563</sup> Cf. also titles such as, 'Privy to the secrets that which one alone hears', cf. Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* II, pl. 10; 'Overseer of all that is judged', see, *TPC* I, 107 936); Hassan, *Saqqara* III, fig. 17b, pl. 17; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 619-22; *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 73; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 512-15. The first three examples are of officials who were also Overseers of the Department of *hwt-wrt*.

<sup>564</sup> *Urk* I, 260:9; Fischer, *MIO* 7 (1960), 304, n. 9. Here this title is associated with *hwt-wrt* institution. For the legal character and the function of this institution and offices linked to it see, Strudwick, *Administration*, 189-194; cf. also, *Urk* I, 99:5-6.

<sup>565</sup> *Pyr.* 1027 P.



that he alone judged (*sdm*) the matter (*ht*),<sup>566</sup> and also boasts that there is no one in his position has ever judged (*sdm*) secrets regarding the royal harem.<sup>567</sup>

This title seems to have different connotations depending on the context. It may have been associated with legal matters, in particular if it is clearly linked with other legal titles,<sup>568</sup> or associated with departments of legal functions such *hwt-wrt* and *rwyt-ist*.<sup>569</sup> In some other cases, however, the title seems not to refer to legal matters, but rather to confidential matters and information. At least two of the cases cited above (n.140) for the holders of the title ‘Overseer of all that is judged’ have no titles which associate them with legal matters.<sup>570</sup> This title, which probably used as an epithet by the New Kingdom occurs in passages, apparently referring to confidential matters: concerning the *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priesthood,<sup>571</sup> royal matters, and palace confidentiality,<sup>572</sup> as well as royal trust.<sup>573</sup>

One might suggest that the office was not a degree of command, but probably indicated a degree of confidentiality to the matters to which it refers, that including legal, private, temple, and palace matters. On the stela under consideration, the title is mentioned on its own, with no legal reference. One may therefore assume that *Hnw* the middle held this office on the grounds of his close association with the palace.

3. *i3m-<sup>c</sup>* ‘gracious of arm’, this rather obscure epithet or title is translated by Helck ‘mit angenehmer Hand’.<sup>574</sup> Gunn suggests the meaning ‘agreeable hand’, and even went

<sup>566</sup> *Urk* I, 100:14.

<sup>567</sup> *Ibid*, 101:4-5

<sup>568</sup> Such as *s3b r3-nhn*, for this title see, e.g. de Cenival, *RdE* 27, 62-9; Strudwick, *Administration*, 189; Franke, *SAK* 11 (1984), 209-17; Eyre, in *The Unbroken Reed*, 110.

<sup>569</sup> Cf. also, Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, p. 5, and pl. XV; CCG 20017; *BMMA* 28 (Nov. 1933, pt. 2), 31, fig. 38.

<sup>570</sup> These are *nḥ-m-<sup>c</sup>-hr*, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 512-15; and *Isfi*, cf. *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 73. In these cases it is probable that the hearing refers to royal confidential matters.




<sup>571</sup> Gardiner, ‘The tomb of Amenemhat, high-priest of Amon’, *ZÄS* 47 (1910), 93 (8), Taf. I (8): ‘I am initiated to hear alone that which the *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priests hear’.



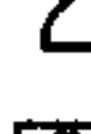
<sup>572</sup> *Urk* IV, 1031: ‘I act as a vigilant priest, hearing that which one alone hears in the privy chamber. I did not divulge matters of the royal house’.

<sup>573</sup> Cf. the epithet of *Sn-mwt* of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who boasts, that he was a ‘Prince, Count, one who is devoted, and the heart is opened for him, one who hears that which is heard of the lord of the two lands’ probably referring to his confidential status, and close associations with the King. He also says: ‘I am the greatest in the entire land, one who hears that which is heard in the privy chamber’, cf. *Urk* IV, 410: 10-11. Cf. earlier examples of officials who have a close relation to the palace, and hold this epithet, CCG 20571; *BMHT* II, pl. 27.

<sup>574</sup> Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 118, n. 46.



as far as suggesting that the ideogram  may refer to a divinity.<sup>575</sup> The epithet first appears in the early part of the Fourth Dynasty,<sup>576</sup> and was occasionally held by individuals during the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>577</sup> At the end of this dynasty, and during the early part of the Sixth Dynasty, it became a characteristic of the viziers' titularies.<sup>578</sup> The rank seems to be of a high social standing, as will be seen from the list provided below, and also from the Dahshur Decree issued during the reign of Pepy I,<sup>579</sup> where the *i3m-ꜥ Thy-hnt* comes after the Vizier and the Overseer of all Works in the order of the officials to whom the royal decree is addressed. In another decree from the reign of Pepy II,<sup>580</sup> 'the Count, Sole Companion, *i3m-ꜥ i3m-Ppy* comes second in the list of of functionaries to whom the decree is addressed. To understand the meaning of this function/epithet, one must examine each of the two elements forming the title. The element  probably means 'assistant' or 'assistantship' when associated with particular offices or even deities.<sup>581</sup> As for the -ideogram, its meaning is abstract such as 'kind, gracious, charm, and favourite'.<sup>582</sup> At face value one would translate the title in question as 'a favourite assistant', possibly of the same category as the *smr wꜥty* rank.

The suggestion made by Gunn that the ideogram  refers to a divinity,<sup>583</sup> has been rejected by Goedicke, who suggests an administrative identity for the title, but failed to identify such.<sup>584</sup> There is also a rather remote suggestion that this ideogram is a abbreviation of the word   *i3mt*.<sup>585</sup> The only obstacle is that this term almost always occurs with the house determinative, although at least one exception is known to me, in

<sup>575</sup> TPC I, 105-6, n. 6.

<sup>576</sup> Petrie, *Medum*, pls. 17, 20, 23.

<sup>577</sup> Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re*, 71.

<sup>578</sup> There are at least 20 cases of officials holding this title, mostly from the Memphite necropolis, twelve of those are Viziers, cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 310, tb. 30; see list below.

<sup>579</sup> Borchardt, 'Ein Königserlass aus Dahshur', *ZÄS* 42 (1905), 1-11; *Urk* I, 209-13; Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 55, Abb. 5.

<sup>580</sup> Reisner, *Mykerinos*, pl. A, 1; *Urk* I, 277; *Königliche Dokumente*, 148-154, Abb. 12.

<sup>581</sup> For the meaning and significance of  in titles see, Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 36.

<sup>582</sup> *Wb* I 79; Meeks, *Année lexicographique* I, 28 (77.0287); II 31 (78.0320); III, 21 (79.0218).

<sup>583</sup> TPC I, 105, n. 6.

<sup>584</sup> *Königliche Dokumente*, 58 (5).

<sup>585</sup> Fischer, *Or* 29 (1960), 183-190; *Wb* I, 81:10.

which the word *i3mt* appears without the house determinative.<sup>586</sup> If correct, the office would be associated with the *i3mt*, probably an apartment of the royal harem. The function of this title is indicated in two unclear contexts, one from the Old Kingdom and the other dated to the Middle Kingdom. The Old Kingdom example associates this office probably with the department of *hwt-ꜥnh*: an official called *S3m-nfr* lists his titles as follows *i3m-ꜥ*, *smr wꜥty hrp nsty m hwt-ꜥnh* 'i3m-ꜥ, Sole Companion, Director of the Throne in the Mansions of Life'.<sup>587</sup> The second, from the Middle Kingdom, demonstrates a direct link between this office and the 'House of Life' *pr-ꜥnh*: here the official is *i3m-ꜥ m pr-ꜥnh*.<sup>588</sup> The identity of these departments is yet to be established with certainty,<sup>589</sup> although Gardiner argued that the departments had no connection, and that *hwt-ꜥnh* is associated with the royal palace, while the *pr-ꜥnh* is the department associated with reference documents. The reference to *hwt-ꜥnh* in the Sehel Famine Stela as the place where books of reference can be consulted provides an obstacle for Gardiner's argument.<sup>590</sup> However, the relation between the *i3m-ꜥ* and the places where books, old references, and documents, are stored, might be supported by the fact that the majority of the title holders were also in charge of the department of the royal documents. Here is a preliminary list of the holders of the title *i3m-ꜥ* showing their status, not in a chronological order:

*3ht-htp/hmi*

*imy-r prwy ḥd imy-r s3 ꜥ nswt* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 627-629; Strudwick,  
*imy-r 3nwty i3m-ꜥ imy-is nhn* *Administration*, no. 3  
*hry s3t3 n pr dw3t iry nfr ḥ3t*  
 and Vizier.

<sup>586</sup> Hassan, *Giza IV*, fig. 122; LD II, 35; Fischer, *Or* 29, 186, n. 2.

<sup>587</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 530.

<sup>588</sup> Goedicke, *MDAIK* 21, 97; Ward, *Index*, 9 (22).

<sup>589</sup> For the identity of *hwt-ꜥnh* and *pr-ꜥnh* see, Gardiner, 'The mansion of life and the master of the king's largesse', *JEA* 24 (1938), 83-91; idem, 'The house of life', *JEA* 24 (1938), 157-179.

<sup>590</sup> de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments* I, 79-82; Sethe, *Untersuchungen* II, 75ff, 103ff.; Vandier, *La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 38ff, 132ff; P. Barguet, *La stèle de la famine à Sehel*, *BdE* 34 (Cairo, 1953); Y. Haiying, 'The famine stela: A source-critical approach and historical-comparative perspective', in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, *OLA* 82 (Leuven, 1998), 515-521: in the passage in question the chief lector priest appeals to the king and asks permission to consult the ancient books in the Mansion of Life.



<i>K3.i-gm.n.i</i>	<i>imy-r prwy ḥd, imy ḥwt wrt 6, imy-r sš ʿ n nswt, imy-r šnwty, imy-r k3t nbt n nswt, i3m-ʿ, imy-is, imy-is nḥn</i> and also Vizier.	PM	III <sup>2</sup> ,	521-5; <i>Administration</i> , no. 151.
<i>Mrrw-k3.i</i>	<i>imy-r prwy ḥd, imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6, imy-r sš ʿ n nswt i3m-ʿ, imy-is, imy-is nḥn</i> and Vizier.	PM	III <sup>2</sup> ,	525-35; <i>Administration</i> , no. 68.
<i>Mry-Tti</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt-wrt 6, imy-r sš ʿ n nswt, imy-r k3t nbt i3m-ʿ imy-is nḥn</i> and Vizier.	PM	III <sup>2</sup> ,	536; <i>Administration</i> , no. 63.
<i>ʿnh-m-ʿ-ḥr/ssi</i>	<i>imy-r prwy ḥd, imy-r ḥwt-wrt, imy-r sš ʿ n nswt, imy-r k3t nbt nt nswt, iwn-knmwt i3m-ʿ imy-is nḥn</i> also Vizier.	PM	III <sup>2</sup> ,	512-5; <i>Administration</i> , no. 30.
<i>Ḥnti-k3.i /iḥḥi</i>	<i>imy-r prwy ḥd, imy-r sš ʿ n nswt, imy-r šnwty i3m-ʿ</i> and Vizier.	PM	III <sup>2</sup> ,	508-11; <i>Administration</i> , no. 109.
<i>Sšm-nfr</i>	<i>i3m-ʿ smr wʿty ḥrp nsty m ḥwt-ʿnh</i>			Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 530.
<i>Nfr-sšm-ptḥ/šši</i>	<i>imy-r ḥwt wrt i3m-ʿ imy-is nḥn</i>	PM	III <sup>2</sup> ,	515-16; <i>Administration</i> , no. 87.
<i>Rʿ-wr</i>	<i>i3m-ʿ</i> also Vizier. He was probably Overseer of the Scribes of the Royal Documents. <sup>591</sup>	PM	III <sup>2</sup> ,	558; <i>Administration</i> , no. 93.
<i>Mḥw</i>	<i>imy-r prwy ḥd imy-r ḥwt wrt,</i>	PM	III <sup>2</sup> ,	619-22;

<sup>591</sup> This title appears in the Dahshur decree, cf. El- Fikey, *The Tomb of the Vizier Re ʿwer at Saqqara*, 46; Kanawati, *CdE* 56 (1981), 209.

	<i>imy-r šš ʿ n nswt imy-r šnwy</i> , <i>Administration</i> , no. 69. <i>i3m-ʿ</i> also Vizier.	
<i>Mrrī</i>	<i>imy-r prwy ḥd imy-r ḥwt-wrt</i> PM III <sup>2</sup> , 607-8; 6, <i>imy-r šš ʿ n nswt imy-r</i> <i>Administration</i> , no. 67. <i>šnwy imy-r k3t nbt i3m-ʿ imy</i> <i>is n ḥkr-nswt</i> also Vizier.	
<i>Mry-rʿ-mry-ʿnh- pth/ptḥ-špss/impy</i>	<i>imy-r šš ʿ n nswt imy-r k3t nbt</i> PM III <sup>2</sup> , 91-2; <i>Administration</i> , <i>i3m-ʿ imy wʿbty</i> , and Vizier. no. 62.	
<i>Hʿ-b3w/biw</i>	<i>imy-r prwy ḥd, imy-r ḥwt-wrt</i> PM III <sup>2</sup> , 684; <i>Administration</i> , 6 <i>imy-r šnwy imy-r k3t nbt</i> no. 102. <i>i3m-ʿ imy-is</i> and vizier.	
<i>Tṭw</i>	<i>imy-r prwy ḥd imy-r ḥwt-wrt</i> PM III <sup>2</sup> , 537; <i>Administration</i> , <i>imy-r šnwy imy-r k3t nbt ḥry</i> no. 160. <i>sšt3 n pr dw3t i3m-ʿ</i> and Vizier.	
<i>Ny-Ppy</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-ʿ m3ʿ i3m-ʿ ḥrp nsty smr</i> (Abydos), <i>Urk</i> I, 112; <i>wʿty iry nfr-ḥ3t.</i> Mariette, <i>Abydos</i> II, pl. 43.	
<i>I3m-Ppy</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-ʿ smr wʿty, i3m-ʿ</i> <i>Urk</i> I, 277.	

4. *mty n s3* ‘Regulator of the Phyle’, is a priestly title which frequently appears at the end of the Old Kingdom and during the Herakleopolitan Period. No particular cult temple is mentioned, but the location of the stela may suggest either that of Teti or Merykare.





The false door was probably dedicated by the son or the younger brother ‘*Hnw* the middle’, whose name and titles appear on the right outer jamb. The stela’s owner seems to belong to a special administrative elite, overseeing administrative departments which were usually held by viziers.<sup>592</sup> Although the office of the vizier is not mentioned here, one would assume that he was one of the most senior administrative officers of his time.

#### Dating:

<sup>592</sup> For the viziers’ titles during the Old Kingdom and thereafter see, Strudwick, *Administration*, 300-335.



The style of the stela design indicate a date later than the Old Kingdom; in particular the type of the panel which fills the entire space between the outer jambs, which is not expected before the Herakleopolitan Period. The representation of the offering table with bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef and trussed duck is also characteristic of the

Herakleopolitan Period. The use of the filling stroke in the writing of  and the application of the double stroke to express duality in the writing of, ,  and  are typical features of the Herakleopolitan Period and thereafter.<sup>593</sup> The *w3*-sign with a

forked tail is also a typical late Old Kingdom writing, first evidenced in the inscriptions of the tombs of the officials of Pepy II, and became frequent thereafter. The writing of the epithet *imy-wt* with the pustule determinative is also typical of the late Old Kingdom, as

are the arrangement of the *nb Ddw* ,<sup>594</sup> and the simplification of the sickle sign .<sup>595</sup>

The abbreviation of the epithet *im3hw*   points to a date later than the Old Kingdom.

The use of *i* as a substitute for the human determinative also frequently occurs during the very late Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>596</sup> The occurrence of the title or epithet *sdm sdmt w<sup>c</sup>ty* assigns the stela to a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare.<sup>597</sup>

#### 4.1.22. Stela of *Gmni-m-h3t* (Plate XXI)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 538; *TPC* I, 52-4, 187-8; II, pl. 27 (B); Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glypt Æ. I.N 1616; Mogensen, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg: la collection égyptienne* (Copenhagen, 1930), 91 (A 681, pl. xcvi; Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes*, 4-6

<sup>593</sup> Schenkel, *FMÄS* § 16, p. 52.

<sup>594</sup> A fairly common spelling during the period in question, cf. Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 40; Brovarski, *LÄ* IV, 308-9, n. 126; Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 10rb, 11bl; *TPPI* § 27 æ 6, yy 2. For earlier examples see Davies, *Shiekh Saïd*, pl. 19, 28; Kanawati, *Hawawish* IV, fig. 25.

<sup>595</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 20, 23, 30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 40.

<sup>596</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 124-5; for a different opinion, see Malek, *OLP* 8 (1978), 122.

<sup>597</sup> Its earliest occurrence is probably on the false door of *Inp-m-h3t* who was a contemporary of Merykare cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XV; Fischer, *Titles*, 87; idem, *GM* 126 (1992), 69-71; see also Ward, *Index*, nos. 1503-4; Kamal, *ASAE* 11 (1911), 19.

(7), pls. XIV-XV; idem, *Recueil des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (Bruxelles 1936), 40-41.

A limestone stela of a large format measuring 149 x 86 x 16 cm. Traces of blue pigment survive on some of the hieroglyphic signs. The stela is fractured into two halves and the right hand side moulding is damaged. The stela displays the usual elements of a typical false door of the later part of the Old Kingdom, with the window-shutter panel design, with outward curving top. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the panel scene is in raised relief. Each of the jambs has, at the end of its inscriptions, a representation of the deceased, standing, facing the central niche. The middle and outer jambs display mirror images of the deceased, depicting him wearing a shoulder-length wig that leaves his ear exposed, a broad collar, a pointed kilt on the outer jambs or a knee-length kilt on the middle jambs. He holds the usual long staff and baton. The inner jambs have two identical images, depicting the deceased in a mature portrait, with short hair, a broad collar, and a long skirt. He raises both hands in a gesture of adoration. The left jamb shows him with abbreviated shoulders, while the opposite figure is seen with full shoulders. The panel scene displays the usual funerary meal, with the deceased sits on the left on a low-back chair, facing right. He wears a similar attire to that worn by the figures on the jambs. He holds his left hand fisted to the chest, and extends his right hand towards the offering table. The table has the conventional slices of bread, on the top of which are a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck, animal heart and vegetable. Underneath the table, to the right, is a large nested ewer and basin resting directly on the floor. Above the deceased and the offering is a short ideographic offering list in which the signs are directed toward the deceased, since the offerings are intended for him.

Transliteration:

1. (H) *st-ḥb ḥknw sft nḥnm tw3t ḥ3tt 'š ḥ3tt ṯḥnw 'rfwy w3ḏw msdmt wnḥy n im3ḥw Gmni.* 2
- (À) *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy ḏw.f ḥnty sh-ntr imy-wt nb t3-ḏsr qrs.t(w).f nfr m 3. s(m)t imntt*
- i'f n ntr '3 nb pt im3ḥw Gmni-m-ḥ3t.* 4. (B') *sd3wty-bity smr w'ty imy-r pr rḥt-nswt m3'*
- imy-r šnwty im3ḥw Gmni-m-ḥ3t.* 5. (C'') *ḥtp di nswt inpw nb sp3 prit-ḥrw n.f nfr m wpt*
- rnpt ḥb Dḥwty ḥb tpy rnpt ḥb im3ḥ Gmni-m-ḥ3t.* 6. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Dḏw ḥnty*



*imntiw* 7. *nb 3bdw prit-hrw n.f nfr m is.f n hrt-ntr im3hw Gmni*. 8. (B) *mty n s3 Dd-iswt Tti mry nb.f im3hw Gmni*. 9. (C) *mty n s3 W3d-iswt Mry-k3-r<sup>c</sup> hsy n nb.f im3hw gmni*. 10 (F) *prit-hrw n.f nfr m 3bd smdnt hb im3hw Gmni*. 11. (G) *prit-hrw n.f nfr m w3g hb im3hw Gmni*. 12. (E) *im3hw hr ntr ʿ3 nb pt imy-r pr Gmni*. 13. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3hw Gmni-m-h3t*. under the table to the left is *dbht htpw*

### Translation:

1. *st*-festival oil, *hknw*-oil, *sft*-oil, *nḥnm*-oil, *tw3t*-oil, the best of the ʿš-oil and the best of *tḥnw*-oil, bags of green and black eye-paint, *wnhy*-linen to the revered *Gmni*. 2. An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, the foremost of the divine booth, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land. May he be buried beautifully in 3. the western cemetery, that he may ascend to the great god lord of heaven, the honoured *Gmni-m-h3t*. 4. The Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, Overseer of the House, true Royal Acquaintance, Overseer of the Two Granaries, the honoured *Gmni-m-h3t*. 5. An offering which the King gives and Anubis lord of *Sp3*, a voice offering to him beautifully in the opening of the year feast *Dḥwty*-feast, and the first of the year feast (namely), the revered *Gmni-m-h3t*. 6. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu, 7. lord of Abydos, a voice offering to him beautifully in his tomb of the necropolis, the honoured *Gmni*. 8. Regulator of the Phyles of the pyramid *Dd-iswt Tti*, beloved of his lord the honoured *Gmni*. 9. Regulator of the Phyles of the pyramid *W3d-iswt Mry-k3-r<sup>c</sup>*, praised of his lord the revered *Gmni*. 10. A voice offering to him beautifully in the monthly feast and half month feast, the revered *Gmni*. 11. A voice offering to him beautifully in the *w3g*-feast, the revered *Gmni*. 12. He who is honoured by the great god lord of heaven, Overseer of the House *Gmni*. 13. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Gmni-m-h3t*. (under the table)

Requirement of offerings.

Comment:

*Gmni-m-ḥ3t* ‘the god *Gmni* is to the fore’: *Gmni* is apparently a shortened form of the name of the well known vizier of King Teti of early Sixth Dynasty. The addition of this element to private names undoubtedly points to the deification of this vizier.<sup>598</sup>

*imy-r pr*, holders of this office were stewards of private estates or civil officials who are associated with the state. It is interesting to note that some tomb scenes show these officials carrying out funerary rituals in the tombs, such as burning incense or carrying out the tasks of lector priests in front of the deceased.<sup>599</sup>

*rḥt nswt m3<sup>c</sup>* ‘true Royal Acquaintance’: whether or not the addition of *m3<sup>c</sup>* to this title is significant, it is not before the advent of the Sixth Dynasty that this adjective frequently appears after titles and ranks.<sup>600</sup>

*imy-r šnwty* ‘Overseer of the Two Granaries’. A strategic office, based at the capital during the Old Kingdom. It is not before the early-mid Sixth Dynasty that this office was held by provincial officials, probably due to the governmental expansion that created branches of the central granaries in some provinces in which, taxes and land revenue may also be collected.<sup>601</sup> The fact that the owner of the stela held such an important title raises many questions concerning the administrative role Memphis played during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>602</sup>

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<sup>598</sup> TPC I, 126-130, with list of theophorus names constructed with the element *Gmni*. It is interesting to note that names constructed with the element *Gmni* are not restricted to the Memphite area, cf. PN II, 323:12, a phenomenon which indicates the widespread of the reputation of this Memphite saint. The situation here might be comparable to what is called *sheikh* now a days in modern Egypt, where these *sheikhs* have tombs built for them, visited by the local people regularly for blessing as well as offering their veneration. These locals boost the reputation of these *sheikhs*, usually by celebrating their birthday, as well as naming their offspring after them, probably similar to what happened at the end of the Old Kingdom with people like *K3.t-gm.n.l* and *Ipi*. See also Geodicke, ‘Vergöttlichen’ in *LÄ* VI, 989-92; D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints* (New York, 1977).

<sup>599</sup> See comment under *Ipi-ḥnw* (4.1.6); see also Fischer, *Dendera*, 157, 177.

<sup>600</sup> See TPC I, 109, n. 3; Nims, *JAOS* 56 (1938), 647, n. 45; James, *Khentika*, 12-13; Fischer, *Dendera*, 96-7; Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 117-119.

<sup>601</sup> Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, 137, n. 1, suggests that provincial officials who headed the granaries administration might have been connected with the capital early in their career. For another opinion see Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 74, 88-9.

<sup>602</sup> See comment under (4.1.21).



*mty n s3* 'Regulator of the Phyles': a priestly office introduced in the reign of Pepi I,<sup>603</sup> and continued in use until the Middle Kingdom. During the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period this office was only known in royal cult temples. It is not before the Middle Kingdom that this office was attached to gods' temples.<sup>604</sup>

*sd3wty bity*, *smr w'ty* are probably not functional titles,<sup>605</sup> but probably acquired purely on economic grounds.<sup>606</sup> However, holders of the latter title, at the end of the Old Kingdom, seem to act as royal envoys.<sup>607</sup>

### Dating:

The style of the stela and overall design are more or less what one would expect to see at the end of the Old Kingdom. However, the outwards curved panel, and the so-called window-shutter are indicative of a date in the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>608</sup> The offering table with bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck, ox heart and vegetables is a composition which is not known before the Herakleopolitan Period. The adoration posture is known as early as the later part of the Sixth Dynasty, but it did not

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<sup>603</sup> The earliest dated example is probably that of *Mry-Ttl*, Mereruka's son, who held this priestly office in the pyramid town of Pepi I. The office seems to be exclusively Memphite. Its holders were probably in charge of regulating and directing the temple phyles of priests, their work tasks and shifts. It is worth mentioning that this title appears in at least two cases outside the Memphite: *Wnl* from Abydos, (cf. CCG 1619; see also Fischer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 10; Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 93, n. 488); and *Ppy-nht* (de Morgan, *Catalogue de monuments* I, 148, 161; *Urk* I, 132:2). both of whom seem to have held the office in Memphis early in their career.

<sup>604</sup> See Ward, *Index*, 96-7 (803-808); Fischer, *Titles*, 18 (805a); see also, Helck, *Beamtentiteln* 130; H. Kees, 'Die Phylen im Dienst der Tempel und Totenstiftungen', *Or* 17 (1948), 81-90.

<sup>605</sup> See Strudwick, *Administration*, 261; Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom* (Warminster, 1977), 78-9.


<sup>606</sup> Eyre, in Powell (ed.), *Labor*, 6; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 111-119; idem, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten*, 126-7; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 2-8; see also, Malek, *In the Shadow of the Pyramids* (London, 1986), 94-5.



<sup>607</sup> See Eyre, in Eyre et al. (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed*, 110, n. 38; Martin-Pardey, *SAK* 11 (1984), 233; Müller-Wollermann, *Kreisenfaktoren*, 73-5.

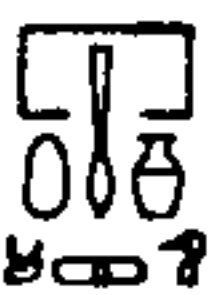
<sup>608</sup> This type of panel differs slightly from the earlier T-shape design which dominated at the second half of the Sixth Dynasty. It curves outwards softly at the top rather than the almost T-shaped model. For similar panels see Quibell, *Excavation at Saqqara* 1905-1906, pl. XV; idem, *Saqqara* 1906-1907, pl. VI (2); both mention the name of the Merykare. For contemporary false doors see, Quibell, *Saqqara* 1905-6, pl. XVII (2); idem, *Saqqara* 1906-1907, pl. VI (1); CCG 1453, 1558 and other false doors discussed in the current thesis, all of which are probably contemporary and possibly not to be assigned earlier than the reign of Merykare.




became frequent before that period. It is worth noting here also that the mature figure on the inner jambs is seen with its navel and buttocks placed higher than usual.<sup>609</sup>

A similar conclusion is provided by textual features: the arrangement of  is expected during the Herakleopolitan period; similarly the writing of the epithet *imy-wt* with pustule and the town determinatives is attested from the end of the Old Kingdom, and became frequent during this period.<sup>610</sup> The use of the filling stroke in the writing of

*nb.f* , *s3*  is a feature hardly found before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>611</sup> The writing of *t3*-sign with two pellets underneath, the degenerated writing of the town determinative, and the writing of the *w3*-sign with forked tail all point to a later date. The

palaeography of *pr̥t-hrw*  with ox's head, bird's head and the additional elongated loaf is typical of the Herakleopolitan inscriptions in the Memphite necropolis, as is the abbreviated form of the epithet *im3h*. The writing of the *w3d* sign with pointed spear-head-like base shape, is also a late feature.<sup>612</sup> The occurrence of the adjective *nfr* plus the adverbial phrase *m is.f n hrt-ntr* or *nfr m* + feasts directly after *pr̥t hrw* is typical phraseology of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>613</sup> The theophorous name of the stela's owner is in itself indicative of a period later than the Old Kingdom, when the local people at that time hailed the Vizier Kagemni, shortened to *Gmni*, as a local saint in the necropolis, and used this short name as part of their personal names as it is the case here.

In addition, the name is written on the cross-bar with the ending . This use as a substitute for the hieroglyph representing the human form is a phenomenon which is probably first known in the inscriptions adjacent to the burial chamber. Seemingly this

<sup>609</sup> See Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 245; Harpur, *Decoration*, 132-133.

<sup>610</sup> Note that the copy produced by Koefoed-Petersen does not record the pustule sign and also note the rectangular shape of the sign.

<sup>611</sup> Cf. Schenkel, *FMÄS*, 32-36.

<sup>612</sup> For a similar writing of *w3d* see Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 17; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 90, pls. VI, XII, XIV, XVI; Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 5 pl. IV.

<sup>613</sup> See also Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 178; idem, *Typologie*, Bl. 17, 26-28. It is worth noting that the majority of the examples are from Memphis. In most of the cases *nfr* is an adjective, but at least in one case *nfr.f* is an adjectival verb which means probably 'that he may flourish in his tomb of the necropolis' see Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 178 and references therein.



practice was occasionally transferred to the stelae or the superstructure inscriptions not before the very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>614</sup>

The most telling indication of the date of this stela however, is the association of the stela's owner with the cult of Merykare. *Gmni-m-ḥ3t* was probably a contemporary of this king or slightly later. It is likely that *nb* in the phrases *mry nb.f* and *ḥsy nb.f* refer to that king himself. It is difficult to accept Schenkel's dating argument of these Memphite stelae mentioning the name of Merykare, as he assigns them to the Twelfth Dynasty. Although there is no evidence of any sort of persecution of the memory of the Herakleopolitan kings, it is highly unlikely that the cult of one these kings (Merykare) would have flourished and the cemetery of his priests would have developed after their reign was overturned by the Theban Dynasty.<sup>615</sup> The stela should be assigned to the reign of Merykare or slightly later.

#### 4.1.23. Stela of *Gmni-Ji* (Plate XXII)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 199 (30); *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 544; Gunn, *MSS.* XVIII. 41 (3) [photo].

A small limestone stela measuring 76 x 73 x 14 cm. Texts are incised, as probably also were the missing figures on the jambs. The scene on the panel is, as usual, in raised relief. No colour remains, and the workmanship is fair. The bottom part of the false door is missing and the surface of the stela is slightly damaged. The panel displays the conventional table scene, where the deceased is seen sitting on the left on a low back chair facing right. He wears a shoulder-length wig which leaves his ears exposed, a broad collar, bracelets, and a knee-length kilt. He holds his left hand fisted to the his chest, and extends his right hand towards an offering table. The offering table carries a rectangular-

<sup>614</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 25, 56, fig. 62. Cf. also Ranke, *PN* II, 17, 131; Clère in, *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalistischen-Kongresses München* (München, 1957), 76-8; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 124-5. Both Fischer and Ranke date this feature to the very end of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty). However, since this feature is known from earlier examples, (cf. Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, fig. 39, 41; see also Malek, in *OLP* 8 (1977), 122), it is probable that such use in superstructure inscriptions became frequent by the end of the Old Kingdom.

<sup>615</sup> Cf. Schenkel, *FMÄS*, 119-120; see also, Von Beckerath, *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 15 (3), see recently Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* IV, 203-216.

like bread slices shape. Underneath the table, to the right, is a large nested ewer and basin resting directly on the floor. Above the offering scene is a short ideographic offering list.

Transliteration:

1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw prit-ḥrw* 2. (B) *n šḏḏ ḥmw-k3 gmni-ii* 3. (C) *(i)m3ḥw ḥr .... Gmn-(ii)* 4. (F) *Gmni-ii* 5. (G) *Gmni-(ii)* 6. (E) not inscribed 7. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n im3ḥw šḏḏ ḥmw-k3 Gmni-ii*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, 2. to the Inspector of the Ka-priests *Gmni-ii*. 3. He who is honoured by .... *Gmni-(ii)*. 4. *Gmni-ii*. 5. *Gmni-(ii)*. 6. (not inscribed) 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured, Inspector of Ka-priests *Gmni-ii*.

Comments:

The only title recorded on this stela is 'Inspector of the Ka-priests'. Ka-priests are known to have had a very important role in the day-to-day rituals for private individual cults. Their job description, however, was a wide one, which was not limited to ritual practice,<sup>616</sup> but they were also a sort of laymen doing other sorts of daily jobs in the tomb: carrying and transporting tomb equipment, and bringing food-offerings and material needed for the rituals in the tomb.<sup>617</sup> They were usually organised in a phyle system, with shift rotations. This system was usually maintained by endowments left by the tomb owner for his tomb, which might explain the flourishing of the system in the early part of the Sixth Dynasty, and its collapse at the end of the that dynasty when the face of the country's economy had changed.<sup>618</sup>

<sup>616</sup> In this respect, the ka-priests in the private cult probably played the same role as the *ḥmw-ntr* in royal temples, cf. Roth, *BSAK* 4, 179.


<sup>617</sup> Possibly similar in that respect to the *ḥnti-š*-priests in the royal temples, cf. Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives* II, 577-81; Eyre in Powell (ed.), *Labor*, 11-12, 35-6; cf. also ka-priests seen bringing clothes for feasts, Badawy, *Nyhetep-Ptah and Ankhmahor*, pl. 53, with the caption, 'Bringing clothing of the feast for circumcising at the *tp-mr* by the ka-priests'; on pl. 61 they are seen carrying boxes, 'Bringing the *st3t* boxes by the ka-priests'.

<sup>618</sup> Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom*, 91-2; Kaplony, 'Totenpriester' in *LÄ* VI, 679-81.



### Dating:

The design and style of the stela is typical of later part of the Old Kingdom, and does not bear any indicative feature which would assign it to a later period. Also the remaining table scene shows the typical late Old Kingdom appearance of the table with rectangular-shaped bread slices.

The inscriptions on the other are more indecative in the sense of its date. The writing  is not evidenced on the Memphite false door stela or superstructure inscriptions before the Herakleopolitan Period. The omission of the  $\dagger$  in the writing of the epithet *im3h* is unexpected in an inscription before the very end of the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period, except in the phrase *nb im3h*.<sup>619</sup> The theophorus name of the stela's owner, which associates him with the local saint *Gmni*, is of a type which probably did not appear before the Herakleopolitan Period. One would therefore assign the stela to the very end of the Old Kingdom or early Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 4.1.24. Stela of *Qstwt*

Bibl: *TPC* I, 196-7 (28); *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 545.

A small format limestone stela measuring 48 (now) x 53 x 13 cm. Its upper part is missing, and the surface is greatly weathered. The decoration on the panel is cut in raised relief, while the inscriptions and figures on jambs are incised. No colour remains, and the workmanship is poor. The panel displays the usual offering scene, and the jambs show the deceased standing, facing the towards the central niche.

### Transliteration:

1. (A) [Broken away] 2. (B).....*im3ht hr hnwt.s Qstwt* 3. (C)..... *im3ht hkrt-nswt w'tt Qstwt* 4. (F) *im3ht hr* <sup>sic</sup> *hkrt-nswt w'tt hm(t)-ntr Ht-hr Qstwt* 5 (G) *im3hwt hr ntr-3 rn.s nfr Ny-wdt-dnw* 6 (E) *mrt n h3.s hst h3.s Qstwt* 7. (D) [inscriptions are illegible, but probably consist of the usual short ideographic offering list]

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<sup>619</sup> cf. Fischer, *Varia*, 51-3.

### Translations:

1. (missing) 2. .... she who is honoured by her lady *Qstwt*. 3. The honoured, the Sole Ornament of the King *Qstwt*. 4. She who is honoured by,<sup>sic</sup> the Sole Ornament of the King, Prophetess of Hathor *Qstwt*. 5. She who is honoured by the great god, her good name is *Ny-wdt-dnw*, 6. Beloved of her husband, praised of her husband<sup>620</sup> *Qstwt*. 7. missing.

### Comments:

The name *Qstwt* is also known from South Saqqara,<sup>621</sup> and means 'she who belongs to the Cusite' probably referring to the goddess Hathor herself.<sup>622</sup> The writing of the name, however, could provide an alternative reading, *rfwt* 'the breweress', which is not otherwise attested.<sup>623</sup>

The titles and ranks of the stela's owner associate her with the cult of Hathor, both 'Sole Ornament of the King' and 'Prophetess of Hathor' are undoubtedly a telling feature of the high social standing of the deceased.<sup>624</sup> There are at least three cases where a Priestess of Hathor held the title *hkrt-nswt w'tt* or *hkrt-nswt* at the Memphite necropolis prior to the Sixth Dynasty: *Nn-sdr-k3*,<sup>625</sup> *Nfr-htp.s*,<sup>626</sup> and *H<sup>c</sup>-mrr-nbty*.<sup>627</sup> These offices were frequently held by high class women who presumably actively participated in the

<sup>620</sup> For a similar phrase see, Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 16, fig. 8-9; see also for the position of women in the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period, idem, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period* (New York, 1980), 2-9. Note also the unusual writing of *h3* with the  $\Gamma$  instead of the usual writing cf. *Wb* II, 475.

<sup>621</sup> Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, 24, fig. 30, note that this lady was also a Prophetess of Hathor. See also *PN I*, 333:13-15; 157: 28; see also É. Chassinat, *RT* 22 (1900), 73-77.

<sup>622</sup> For the association of Hathor with the Cusae, the capital of the 14. Upper Egyptian Nome, see S. Allam, *Hathorkult*, 23-41; Helck, *Die altägyptische Gaue*, *TAVO* B/5 (Wiesbaden, 1979), 73-77; Helck, *LÄ* IV, 14-15; Gomaa, *Ägypten während der Ersten Zwischenzeit*, *TAVO* B/27 (Wiesbaden, 1980), 102-106. See also, R.A. Gillam, *Topographical Prosopographical and Historical studies in the 14<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian Nome*, *Diss., University of Toronto*, 1991.

<sup>623</sup> Cf. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 42; *TPC I*, 196, n. 1.

<sup>624</sup> For the association of these two offices during the Old Kingdom, see Gillam, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 227, n. 178.

<sup>625</sup> G2101; Junker, *Giza II*, Abb. 7-8.

<sup>626</sup> Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pls. 31, 39, 164.

<sup>627</sup> Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Neuserre*, 126-28.



Memphite cult of Hathor.<sup>628</sup> Outside Memphis these two offices were usually held by the wives of the high class officials.<sup>629</sup>

### Dating:

The style of the false door is of the classic Sixth Dynasty and later Old Kingdom in general. Iconography and textual features provide no clues of dating. The general impression, the phrase *hst h3.s*<sup>630</sup> and the name of the stela's owner<sup>631</sup> point to a date at the end of the Old Kingdom.

<sup>628</sup> Cf. a list of the Memphite 'Sole Ornament of the King' under (4.4.2). See also, *Bity* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 674 = Maspero, *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire* I (1884)); *Bhnw* (BM 1330, 1319 = HT I<sup>2</sup>, pls. 32-34); *Ny-wsrt* (Cairo JE 57186; CCG 1688, 1753); *Tntl* (Richmond, Va 71.39 = Reed, *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum* (Richmond, 1973), 19: 10); *nh.n.s* (CCG 1357); *nh.n.s-Ppy* (CCG 1522); *Mrit* (CCG 1523); *Sbw.tt* (CCG 1687); *Tnt/lnt-lt.s* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 567); *Tsti* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 87, fig. 98); *Ttl/hnti-k3w.s* (Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Aba*, 22-24); *W3dt* (idem, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 90); *nh.n.s-Ppy* (Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, 56, fig. 33); *Mrt-Tti-ll/mrt* (Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. IX (1)); *Mst-n.l/Tst* (Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XVI); *Nst* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 34-5, fig. 36); *Nit* (ibid, 75); *Hbyt* (JEA 79 (1993), 247, fig. 3); *Hnw-hwit* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 511); *S3t-7-tnw* (Fischer, ZÄS 90 (1963), 36-37); *S3t-ini-Ttl* (TPC II, pls. 20 (c-d), 21); *Snt* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 568); *Snt.l* (Jéquier, *Le mastabat faraun*, 24, 29, n. 1); *Snt-lt.s* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 568); *St-ib.tl/Bb-lbl* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 56); *Sdhi* (ASAE 55 (1958), 230-231, pl. 20); *Šm3't* (*Tombeaux de particuliers*, 76, pl. 11); *S3t-gmnl* (TPC II, pl. 75); *Df3t.s* (*Tombeaux de particuliers*, 86); *Impy-nh* (Kom el-Fakhry (5.1.2)).

<sup>629</sup> See, for instance, at Naga-ed-Deir cf., *Hny* (Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 4, pl. III.2); *7y* (ibid, no. 10, pl. VI. 2); *Hdwl* (ibid, no. 21, pl. XII. 1); *nh.n.s-Ppy* (ibid, no. 22, pl. XII. 2); *Tnt-lt.s* (ibid, no. 24); *Nbt-lt.s* (ibid, no. 25); *Mryt* (ibid, no. 26); name lost (ibid, no. 41); *St-nt-Inhrt* (ibid, no. 31); wife of *Nfr-nhsl* (ibid no. 37); *Hsy* (ibid, no. 41); *St-nt-Inhrt* (ibid no. 42, perhaps the same as the no. n. 31); *nh.n.s-Ppy* (ibid, no. 53, pl. XVI. 1); name lost (ibid, no. 56, pl. XVII. 2); *Mryt* (ibid, no. 57, pl. XVIII. 1, perhaps the same as the owner of no. 26); *Šn'yt* (ibid, no. 62, pl. XX. 2); *Ky* (ibid, no. 70, pl. XXIV. 2); *Htpt.l* (ibid, no. 73, pl. XXVI. 1); *Idl* (ibid, no. 76, pl. XXVII. 2); *Mwt-mwt.l* (ibid, no. 78, pl. XXVIII. 2); *Bnit* (ibid, pl. XXXI); *Hnwt.sn* (ibid, no. 84, pl. XXXII); *Shw.s* (ibid, no. 86, pl. XXXIII. 2); *3mt* (ibid, no. 87, pl. XXXIV); *Mrl* (ibid, no. 58); *Qnit* (ibid, no. 19, pl. XI. 1); *7y* (ibid, no. 64, perhaps the same the owner of no. 10); *Bnit* (ibid, no. 71, pl. XXV. 1). At el Kab, see, *Spl* (Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 5, pl. VIII). At Coptos, Princess *Nbt* of the Eighth Dynasty (Habachi, *SAK* 10 (1983), 205-213); *Mnw-m* (Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pl. XXX). At Dendera, see *Ttl* (Fischer, *Dendera*, 152, fig. 28); *Twwtl* (ibid, fig. 31 top left); *Httbl* (ibid, fig. 33 (c)); *Hnyt* (CCG 1626 = Fischer, *Dendera*, 29). At Akhmim, see *Mrt-lt.s* (Kanawati, *Hawawish* 9, 59; *Hawawish* 7, 18-22, figs. 9-11); *Nbt* (*Hawawish* 3, 37-42, pl. 10; *H* 9, 63, fig. 108); *Htptl* (*Hawawish* 2, 7-47, figs. 1-27); *Nfr-tntt* (*Hawawish* 3, 7-32, figs. 1-14); *Rst* (*Hawawish* 1, 12-37, figs 5-22); *Hnl* (*Hawawish* 8, 26-8, figs. 9-10); *M3'-hrw* (*Hawawish* 8, 60, pl. 11b, fig. 32a); *Ipi/Ipw* (*Hawawish* 7, 54, pl. 13 c-h, figs. 39d-g); *Hnyt* (*Hawawish* 5, 63-4, pl. 11, fig. 25); *Hnwtl/Ini* (*Hawawish* 4, 39-41, pl. 11-12, figs. 29-30); *nh-n.s* (*Hawawish* 7, 53, pl. 12); *Wnw-mnw* (*Hawawish* 3, 33-5, pl. 4b, figs. 22, 26).

<sup>630</sup> Cf. Dunham, *Stelae*, pl. XVI. 1; Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 11, figs. 8-9.

<sup>631</sup> See note 199 above.



#### 4.1.25. Stela of *Gmni*

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544; *TPC* I, 197-8 (29).

According to Gunn this limestone false door measures 180 (now) x 90 x 25 cm. The cornice leaves are in raised relief, but the lines and lashing on the torus moulding are only painted. The rest of the decoration and texts are incised, including details of the wooden door imitation in the central niche. The back ground imitates mottled pink granite, some leaves of the cornice, the moulding and the wooden door are red, the lashings are black. The figures' skins are red, garments are white, the rectangular shape above the table is yellow. The haunch of beef is red with a black hoof, and the vessels are red with horizontal black stripes. The workmanship is fair, the signs are roughly but clearly cut. The stela is in a fragmentary state, much of which is lost. The design of the stela is typical of the later Old Kingdom. It has a supplementary inscribed frame. The decoration on both panel and jambs is conventional: on the panel is the usual table scene, while the jambs show standing portraits of the deceased facing towards the central niche. The inner thicknesses of the supplementary frame are decorated with ointment jars, labelled with names of the sacred oils.

#### Transliteration:

Supplementary frame: 1.(top) *htp di nswt inp tpy-dw.f prit-hrw nt sd3wty-bity...* ... 2. (left) ... ... *[imy]-r hnw smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-tp nswt imy[-r]... pr-<sup>c</sup>3...* ... 3. (right) ... *hnti-š mn-nfr Ppy...* ... *gmni* (Stela) 4. (H) *[sdwty] bity [smr] w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-hbt imy-r hnw hry-tp nswt im3hw Gmni* 5. (A) lost 6. (B)... ... *.n.i sd3wty-[bity]...[imy-r] hnw m... [Gmn]i* 7. (C) ... ... *hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t Gmni* 8. (F) ... ... *im3hw hr ntr-<sup>c</sup>3... [Gm]ni* 9. (G) *sd3wty-bity imy-r hnw Gmni* 10. (E) Lost 11. (D)... ... *h3 r3 h3 trp h3 sr h3 šs h3 mnht prit-hrw (n) im3hw...*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, a voice offering of the Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt ... . 2. ... ... [Overseer of the] Residence, Sole Companion, Chamberlain of the King, Over[seer] of... of the Great Palace ... 3. ... Tenants of *mn-nfr Ppy*... ... *Gmni*. 4. Seal Bearer of the King of Lower



Egypt, Sole Companion, Lector-priest Overseer of the Residence Chamberlain of the King, the honoured *Gmni*. 5. lost 6. *n.i* (?) [Seal Bearer] of the King of Lower Egypt... [Overseer of the] Residence in... *Gmni*. 7. ... .. Privy to the Secret of the House of the Morning *Gmni*. 8. ... .. he who is honoured by the great god ... .. *Gmni*. 9. Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt Overseer of the Residence *Gmni*. 10. lost 11. ... .. a thousand of *r3*-geese, a thousand of *trp*-geese, a thousand of *st*-geese, a thousand of *sr*-geese, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing, a voice offering (to) the honoured ... .

Comment:

The false door owner held offices which linked him with the royal person. One of the offices he held was concerned with the king's toilet *hry sšt3 n pr dw3t*, a post which as lector priest, he was qualified to practice.<sup>632</sup> He also was a *hnti-š* priest serving in the cult temple of the Pepy I.<sup>633</sup> His civil career is highlighted by his office of 'Overseer of the Residence', perhaps managing and administrating its workforce and various departments.<sup>634</sup> He is also associated with the state department, by being the head of its *hntiw-š* officials: this office had a wide range of responsibilities, one of which was delivering and probably executing the king's orders.<sup>635</sup> This is suggested by two statements concerning the delivery of coffins and burial equipment: on a crude limestone stela from Naga ed-Deir, the owner says 'the royal *hnti-š* delivered to me the coffin'.<sup>636</sup> The second statment is made by *Dꜣw* of Deir el-Gabrawi says: 'his majesty caused that the *hnt-š* official bring a coffin, *st*-festival oil, *sft*-oil, linen, two hundred of *h3tiw*-linen, of fine Upper Egyptian linen of the bandages taken out of the two treasuries of the residence to this *Dꜣw*'.<sup>637</sup>

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<sup>632</sup> For the association of these two offices see under *7tl* (4.4.1).

<sup>633</sup> Cf. Eyre, in Eyre et al., (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed*, 110-111, and references there. See also, Roth *BSAK* 4 (1991), 183-4; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives*, II, 577-81; Eyre in Powell (ed.), *Labor*, 11-12, 35-6; Stadelman, Sup *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 153-64; Baud, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 13-49.

<sup>634</sup> Cf. Eyre in *Labor*, 39; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr.* (Leiden, 1975), 95-7.

<sup>635</sup> *Urk* I, 306:13.

<sup>636</sup> Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 46.

<sup>637</sup> *Urk* I, 146: 11-13; Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, pl. XIII (13).

The other titles are probably not ranks of command, but granted on economic grounds. These are: *sd3wt-bity* a very common high status Old Kingdom designation,<sup>638</sup> in *Wni*'s list of the army he was entrusted with, the 'Seal Bearers of the King of Lower Egypt', who come in the second place following officials with the *h3ty-ꜥ* rank.<sup>639</sup> In Murray's Index almost all the officials with the rank of *h3ty-ꜥ* also have the rank of *sd3wty-bity*;<sup>640</sup> *smr-wꜥty* was a court office,<sup>641</sup> probably designating laymen who served as a royal envoys;<sup>642</sup> *hry-tp nswt* is another court rank which links the stela's owner with the royal person.<sup>643</sup> The meaning and function of this title is rather obscure, usually translated 'Chamberlain', lit. 'he who is under the head of the king'.<sup>644</sup> Recently, the reading and meaning of this office has been reconsidered by Goedicke, who suggests the reading *tpy-hrt nswt* meaning 'one who is upon the royal property'.<sup>645</sup> The title, however seems to be not of a very high rank, like that of *sd3wty-bity* and *smr wꜥty*, but is frequently found among the titles of scribes and legal officials.<sup>646</sup> It is likely that it was granted merely for the materials and commodities that came with it.<sup>647</sup>

#### Dating:

The mention of the pyramid of Pepy I might seem as a straight-forward telling feature of the stela's date. However, the style, the overall design, and the iconographic features indicate a later date, perhaps even later than the end of the Old Kingdom. The supplementary inscribed frame seems not to be found before the reign of Pepy II, and it

<sup>638</sup> Cf. Murray, *Index*, 59ff; Ward, *Index*, 170-1 (1472-1476). For discussion on the title see, *JEA* 61, 250; *CdE* 16, 237; *BIFAO* 51, 137; cf. also Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 53, 92-3, 111-119; cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 310-11.

<sup>639</sup> *Urk* I, 102: 3.

<sup>640</sup> Murray, *Index*, 59ff.

<sup>641</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 307, 310; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 24, 108, 111-114.

<sup>642</sup> Martin-Pardey, *SAK* 11 (1984), 233, noting that the royal envoy in the Coptos Decrees D, L, and Q was designated as a *smr-wꜥty*.

<sup>643</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 310; see also Sottas, *Sphinx* 17 (1913), 1ff.

<sup>644</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 115; idem, *Coptite Nome*, 68; Blackman, *JEA* 17, 58; Junker, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 71; Gunn, *JEA* 27 (1941), 144-5; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 60.

<sup>645</sup> H. Goedicke, 'Titles for Titles', in S. Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden in Alten Ägypten* (Tübingen, 1994), 227-234.

<sup>646</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 310-11.

<sup>647</sup> *Ibid*, 231, n. 21.



did not become frequent before the end of that reign and thereafter.<sup>648</sup> The offering table composition of rectangular-shaped slices of loaves surmounted by a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck and vegetables is a feature which is not evidenced before the very late Old Kingdom, and the Herakleopolitan Period. The name of the stela's owner, *Gmni*, is itself an indication of a later date,<sup>649</sup> as is the appearance of 𓂏 at the end of the name of the stela's owner. As for the mention of the cult temple of the Sixth Dynasty King Pepy I, it can only indicate a continuation of the funerary cult of this king, which is known to have survived until the Middle Kingdom.<sup>650</sup> The stela probably dates to the very end of the Old Kingdom or early Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 4.1.26. Stela of Šdy-Pth/Šdw

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 545; *TPC* I, 196 (27); Gunn, Notebook, II, no. 79; MSS XV. 25; Strudwick, *Administration*, 141-2 (134).

The false door of Šdy-Pth is of small format, made of limestone. It measures 83 x 41 x 10 cm. The cornice leaves are in raised relief, but lines and lashings on the torus moulding are painted only. Inscriptions and figures are both incised. The skin of the figures is red. The wigs, lashings on the torus moulding, and lines separating the inscriptions are black. The workmanship is very poor, and the stela is broken into seven pieces. The jambs have the usual standing portraits of the deceased at the end of the inscriptions, while the panel displays the usual table scene.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *hṭp di nswt wsir prit-ḥrw n šḥd pr-nswt* 2. (B) *šḥd db3t im3[ḥw] ḥr... Šdy-Pth* 3. (C) *šḥd pr-3 im3ḥw Šdy-Pth rn.f nfr Šdw* 4. (F) ... (ḥry) *sšt3 n pr (dw3t)...* ... 5. (G) ... ... Šdy-[Pt]ḥ *rn.f nfr Šdw* 6. (E) *im3ḥw ḥr... ..* 7. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs mnḥt* 8. *šḥd pr nswt Šdy-(Pth)*

<sup>648</sup> See comment on this feature below passim; cf. also Strudwick, *Administration*, 17.

<sup>649</sup> For private names fashioned after the name of the deified Sixth Dynasty vizier Kagemni see a list compiled by Gunn (*TPC* I, 126-130), all of whom are to be dated to the Herakleopolitan Period.

<sup>650</sup> See, Helck, 'Bemerkungen zu den Pyramidenstädten im Alten Reich' *MDAIK* 25 (1957), 110-11; cf. also Fischer, *Dendara*, 170-171; see also Leclant, and Berger, in *Studies Simpson* I, 499-506.

### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, a voice offering to the Inspector of the Royal Palace 2. Inspector of the Wardrobe, he who is honoured by ... *Šdy-Pth*. 3. Inspector of the Great Palace, the honoured *Šdy-Pth* his good name being *Šdw*. 4. ... ... Privy to the Secret of the House of the Morning ... 5. ... ... *Šdy-Pth* his good name being *Šdw*. 6. He who is honoured... ... 7. A thousand loaves of bread, jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster and clothing (to) the Inspector of the Royal Palace *Šdy-[Pth]*.

### Comments:

*Šdy-ptḥ* was 'Inspector of the Royal Palace',<sup>651</sup> perhaps inspecting and managing the daily work in the royal palace.<sup>652</sup> He seems also to have the same authority in the state department *pr-ʿ3*.<sup>653</sup> *Pr-ʿ3* is probably the only term used for the concept of the central administration of the Egyptian state.<sup>654</sup> It was an administrative unit which was run either by the *Hnw* 'residence' or the *pr-nswt* 'king's house'.<sup>655</sup> The appearance of the *pr-ʿ3* and its association with offices probably first occurs around the mid Fourth Dynasty. The earliest occurrence of *pr-ʿ3* in a title is perhaps to be dated to the reign of Khafre or slightly later.<sup>656</sup> Although, formally, officials were associated with the *pr-ʿ3* institution, they were practically working for the king too. Royal temples usually show officials with the rank of *shd pr-ʿ3* following the king in royal processions, in some case seen holding a

<sup>651</sup> For other officials holding similar title see, Junker, *Giza*, V, 54; IX, 130-3; Pirie and Paget, *Ptahhotep*, pl. 38; Mariette, *Mastabas*, D 53, F. 1, H 10, I 11.

<sup>652</sup> Helck, 'Palastverwaltung', *LÄ* IV, 647-51; cf. idem, *Beamtentiteln*, 32-5; Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 59 (13).

<sup>653</sup> C.J. Eyre in, *Labor*, 13; Goedicke, *JEA* 45, 10-11.

<sup>654</sup> Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker*, 143-44.

<sup>655</sup> Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten*, 95-97; cf. also Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives*, 332-33; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 139, 145-6.

<sup>656</sup> *Nfr* from Giza was *sš pr-ʿ3* and probably a contemporary of Khafre or slightly later, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 72-4; Strudwick, *Administration*, 109-110 (84). A reference to this institution also appears on a seal impression of an official who probably also served Khafre, cf. Kaplony, *Rollsiegel*, II A, 94-5, no. 86, 506, k.u. 151; see also Speidel, *Die Friseure*, 91-2; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 143.



long staff and bending their back as a gesture of respect in the company of the royal person.<sup>657</sup>

*shd db3t* 'Inspector of the Wardrobe':<sup>658</sup> Being 'Privy to the Secret of the House of Morning' he was probably responsible for the clothing department or the wardrobe where royal apparel was kept.<sup>659</sup>

On a limestone lintel which belongs to the same individual, other civil as well as priestly titles appear.<sup>660</sup> The most important of these is 'Overseer of the Two Treasuries'. He also was 'w'b-priest of the 200 of the pyramid of the Pepy II,<sup>661</sup> Overseer of the Commissions of the pyramid of Pepy II'.<sup>662</sup> Probably due to his later career promotion, these posts do not appear on the stela which is likely to have been completed before such offices existed.<sup>663</sup>

### Dating:

The style, overall design and iconography show the usual late Old Kingdom features. However, the association of the stela's owner with the pyramid of Pepy II means simply that the door and the lintel of *Šdi-Pth* can not antedate the later Sixth Dynasty. The usual tradition during the reign of Pepy II was for high officials to be buried around this king's pyramid. The finding of the tomb of the Overseer of the Two Treasuries *Šdy-Pth* near Teti's pyramid might suggest a date later than the reign of Pepy II himself.<sup>664</sup> One may suggest a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty).

<sup>657</sup> Cf. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Re*, 71-4, Abb. 51-52; Cf. idem, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, Bl. 17.

<sup>658</sup> Cf. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de Noms*, 43; cf. also the title *hry-d3t* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 68) and *lmy-r d3t* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 768).

<sup>659</sup> For the association of *pr-dw3t* and *d3t* room see, Kees, *RT* 36 (1914), 1-16; cf. also Fischer, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 25, n. 1.

<sup>660</sup> Now in Rosicrucian Museum San Jose RC 1737= N. Strudwick, 'Three monuments of Old Kingdom treasury officials', *JEA* 71 (1985), 44-5.

<sup>661</sup> Cf. Junker, *Giza* VI, 15; VII, Abb. 8; CCG 1455, 1551, 1634; Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* II, pl. 10; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 3, n. 15; see also, Daressy, *Mera*, 562, 567.

<sup>662</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 221-3; Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 179-197; Goedicke, *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 38-9; Valloggia, *Messagers*, 29 ff. and passim; Martin-Pardey, *SAK* 11 (1984), 23ff; idem, *Provinzialverwaltung*, passim; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, passim.

<sup>663</sup> Strudwick, *JEA* 71 (1985), 45, n. 10. It is also probable that the posts inscribed on the false door were more important to the deceased.

<sup>664</sup> See Strudwick, *JEA* 71 (1985), 45. The mention of pyramid of Pepy II in the Teti pyramid cemetery is very rare, cf. idem, *Administration*, 142 (134).

#### 4.1.27. Stela of *Snt.i*

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 545; *TPC* I, 195 (26).

A small limestone false door measuring 53 (now) x 29 x 14 cm. Inscriptions and figures are incised, and no colour remains. The workmanship is poor. The lower part of the stela is broken away. The door panel displays the usual table scene with the deceased sitting before an offering table, underneath which is ewer and basin. The design of the stela is unusual: where there would otherwise be the moulding here is a flat surface. In addition A, B, C, E are omitted.

#### Transliteration:

1. (F) *im3hwt s3t-nswt snt.(i)* 2.(G) *im3hwt s3t-nswt snt.i* [drum] 3. *s3t-nswt snt.i* 4. *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 3pdw h3 k3w* 5. *s3t nswt snt.i*

#### Translation:

1. She who is honoured, King's Daughter<sup>665</sup> *Snt.i.*<sup>666</sup> 2. She who is honoured, King's Daughter *Snt.i.* 3. King's Daughter *Snt.i.* 4. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of fowl and thousand of oxen 5. (to) King's Daughter *Snt.i.*

#### Dating:

The stela type, iconography and palaeography provide no dating clues, but it is probable that its small size, and the claim of being a King's Daughter would assign the stela to the later part of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty), but not later.

#### 4.1.28. Stela of *Ipi/In* (Plate XXIII)

Bibl: CCG 57212 (JE 38557); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 20-22, pl. XIII; Maspero, *Guide*, 80 (263).

A large format limestone stela measuring 190 x 104 cm. It was found by Quibell in situ.<sup>667</sup> The large stela is cracked in the middle into two halves, but apart from slight

<sup>665</sup> For this title see, B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-njswt "Königssohn"* (Bonn, 1976), 109-133.

<sup>666</sup> For similar names see also PM III<sup>2</sup>, 681, 688.

<sup>667</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. V.



chipping at the bottom, the stela is in a fairly good condition. The stela displays the usual cavetto cornice, above which is a flat inscribed architrave, and torus moulding. The stela's panel is of the type that fills the entire space between the middle jambs. On the cross bar above the central niche is a pair of *wḏṣt*-eyes. The inscriptions are laid out in a conventional way: both of the upper and lower lintels retain two lines of inscription facing towards the right, while each of the six jambs has two columns of inscription which are directed towards the central niche. Both texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the table scene on the panel is in raised relief.

The six figures of the deceased represented at the end of the inscriptions on the jambs show him standing and facing the central niche. The figures on the outer jambs are almost identical, showing the deceased wearing a short wig on the left outer jamb and a shoulder-length wig on the right. Both figures are represented with a broad collar, and show the deceased holding the usual long staff and folded cloth. On the middle jambs are two identical figures of the deceased showing him in a mature portrait with abbreviated shoulders. He is represented with short hair, wearing a broad collar and a long skirt, and both of his hands are extended open in front of him, probably in a gesture of respect.<sup>668</sup> The figures on the inner jambs also show mirror images of the deceased, representing him with short hair, wearing a broad collar and long skirt, and raising both hands in a gesture of adoration.<sup>669</sup> The scene on the panel shows the usual table scene, with the deceased sitting in front of an offering table, wearing a shoulder length wig, a broad collar and knee-length kilt, and holding his left hand to his chest, while extending his right hand to the offering table. Notable here is, the back leg of the chair on which the deceased sits, depicted realistically as it overlaps the side of the chair.<sup>670</sup> The table has the usual tall slices of bread, above which are a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck. Under the table, resting directly on the floor line, are a large nested ewer and basin on the left and a tall *ḥs* jar on the right.

### Transliteration:

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<sup>668</sup> Cf. Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 21-25.

<sup>669</sup> Cf. *ibid*, 25-32.

<sup>670</sup> Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 53-4, fig. 6.

1. (H) *st hb hknw sft nhnm tw3t h3tt 'š tñnw h3tt w3dw msdmt 'rfwy wnhwy* 2. (A') *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw ntr-ʿ3 nb 3bdw sd3.f m* 3. *htp r imntt nfrt mm im3hw i3w nfrt wrt nty m srt im3hw hr inp tpy-dw.f 1pl* 4. (B') *mty n s3 shd hnti-š w3d-lswt Mry-k3-rʿ mry nb.f hsy.f im3hw hr ntr-ʿ3 nb imnty rh nswt m3ʿ 1pl* 5. *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw hnty-imntiw nb 3bdw prit-hrw n.f nfr m ls.f nfr n hrt-ntr m hrt-hrw rʿ nb n im3hw hry-tp nswt 1pl* 6. (C') *htp di nswt inpw tpy-dw.f imy-wt nb t3 dsr qrst.f nfr m s(m)t imntt i3w nfrt wrt im3hw hr inpw 1pl* 7. *htp di nswt inpw tpy dw.f nb sp3 hnty sh ntr hpl.f m htp hr w3wt nfrwt nt imntt hppt im3hw hr.s im3hw 1pl* 8. (A) *im3hw hr wsir nb imnty hq3 hwt rh nswt m3ʿ hrp k3t* 9. *imntt i3btt dd nfrt whm mrrt n mrwt m3ʿ im3hw 1pl* 10. (B) *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw sm3.f r imnty nfrt sšm sw k3w.f r w3wt nb nfrt nt hrt-ntr im3hw 1pl* 11. *htp di nswt inpw tpy dw.f imy wt nb t3 dsr lʿr.f in ntr-ʿ3 nb pt mm im3hw im3h 1pl* 12. (C) *sd3wty bity smr wʿty nty m srt hrp k3t m imntt i3btt rh nswt m3ʿ hsy.f im3hw hq3 hwt 1pl* 13. *hrp r3 s3q htp ib wd3 ib hr ddt nb.f nn mht ib hr.s im3hw hr ntr ʿ3 nb pt hry-tp nswt 1pl* 14. (F) *im3hw hr inpw mry n it.f hsy n mwt.f im3hw 1pl* 15. *dd nfr whm mrrt lr ht n tp-nfr n mrwt m3ʿ im3hw 1pl* 16. (G) *mry n it.f hsy n niwt.f tm im3hw hr nb.f 1pl* 17. *im3hw hr inpw tpy dw.f nty m srt ipi rn.f nfr In* 19. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht rʿ nb n k3 n im3hw 1pl*

#### Translation:

1. *st* oil, *hknw* oil, *sft* oil, *nhnm* oil, *tw3t* oil, the best of *'š* oil, the best of *tñnw* oil, two green and black eye-paint bags, and two rolls of *wnhy* linen. 2. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos. May he depart in 3. peace to the beautiful west among the revered ones, having reached a good old age, he who is in the magistracy, honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain, *1pl*. 4. Regulator of the Phyle, and Inspector of Tenants of the *w3d-lswt-Mry-k3-rʿ*, beloved of his lord, praised of him, revered by the great god, lord of the west, the true Royal Acquaintance *1pl*. 5. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu, lord of Abydos. A voice offering to him beautifully in his beautiful tomb of the necropolis in the course of the day and every day, to the honoured, Chamberlain of the King *1pl*. 6. An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land. May he be buried beautifully in the western cemetery, having reached a good old



age, he who is honoured by Anubis, *ṭpl*. 7. An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain lord of *Sp3*, the foremost of the divine booth. May he walks in peace upon the beautiful roads of the west upon which the revered ones walk, the honoured *ṭpl*. 8. He who is honoured by Osiris lord of the west, Manager of the Estate, the true Royal Acquaintance, Director of works 9. in the western and eastern desert, one who says good and repeats what is loved, true possessor of love, the honoured *ṭpl*. 10. An offering which the king gives and Osiris lord of Busiris may he lands at the beautiful west and his *kas* guide him to all the beautiful roads of the necropolis, the revered *ṭpl*. 11. An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, that he may ascend to the great god lord of heaven, among the revered ones, the honoured *ṭpl*. 12. Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, who is in the magistrates, Director of works in the western and eastern desert, the true Royal Acquaintance, who is praised by him, he who is honoured, Manager of the Estate *ṭpl*. 13. One who directs the speech, who collects (his) thoughts, one who puts into effect that which his lord says without negligence about it, he who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven, Chamberlain of the King, *ṭpl*. 14. One who is honoured by Anubis, beloved of his father, praised of his mother, the honoured *ṭpl*. 15. One who says good and repeats what is loved, and one who arranges things for the opportune moment, possessor of true love, the honoured *ṭpl*. 16. Beloved of his father, praised of his entire city, one who is revered by his lord *ṭpl*. 17. One who is honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the magistracy *ṭpl*, whose good name is *ṭn*. 18. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing, every day to the *k3* of the honoured *ṭpl*.

### Comments:

Some of the offices and posts held by the stela owner are likely to be granted purely on economic grounds and were not functional offices: these are *sq3wty bity*, *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*, *rh nswt*

or *rh nswt m3<sup>c</sup>*,<sup>671</sup> and *hry-tp nswt*.<sup>672</sup> However, other posts was perhaps functional and deserve comment.

The office of *hq3 hwt* 'Manager of the Estate', is a well attested office, particularly on monuments of the later part of the Old Kingdom in the Memphite necropolis.<sup>673</sup> *hwt* likely here to refer to temple estates, as one can judge from other titles which associate the stela's owner with the land of the cult temple of King Merykare, who was probably a contemporary of the stela's owner.<sup>674</sup> In this temple *7pl* was also a phyle regulator, a function which probably had a great influence on where he had his tomb built.<sup>675</sup>

The title *nty m srt*<sup>676</sup> 'one who is in the magistracy',<sup>677</sup> might be taken to represent a member of a fixed body of officials. The title is discussed by van den Boorn who does not believe the designation to be a genuine title.<sup>678</sup> Evidence and sources, however, suggest a body of executive officials of the central state operating at local level. If correct, the *nty m srt* is an executive post, which would have a wide range of activities comprising those of mayors, the settlement leaders, councillors of the district, overseers of fields,<sup>679</sup> as

<sup>671</sup> For a recent treatment for this office see R. Leprohon, *JARCE* 31 (1994), 46-47.

<sup>672</sup> Cf. Sottas in, *Sphinx* 17 (1913), 1 ff; Junker, *ZAS* 75 (9139), 71; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives* II, 598; Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1935), 14; Gunn, *JEA* 27 (1941), 144; Junker, *Giza* VII, 200; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 60; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 186; Strudwick, *Administration*, 310-11; and recently Goedicke in Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden*, 227-234, who suggests associating the title with land holding.

<sup>673</sup> Cf. e.g. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 68, 80-83; idem, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, figs. 74-5; Lauer, *ASAE* 55 (1955), 155, pl. 3; for a list of title holders during the Old Kingdom see P. Piacentini, *Gli Amministratori di proprietà nell' Egitto dell' III millennio a.c.* (Pisa, 1989); idem, in Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden*, 235-249.

<sup>674</sup> For the 'Inspector of Tenants', see Eyre, in Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden*, 111-112, see also references there.

<sup>675</sup> See Helck, *LÄ* IV, 1044; cf. also Ward, *Index*, 96-7. See also Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* IV, 204-214. The stela was found in situ by the excavator (Quibell, *Saqqara, 1905-1906*, pl. V). It was found east of the cult temple of Teti and probably, as suggested by Malek, not far from the pyramid of Merykare (cf. Malek, op.cit., 204-214; see also, L. Giddy, *The Anubieion at Saqqara, II The Cemetery* (London, 1992), 2 (13)).

<sup>676</sup> On the meaning of *srt* as a 'body of officials' see *Wb* IV, 189:11; see also, van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 24, nn. 76-81.

<sup>677</sup> Cf. Ward, *Index*, 100 (839). Add: Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentioning Merykare); Peterson, *Orientalia Suecana* 19-20 (1970-1), 3 (iii); also this offering table (10.3.8); see also Helck, *Verwaltung*, 71-2.

<sup>678</sup> Cf. van der Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 209-212, 337-338.

<sup>679</sup> Cf. *Kahun* II, 1: 23-9 = *P. Kahun*, pl. 13; van der Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, pl. 2 (R22-R23), pp. 208-209.



well as arbitrating civilian disputes.<sup>680</sup> This office may identify the relevant bureaucrat of the main magistracies in local administration,<sup>681</sup> whose duties were to accomplish matters under their jurisdiction, and for which they are responsible to the vizier.<sup>682</sup>

The office *hrp k3t m lmntt l3btt* is rather unusual. The office of 'Director of Works' is probably created during the period that follows the Old Kingdom, probably for reasons of bureaucratic efficiency, since the term implies direct supervision and actual involvement,<sup>683</sup> as opposed to the general supervision which the office *imy-r k3t* indicates.<sup>684</sup> The addition of *lmntt* and *l3btt* is rather interesting; it is probably comparable to the office of 'Overseer of Western and Eastern Desert',<sup>685</sup> and 'Overseer of Hunters of the West and East'.<sup>686</sup> The desert determinative probably indicates the nature of the location where the works were directed, and probably refers to quarry work from which building materials are obtained.

Apart from the titles and ranks, some autobiographical phrases deserve comment. *dd nfr whm mrrt* is very common during the Old Kingdom: it usually alternates with the phrase *dd nfr whm nfr*.<sup>687</sup> The other common phrase is *iry ht n tp nfr*: it is noticeable here that the verb *iry* is sometimes replaced by either *rdi*, *itj* or *lni*,<sup>688</sup> and in accordance with these variants *iri* may have an idiomatic rather than literal meaning.<sup>689</sup> The phrase *hrp-r s3q ib* 'one who direct his speech and collects his understanding' is a statement which

<sup>680</sup> Cf. Fischer, 'Marginalia' *GM* 122 (1991), 27, suggesting a juridical character of the office of *nty m srt*.

<sup>681</sup> Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, 56-57.

<sup>682</sup> van der Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 211, 215-216; Quirke, op. cit., 56.

<sup>683</sup> It seems that such actual involvement was taken by the royal architect during the Old Kingdom, as one can see from two autobiographical texts from the Old Kingdom, concern two royal architect who became later in their career, 'Overseer of Works': (*Urk* I, 215: 11, 13) 'His Majesty sent me to direct the works of his monuments in Heliopolis ... I spent six years there directing the work'. The other text refers to expedition and building activities directed by the royal architect, cf. *CCG* 1433 = *Urk* I, 86-7.

<sup>684</sup> For the title of 'Overseer of Works' see, Strudwick, *Administration*, 248; see also de Cenival, *Chefs de travaux*, 228-30; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 25.

<sup>685</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 13. For this office see also, Ward, *Index*, no. 340-1

<sup>686</sup> *Ibid*, no. 43

<sup>687</sup> Cf. Janssen, *De Traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie*, 54-6; Polotsky, *Zu Inschriften*, § 65; Fischer, *Orientation*, 121, n. 387; idem, in *Studies Presented to Dunham*, 62 n. 33.

<sup>688</sup> Cf. Janssen, *De Traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie*, 44, 50, 77; see also, Polotsky, *Zu Inschriften*, § 65; Fischer, in *Studies Presented to Dunham*, 62; Kanawati, *GM* 89 (1986), 45 (f); Cerny, *JEA* 47 (1961), 8; Daressy, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 207; Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, § 7.

<sup>689</sup> For comment on the meaning of this phrase see, Fischer, op. cit., 62; for different view see Kanawati, *GM* 89 (1986), 45 (f).



probably characterises the period, when there was a great need for resolute leadership in a time of fear and indecision.<sup>690</sup> The other phrase which is equally in keeping with the spirit of the time is *w3d lb hr ddt nb.f nn mhl-lb hr.s* 'one who puts into effect that which his lord says without any negligence about it'.<sup>691</sup> The phrase *mry it.f hsy n niwt.f tm* is also common during this period.<sup>692</sup>

### Dating:

The overall design and style of the stela provide some features which are not otherwise known before the Herakleopolitan Period, particularly the full panel which fills the entire space between the middle jambs. It is probable that this stela is one of the earliest dated examples in the Memphite necropolis, since it can be relatively dated by the occurrence of the pyramid town of Merykare, and the association of the stela's owner with the cult temple of this king.<sup>693</sup> The appearance of the *w3t* eyes on the cross bar above the central niche is an innovation which probably first occurred during the Herakleopolitan Period not earlier than the reign of Merykare.<sup>694</sup>

The overlapping of the back leg with the edge of the chair, is first known in the Memphite necropolis about mid Sixth dynasty, but did not become frequent before the Herakleopolitan Period particularly in the provinces.<sup>695</sup>

The offering table with the bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck and vegetables, is a composition which is not known before the Herakleopolitan Period. The adoration and veneration postures which appear on the door jambs also point

<sup>690</sup> Cf. Janssen, *De Traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie*, 94-5; Fischer, *Dendera*, 141-2.

<sup>691</sup> For this phrase see, Janssen, *op. cit.*, 158 (12, 167 (36).













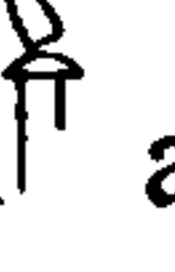





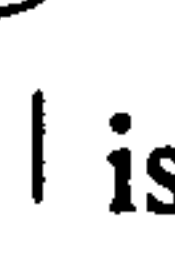



<sup>692</sup> Janssen, *op. cit.*, 64-65.

<sup>693</sup> For comment on this architectural feature see above *passim*.

<sup>694</sup> For the association of the *w3t* eyes with the false doors see Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 40, n. 1. They probably first appeared on the inner jambs flanking the central niche or inside the central niche itself as early as mid Sixth Dynasty. cf. also Kanawati, *Saqqara I*, pl. 12; idem, *Hawawish II*, fig. 23; Drioton, *RdÉ* 1 (1933), pl. 9; Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 9, figs. 3-4. A recently excavated false door stela at Saqqara found to the west of the Step Pyramid complex, also displays this decorative element inside the central niche. It is probable that moving of this decoration to the cross bar did not occur before the period to which this stela belongs. For false doors exhibiting this feature on their cross-bar and dated to the Herakleopolitan Period, cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII; idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. 10; Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, fig. 12; CCG 1409, 1446, 1478, 1512. It seems that this element of decoration originated here in the Memphite necropolis just before the unification, and was copied by provincial artists after the Theban conquest, cf. Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 248-250, n. 12; *Dendera*, 226; cf. also Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1975), figs. 7-9, 12-14.

<sup>695</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 53-54, n. 1.




to a later date. Some of the posts and ranks which appear here are also significant in terms of dating: particularly the offices of *hrp k3t m imntt i3btt* and the *nty m srt* neither is known earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. A date not before the reign of Merykare can be safely indicated by palaeographic features: the arrangement , the writing of *prtt* *hrw* with the ox, bird' heads determinative and the elongated loaf, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* , and the use of the filling stroke in the writing of the epithet , , the full writing of *inpw*    using both the phonetic and ideographic, all point a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The use of the prosthetic *i* in the writing of the epithet *imy wt*     , although known from as early as the very end of the Old Kingdom in inscriptions adjacent to the burial chamber, did not appear on stelae before the Herakleopolitan Period. Also, the writing of *i3*-sign with two pellets underneath, the forked tail of *w3* sign, and the abbreviated west ideogram  are all expected palaeographic features during that period. The use of the filling stroke in the writing of *nb.f*  and *imnty*   is also indicative of this period.<sup>696</sup> The arrangement of the *hry tp nswt*     is not attested before the later part of this period.<sup>697</sup> Contra Schenkel,<sup>698</sup> this arrangement of *r<sup>c</sup> nb*   with the filling stroke following the solar sign is known earlier than the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. It is evidently known as early as the Herakleopolitan Period,<sup>699</sup> as it appears on monuments of this period in Gebelein<sup>700</sup> and Beni Hasan.<sup>701</sup>

<sup>696</sup> Cf. Schenkel, *FMAS*, § 5.

<sup>697</sup> For similar writing cf. Clère and Vandier, *TPPI* § 17, an example which occurs on a stela which is dated to the reign of King *W3h-<sup>c</sup>nh Int.f-<sup>c</sup>3* II, cf. also § 14.

<sup>698</sup> Schenkel, *FMAS*, § 6 a.

<sup>699</sup> Note that the writing of the solar sign followed by vertical stroke is evident as early in the Old

Kingdom in the writing of  on the false door of *Hwfw-<sup>c</sup>nh* from Giza (Boston Mus. 21.3081; cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* I, 215, 307; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 129-130).

<sup>700</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Kush* 9 (1961), 48.

<sup>701</sup> Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, 86, n. 23.

The occurrence of the phrase *n k3 n lm3hw* on stelae is probably known from an earlier date despite claims by Bennett:<sup>702</sup> probably the earliest occurrence of the phrase is that of Mereruka's burial chamber,<sup>703</sup> although only later in the Dynasty did it make its way to the superstructure.<sup>704</sup> Its occurrence on stelae is even later than the end of the Old Kingdom, and probably not before the advent of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>705</sup> The occurrence of the epithet *ntr-3 nb 3bdw* as an epithet for Osiris points to a later date in this period. Its occurrence on the present stela is probable one of the earliest in the Memphite necropolis.<sup>706</sup> The occurrence of the adjective *nfr* directly after *prtt hrw* is not expected before this period. The most telling indication of the stela's date is evidently the occurrence of the prenomen of Merykare, to whose reign, or a little later the stela's owner can probably be dated.<sup>707</sup>

#### 4.1.29. Stela of S3t-hmt (Plate XXIV)

Bibl: Cairo Museum, CG 57202 (JE 38553); Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 24, pl. XVI (right); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563.

<sup>702</sup> Bennett, *JEA* 27 (1941), 79, 81.

<sup>703</sup> Cf. *TPC* I, 144-146.

<sup>704</sup> Cf. W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, *ÄF* 24 (Gückstadt, 1968), 33, n. 3, and cf. p. 39, n. 4. Barta may however be correct that the phrase is known as early as the Sixth Dynasty in general; he bases his argument on a graffito, Petrie, *A Season in Egypt 1887* (London, 1888), pl. 3 (81). The graffito clearly does not belong the year four of the reign of Merenre as Barta claims, and is apparently much later as shown by the mode of dating, the writing of *imy-r pr wr* (which is itself XII Dynasty title cf. F. Arnold, *GM* 122 (1991), 7-14), and the epithet *m3c hrw*. The royal name is evidently reversed and should be read *Ny-m3c-t-r* i.e. Amenemhet III as suggested by Fischer in, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 39, n. 41.

<sup>705</sup> Cf. Aly Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), fig. 2 (b); Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1975), fig. 7, 10, 11, 13; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIX (3); Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 11, fig. 3-4.

<sup>706</sup> Cf. Fischer, *GM* 128 (1992), 72, n. 2.

<sup>707</sup> Cf. Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* IV, 204-215; cf. also Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 40, n. 2, and cf. p. 109; idem, *Titles*, 65 (839). For a Middle Kingdom date see Schenkel, *FMAS*, 120, 145, n. 1, which is difficult to accept on the grounds of the above mentioned features as well as the fact is that it is hard to believe that the memory of Herakleopolitan kings would revive during the Middle Kingdom when kings considered themselves descendants of the Theban regime which unified Egypt and ended the Herakleopolitan claim to the Egyptian throne.



A limestone stela measuring 70 x 58 cm. It was found in a shaft behind the stela of *Hwt*, in fairly good condition: only its bottom edges are chipped away, as is most of the cornice. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the scene on the panel is in raised relief. The inner jambs are slightly wider, probably to allow enough space for writing horizontally,<sup>708</sup> but otherwise both texts and relief are arranged in a conventional way. The scene on the panel shows the usual table scene, displaying the deceased sitting in front of an offering table. The table is composed of the usual items; tall bread slices, surmounted by a foreleg of beef, lettuce, *swt*-joint, and a trussed duck.

At the end of the inscription on each of the four jambs is a representation of the deceased showing her standing facing towards the central niche. She wears a long tight-fitting garment with shoulder straps, a broad collar and a long wig on the outer jambs, or a short wig on the inner jambs. Each of the four figures shows the deceased in a different attitude. On the outer left jamb she is represented in a striding posture, holding a lotus blossom to her nose with one hand, while the other hand is extended at her side grasping a stemmed lotus bud. On the opposite right outer jamb she is also striding, but she is depicted here holding an ointment jar to her nose with her right hand, and a stemmed lotus bud in the other hand. The left inner jamb shows her standing with feet slightly apart, holding a lotus blossom to her nose with one hand, while the other hand is hanging at her side, grasping a stemmed lotus bud. On the right inner jamb she is also standing, extending her right hand open in front of her, while her left hand is hanging open at her side, probably in an attitude of reverence.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb Ddw h̄nty imntiw* 2. (B) *nb 3bdw prit hrw n im3h̄t S3t-h̄mt* 3. (C) *Inpw tpy ḏw.f im3h̄wt S3t-h̄mt* 4. (F) *im3h̄wt S3t-h̄mt* 5. (G) *im3h̄wt S3t-h̄mt* 6. (D) *im3h̄t hr n̄tr-ꜣ nb pt S3t-h̄mt* 7. (D) *h̄3 t h̄3 h̄nqt h̄3 k3w h̄3 3pdw h̄3 šs h̄3 mn̄ht n im3h̄t S3t-h̄mt*

#### Translation:

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<sup>708</sup> For stelae with similar arrangement from the same period and same cemetery, cf. those of *Ipi-ꜣnhw* (4.1.6), *Ipi-m-s3.s* (4.1.5), and *Hry-š.f-n̄ht* II (4.1.9).

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu, 2. lord of Abydos, a voice offering to the honoured *S3t-hmt*. 3. (An offering which the King gives) and Anubis who is upon his mountain, (to) the honoured *S3t-hmt*. 4. She who is honoured *S3t-hmt*. 5. The revered *S3t-hmt*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *S3t-hmt*.

#### Dating:

The style of the stela with its panel that gently curved outwards at the top, is characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period. The iconography of the offering table with the bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck and vegetables, is typical of this period. The female striding posture appearing on the jambs is also indicative of a later date.<sup>709</sup> The formation of the stela's owner name *S3t-hmt* in itself points to a later date.<sup>710</sup> The arrangement of *wsir nb*, the abbreviation of the west ideogram, the arrangement of *prît hrw*, the phonetic writing of *lnpw*, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht*, and the use of the plural strokes in the writing of *hmt*, all point clearly to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. In addition, the location of the stela not far from the pyramid of Merykare suggests that it comes from a small chapel built in the cemetery which was established around this pyramid.

#### 4.1.30. Stela of *Snt-n.l* (Plate XXIV)

Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, 72, pl. VI (1); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563; Harpur, *Decoration*, pl. 9.

A limestone stela, found near the chapel of *Ti-mrt-Tti*.<sup>711</sup> According to the excavator the height of the stela is 100 cm. The stela is of a large format. Texts are

<sup>709</sup> Cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, tb. 6.16, where most of the examples cited by the author are dated to the very end of the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period.

<sup>710</sup> Cf. Fischer, *ZAS* 90 (1963), 36, n. 2; *PN* II, 233.

<sup>711</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, 2 (plan).



incised, while figures on the jambs, and the table scene on the panel are in raised relief. The texts are arranged in a conventional way: each of the jambs has a single column of inscription. The outer and middle jambs, each has a figure of the deceased, while the inner jambs are filled entirely, with a single column of inscription. Each of the lintels has a single line of inscription. The door panel has a gently out-curving top. The portraits on the middle and outer jambs show the deceased standing and facing the central niche. She wears a long tight-fitting garment with shoulder straps, a broad collar, bracelets, anklets, and a long wig on the outer jambs, or a short wig on the middle jambs. The figure on the left outer jamb shows her in a striding posture, with both hands hanging at her side: with the left hand open, while the right hand is fisted.<sup>712</sup> On the opposite jamb, she is also striding, but here she is depicted holding a lotus blossom to her nose with one hand, while the other hand is hanging open at her side. On the left middle jamb the deceased is seen standing holding a lotus flower to her nose with her left hand, while the other hand is extended open along her side. The right inner jamb shows her holding her right hand to her chest in a gesture of respect, while the other hand is hanging at her side. The panel scene shows the deceased in the usual funerary meal scene which is composed in a fashion typical of this period.

Transliteration:

1. (A') *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb Ddw h̄nty-imntyw* 2. (B') *nb 3bdw pr̄it-h̄rw n.s m is.s n h̄rt-n̄tr Snt-n.i* 3. (C') *inpw tpy d̄w.f imy wt nb t3 d̄sr pr̄it h̄rw n im3h̄t Snt-n.i* 4. (A) *h̄tp di nswt inpw h̄nty sh̄-n̄tr* 5. (B) *h̄pl.s h̄r w3wt n̄frwt im3h̄wt Snt-n.i* 6. (C) *qrstl.s m h̄rt-n̄tr (nt) s(m)t imnty t im3h̄t Snt-n.i* 7. (F) *im3h̄t h̄r h̄nwt.s Snt-n.i* 8. (G) *im3h̄t h̄r wsir Snt-n.i* 9 (E) *im3h̄t h̄r n̄tr-3 Snt-n.i* 10. (D) *h̄3 t h̄3 h̄nqt h̄3 k3w h̄3 3pdw h̄3 šs h̄3 mn̄ht n im3h̄t Snt-n.i*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiou, 2. lord of Abydos, a voice offering to her in her tomb of the necropolis *Snt-n.i*. 3. (An offering which the King gives) and Anubis who is upon his mountain who is in the *wt*, lord of the

<sup>712</sup> For similar examples see, Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), figs. 8-9; *TPC* II, pls. 68, 70; see also, Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 21; *CGG* 1588; cf. also the stela of *Snt-it.s* in Athens Museum, see *The World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum* (Athens, 1995), no. 30.

sacred land, a voice offering to the honoured *Snt-n.i*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, the foremost of the divine booth, 5. may she travels on the beautiful roads, the revered *Snt-n.i*, 6. May she be buried in the necropolis of the western cemetery, the honoured *Snt-n.i*. 7. She who is honoured by her mistress, *Snt-n.i*. 8. She who is honoured by Osiris *Snt-n.i*. 9. She who is honoured by the great god *Snt-n.i*. 10. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Snt-n.i*.

#### Dating:

The overall design and style of the stela is expected at very end of the Old Kingdom onwards. The type of the panel with gently out-curving top is particularly indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period,<sup>713</sup> as is the composition of the offering table with bread slices, surmounted by a foreleg of beef, and *swt*-joint. The striding female posture on the outer jambs,<sup>714</sup> and the representation of a woman with fisted hand are both indicative of a later date. Palaeographic features lend more support to such a date: the arrangement of *wsir nb*, the phonetic writing of *inpw*, the abbreviation of the west ideogram, the writing of the ideogram *qrs* with two projections, the writing of the the *w3* sign with forked tail, all are expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. The abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht* is not known before this period. Another interesting feature is the variation in the way the name of the stela's owner has been written, a noticeable feature which occurs frequently on monuments of that period from the Teti Pyramid cemetery.<sup>715</sup> One would place the stela in the Herakleopolitan Period, probably around the reign of Merykare.

<sup>713</sup> Cf. Malek, *OLP* 8 (1977), 123.

<sup>714</sup> Cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 138, tbl. 6.16, citing *Ntwj* (Cairo Mus. room 32); *Ipi-m-s3.s* (TPC II, pl. 68; CCG 1665); *Ipi-ssnb.s* (Gunn, MSS XIV.6 (1)); Notebook 11.66); *Nfwt-w3* (Gunn, MSS XVIII. 46 (2)); *S3t-Iy-tnw* (Fischer, *ZAS* 90 (1963), pl. VI); *S3t-in-Ttl* (TPC II, pl. 21); *Ipi* (CGG 1571); *S3t-Ht-hr* (Peterson, *Orientalia Suecana* 21(1972), plate facing p. 4); *S3t-šd-3bd* (Louvre E14184; Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45, pl. on p. 274); *Mrt-Tti-ii/Mrt* (Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. X (1)); *S3t-hmt* (Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XVI (right)); *Mst-n.i* (Ibid, pl. XVI (left)); *Snt-n.i* (Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (1)); *K3w-lswt* (Florence Museo Archeologico no. 2560). To this list add: *Snt-it.s* ( *The World of Egypt in The National Archaeological Museum Athens*, no. 30); *šdy* (Cairo Mus. JE 55618; Aly Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), fig. 3 [c]); *Mwt-m-s3.s* (ibid, fig. 4 [c]); *Htp* (ibid, fig. 6 [c]); see also Fischer, *BES* 9 (1988/1989), 16,n. 7, fig. 1-3. All are to be dated to the Herakleopolitan Period.

<sup>715</sup> Cf. TPC II, pl. 21, 70 (1), 72 (1), 69.



#### 4.1.31. Stela of *Ṭnp-m-h3t* (Plate XXV)

Bibl: CCG 57211 (JE 38552); Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XV; Maspero, *Guide*, 90 (264); PMIII<sup>2</sup>, 562-3.<sup>716</sup>

This complete but collapsed limestone chapel was found by Quibell near the chapel of *Ṭpil/in*, probably built there with other chapels in the vicinity of the pyramid of Merykare.<sup>717</sup> The false door which formed its west wall, is of a large format measuring 156 x 96 cm., and displays the usual cavetto cornice, and torus moulding. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the scene on the panel is in raised relief. The lay-out of the inscriptions is a conventional; two lines on each of the lintels, and two columns on each of the jambs. At the end of the inscription on each jamb there is a standing portrait of the deceased facing the central niche. Both figures on the outer jambs show the deceased wearing a shoulder length wig which leaves his ear exposed, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt, holding the usual office staff with one hand, while the other hand is extended along his side grasping a folded cloth.

On the middle left jambs, he wears similar attire to that on the outer jambs, except that he is wearing a knee length kilt. The opposite jamb shows him in a mature portrait, with short hair, a broad collar and a long skirt and holding the usual long staff and folded cloth. On the inner jambs, the deceased is shown on the left with short hair, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt, raising both hands in a gesture of adoration. On the right inner jamb is a mirror image of the figure on the middle left jamb. The panel scene shows the usual funerary meal, where the deceased sits on the left wearing a shoulder length wig, a broad collar, and knee length kilt, holding his left hand to his chest, with his right hand extended towards an offering table. The table has the usual rectangular shape of the bread slices, surmounted by a foreleg of beef, a bunch of lettuce, and a trussed duck. Underneath the table on the right, and resting directly on the floor, is a large ewer and basin.

#### Transliteration:

<sup>716</sup> The left side piece of the chapel is now in the Metropolitan Museum M.M.A. 10.175.71 = Hayes, *Scepter*, I, 145-6, fig. 87; Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), fig. 7; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIX (3). The right side piece is kept in Cairo Museum J.E. 38560; cf. Quibell, op.cit., pl. XX (1).

<sup>717</sup> Cf. Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* IV, 204-214.

1. (H) *st hb hknw sft nhnm tw3t h3tt 's h3tt tñnw 'rfwy w3d msdmt wnhy* 2. (A') *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw hnty imntyw nb 3bdw prit hrw n.f nfr n im3h Inpw-m-h3t* 3. *htp di nswt inpw tpy dw.f imy wt nb t3 dsr qrs.tl.f nfr m s(m)t imntit Inpw-m-h3t* 4. (B') *htp di nswt inpw hnty sh-ntr sd3.f m htp r imntyt nfrt im3h Inpw-m-h3t* 5. *prit-hrw n.f nfr m ls.f m tpy rnpt rkḥ prit-minw 3bd-hb smndt-hb hrt-hrw n r<sup>c</sup>-nb im3h Inpw-m-h3t* 6. (C') *htp di nswt wsir prit-hrw n.f m wp-rnpt hb w3g dhwti skr-hb im3h Inpw-m-h3t* 7. *htp di nswt inpw nb Sp3 hpl.f hr w3wt nfrwt hppit im3hw hr.s im3h Inpw-m-h3t* 8. (A) *sdwty bity smr w<sup>c</sup>ty sdm sdmt w<sup>c</sup> sš s3b im3h Inpw-m-h3t* 9. *im3hw imy-r hrpw imy-r šn-t3 nb Inpw-m-h3t* 10. (B) *mty-n-s3 w3d-iswt-Mry-k3-r<sup>c</sup> s3b lry-nhn im3hw Inpw-m-h3t* 11. *im3hw hr wsir m ist.f nbt hr inpw nb t3 dsr Inpw-m-h3t* 12. (C) *mty-n-s3 dd-iswt-Ttl hnty-š im3h Inpw-m-h3t* 13. *im3hw hr nb.f rht-nswt shd sšw n hwt-wr Inpw-m-h3t* 14. (F) *im3hw imy-r hrpw Inpw-m-h3t* 15. *im3hw hr nswt Inpw-m-h3t* 16. (G) *im3hw smr w<sup>c</sup>ty Inpw-m-h3t* 17. *im3hw sdm sdmt w<sup>c</sup> Inpw-m-h3t* 18. (E) *im3hw hr ntr-<sup>c</sup>3 nb pt Inpw-m-h3t* 19. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3h Inpw-m-h3t*

#### Translation:

1. *st* festival oil, *hknw* oil, *sft* oil, *nhnm* oil, *tw3t* oil, the best of *'s* oil, the best of *tñnw* oil, two bags of green and black eye-paint, two rolls of *wnhy* linen. 2. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu, lord of Abydos, a voice offering to him beautifully, to the honoured *Inpw-m-h3t*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, may he be buried in the western cemetery, *Inpw-m-h3t*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, the foremost of the divine booth, may he depart in peace to the beautiful west, the revered *Inpw-m-h3t*. 5. A voice offering to him in his tomb at the beginning of the year feast, *rkḥ* feast, *prit-minw* feast, monthly feast, half month feast, and in the course of every day, the honoured *Inpw-m-h3t*. 6. An offering which the King gives, and Osiris, a voice offering to him in the opening of the year feast, *w3g* feast, *Dhwti* feast, *Skr* feast, the honoured *Inpw-m-h3t*. 7. An offering which the King gives and Anubis lord of *Sp3*, may he walks upon the beautiful road on which the revered ones walk, the honoured *Inpw-m-h3t*. 8. Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, one who hears that which



one alone hears (judges), judicial scribe, *Tnpw-m-ḥ3t*. 9. He who is honoured, Overseer of Directors, Overseer of All Vegetation, *Tnpw-m-ḥ3t*. 10. Regulator of the Phyle of *W3d-lswt-Mry-k3-r<sup>c</sup>*, Judge, Spokesman of *Nḥn*, the honoured *Tnpw-m-ḥ3t*. 11. He who is honoured by Osiris, in all his places, honoured by Anubis, lord of the sacred land, *Tnpw-m-ḥ3t*. 12. Regulator of a Phyle, and Tenant of *Dd-lswt Ttl*, the honoured *Tnpw-m-ḥ3t*. 13. He who is honoured by his lord, Royal Acquaintance, Inspector of Scribes of the *Hwt-wr*, *Tnpw-m-ḥ3t*. 14. He who is honoured, Overseer of Directors, *Tnpw-m-ḥ3t*. 15. He who is honoured by his King *Tnpw-m-ḥ3t*. 16. He who is honoured, Sole Companion *Tnpw-m-ḥ3t*. 17. The honoured, one who hears that which one alone judges, *Tnpw-m-ḥ3t*. 18. He who is revered by the great god, *Tnpw-m-ḥ3t*. 19. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Tnpw-m-ḥ3t*.

#### Comments:

The title *sdm sdmṯ w<sup>c</sup>* ‘one who hears that which one alone hears’<sup>718</sup> is an office usually explained as a judicial rank. In the present case, a judicial hearing can be suggested in the light of his offices ‘Inspector of the scribes’ of the *Hwt-wrt* and ‘Judicial Scribe, Spokesman of *Nḥn*’.<sup>719</sup> In this context the title calls to mind the secret hearing made by *Wni* during the reign of Pepy I, who also held the office of a Judge and Spokesman of *Nḥn*.<sup>720</sup>

*imy-r ḥrpw*<sup>721</sup> ‘Overseer of Directors’ an obscure function,<sup>722</sup> since it is not clearly associated with any particular department. It is probable that *ḥrpw* is either associated with

<sup>718</sup> For this title see comment above under *Hnw* (4.1.21); see also Fischer, *GM* 128 (1992), 69-70; Ward, *Index*, nos. 1503-1504; cf. also no. 1275, this last example is introduced by the office *s3b*; Fischer, *Titles*, 87 (1503-1504).

<sup>719</sup> See under *Hnw* (4.1.21) above, and see also that of *Snni*, cf. *TPC* I, 55, 246 (8) (HMK 40). See also recently, Fischer, *The Tomb of Ip at El-Saff*, 25 (20), note, here that *Ip* is also ‘Privy to the secrets of the *Hwt-wrt*’.

<sup>720</sup> *Urk* I, 99: 5, 100: 15., here he claims that he alone heard the case which involve the royal harim.

<sup>721</sup> For the reading *ḥrpw* see Fischer, *WZKM* 57 (1961), 65-66. Note this title is not cited by either Ward or Fischer. For *ḥrp* as independent title referring to ‘Foreman’ see *Wb* III, 328:2-3, cf. also 328:10; Ward, *Index*, no. 1133, cf. also nos. 1134-1181.

<sup>722</sup> Cf. *imy-r ḥrpw nfrw* ‘Overseer of Directors of the Recruits’, *LD* II 97 a; *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 492; and *imy-r ḥrpw sšw* ‘Overseer of the Directors of the Scribes’, Mariette, *Mastabas*, 229f; *imy-r ḥrpw n pr ḥd* ‘Overseer of Directors of the Treasury’, *CCG* 20544.



the title that follows it, *imy-r šn t3*, a suggestion which is difficult to accept. It is also perhaps associated with the *Hwt-wr* department.<sup>723</sup>

*imy-r šn t3 nb* 'Overseer of All Vegetation', an office which is known since the later part of the fifth Dynasty at the residence, and was not common in the provinces, and it continued in use during the Sixth Dynasty and the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>724</sup>

*sš s3b* 'Judicial Scribe':<sup>725</sup> the judicial character of the office can probably be seen in the light of the title *s3b šd sš n hwt wr imy-wrt n hnw* 'Judge, Inspector of Scribes of the *Hwt-wr* which is in the right hand side of the residence'.<sup>726</sup>

*šd sšw n hwt-wr* 'Inspector of Scribes of Documents of the *Hwt-wr*'.<sup>727</sup> There are other scribal offices which were associated with the institution of *Hwt-wr* probably all to do with looking after records and documentation.<sup>728</sup>

*s3b r3-nhn* 'Judge and speaker of *nhn*':<sup>729</sup> probably its application here refers to an executive judicial authority which was practised by the stela's owner.<sup>730</sup>

The stela's owner also held other priestly functions in the cult temples of both Teti and Merykare. His association with such royal cults, particularly the latter to whom he was probably a contemporary, gave him the means and resources which enabled him to have an inscribed chapel built in the vicinity of their pyramids.<sup>731</sup>

<sup>723</sup> There two more examples of this title known to me from the Memphite necropolis, both come from Teti pyramid cemetery. The first example appears in the burial chamber of *Ip* (Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 4-5). The second occurs on a Memphite stela, which probably also comes from Teti Pyramid Cemetery, that is of *Ffi* whose stela is now in Leiden (F. 1970/5.1; cf. Schneider, *OMRO* 52 (1971), pl. III (1), fig. 1; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 744.

<sup>724</sup> Cf. also the Fourth Dynasty title *mdh šn-t3* (Cairo J.E 15048 = Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 108-9; see also Fischer, *Dendera*, 91, 171-2; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 66; Brovarski, *Naga ed Deir*, 405, cites other examples, including Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, II, pls. 98, 99; see also, J. Capart, *Rue de tombeaux* (Brussels, 1907), pl. 73; *TPC* I, 210 (17); Lloyd et al., *Excavations at Saqqara II*, 7; Fischer, *The Tomb of Ip at El-Saff* (New York, 1996), 23 (6).

<sup>725</sup> The title and recurrent association are discussed at length by Helck (*Beamtentiteln*, 72), and Fischer (*JNES* 18 (1959), 259-260). See also de Cenival, *RdE* 27, 62-9; Strudwick, *Administration*, 182. The office was still in use during the Middle Kingdom, cf. Ward, *Index*, nos. 1264, 1273-4.

<sup>726</sup> Cf. *LD* II, 43b. For the link between the *Hwt-wr* and judicial matters see Strudwick, *Administration*, 188-198.

<sup>727</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 181-2; Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 259-260. For similar title see *Wr-hww* (*LD* II 43 b).

<sup>728</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 194-95.






<sup>729</sup> On the reading of this office see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 44-5.

<sup>730</sup> Cf. de Cenival, *RdE* 27, 62-9; Franke, *SAK* 11 (1984), 209-17.

<sup>731</sup> Cf. Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* IV, 204-215.



### Dating:

The style of the stela, and particularly the gently out-curving panel, is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period, as is the composition of the offering table. In addition, the adoration posture is very frequent during this period. The most telling indication of date, however, is the association of the stela's owner with the cult temple of Merykare. *Inp-m-ḥ3t* was a 'Regulator of Phyle' in the temple, an office which suggests that he was a contemporary of that king or slightly later.<sup>732</sup> The offices *sdm sdmṯ wᶜ* and *imy-r ḥrpw* held by *Inpw-m-ḥ3t* are not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period. Palaeographic and orthographic features are also typical of that period: the occurrence of the adjective *nfr* plus adverbial phrase *m ls.f* directly after the offering phrase *prṯ-ḥrw* is a characteristic feature of the Herakleopolitan Period, as is the writing of *prṯ ḥrw* with the ox's head, bird's head and the elongated loaf of bread. The arrangement of *wsir nb*, the degenerated town determinative, the abbreviated west ideogram, the forked tail of the *w3* sign, the writing of the *t3* sign with two pellets underneath,<sup>733</sup> the writing of the *ls* sign, and the occurrence of -sign with two projections, all frequently appear during the Herakleopolitan Period. The abbreviation of the epithet *im3ḥ* is characteristic of that period, in the Memphite necropolis and elsewhere, as is the application of the filling stroke in the writing of *ḥrt ḥrw* and *rᶜ nb* .<sup>734</sup> The writing of *imy-r* with filling stroke  , points to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The present case is probably the earliest dated example of this feature.<sup>735</sup> The writing of the coffin sign is also indicative of a later date.<sup>736</sup> The ligature of  is a phenomenon which is rarely known





<sup>732</sup> See n. 43 above (4.1.28). For a different dating, Schenkel, *FMÄS*, 120, 145, n. 1.

<sup>733</sup> See Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 26.

<sup>734</sup> Contra Schenkel, *FMÄS*, § 6 (b), this arrangement is known in the Memphite necropolis as early as the reign of Merykare, it occurs on the stela of *Ipi/in* (Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare); cf. also the same writing on the stela of *Tti-m-s3.f* (ibid, pl. XX (3); *Ipi* (ibid, p. 5). See also Fischer, *Dendera*, fig. 27 (Herakleopolitan date); Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, 85, nn. 18-22.

<sup>735</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *ASAE* 35 (1935), 147-155, figs. 13-17; *TPPI* §11, 14, 18, 20; cf. also, Schenkel, *FMÄS*, § 7 (c); see also, Brovarski, in *For his Ka*, 32, n. 56.

<sup>736</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara, 1905-1906*, pl. XXII (2); see also *TPC II*, pl. 68; and the stela of *Snt-it.s* (4.1.13) above.

before the Herakleopolitan Period. It is usually a result of a combining a tall narrow sign with a following *w* e.g. ,<sup>737</sup> ,<sup>738</sup> .<sup>739</sup> The writing of the title *r3 nhn*  with the filling stroke underneath the *r* sign is also indicative of a later date. It is probably first evidenced in the Eighth Dynasty inscriptions from Wadi Hamammat,<sup>740</sup> but did not become frequent before the advent of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>741</sup>

One would place the stela in the Herakleopolitan Period. It is likely that *Inpw-m-h3t* was one of the courtiers of Merykare, holding civil offices in the state administration departments as well as serving in the cult temple of that king.

#### 4.1.32. Stela of *Htp* (XXVI)

Bibl: Cairo Mus. JE 39102; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 562; Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (2).

A limestone stela, found by Quibell in Shaft no. 504 w., located to the east of the southern niche of the large stone Old Kingdom mastaba.<sup>742</sup> According to the excavator the stela is 80 cm. tall. It is of a small format, displaying the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding. Its panel is of the type that gently curves outward at the top. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the scene on the panel is in raised relief. Each of the jambs has a single column of inscription, with a standing portrait of the deceased facing the central niche. On the outer left jamb the deceased is shown with a shoulder length wig, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt. He holds the usual long staff and baton. The opposite jamb shows him in a corpulent portrait, with short hair, abbreviated shoulders, a thick midriff and a slightly pendulous breast,<sup>743</sup> holding the same insignia as the figure on the left outer jamb.

<sup>737</sup> The first is *shmw*, *Moalla* (III,2). Note that it is read by Vandier as *bw*

<sup>738</sup> *wḏ* in *wḏ nswt* and appears in the Royal Decrees, cf. Will, *Décretes*, 90, pl. 10, 9;

<sup>739</sup> The third example is the writing for *T3w* (Thinite nome) cf. Fischer, *WZKM* 57 (1961), 72, fig. 1-2. see also for general discussion on this feature, Fischer, *ibid*, 65-66.

<sup>740</sup> Montet and Couyat, *Ouâdi Hammâmât*, M 17; *Urk* I, 259:14; see also Kanawati, *Akhmim*, 168; Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben*, 32-33.

<sup>741</sup> See Franke, *SAK* 11 (1984), 210-11; see also Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 44-45.

<sup>742</sup> cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, map on. p. 20.

<sup>743</sup> For corpulent figures see Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 245-247; Harpur, *Decoration*, 132-133.



The inner jambs display mirror images of the deceased, showing him with short hair, a broad collar, bracelets and a knee length kilt on the left, and a pointed kilt on the right. Both hands extended at his sides are open, probably as a gesture of veneration. The panel shows the usual table scene, in which the deceased sits in front of an offering table, wearing a shoulder length wig, a broad collar, bracelets and a knee length kilt, holding his left hand to his chest, and his right hand is extended towards an offering table. The table is loaded with the usual bread slices, seen as a rectangular shape, above which are a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck. Underneath the table, resting directly above the floor line, is a large ewer and basin. Above the offering table is a short ideographic offering list.

### Transliteration:

1. (A) *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw prit hrw* 2. (B) *n smr w<sup>c</sup>ty im3h hr nb.f Htp* 3. (C) *htp di nswt inpw tpy dw.f qrst nfrt im3h Htp* 4. (F) *sš pr-hd W3d-lswt-Mry-k3-r<sup>c</sup>* 5. *sš <sup>c</sup>prw n nfrw im3h Htp* 6. (G) *im3hw m3<sup>c</sup>* 7. *imy-ht prwy-hd mry nb.f Htp* 8. (E) *im3hw hr ntr 3 nb pt sš Htpi* 9. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3h Htp*

### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of Busiris, a voice offering, 2. to the Sole Companion, he who is honoured by his lord *Htp*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, a beautiful burial of the honoured *Htp*. 4. A Scribe of the Treasury of the *W3d-lswt-Mry-k3-r<sup>c</sup>*, 5. Scribe of the Gangs of Recruits, the honoured *Htp*. 6. He who is truly honoured, 7. Under-supervisor of the Two Treasuries, beloved of his lord *Htp*. 8. He who is honoured by the great god lord of heaven, Scribe *Htpi*. 9. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Htp*.

### Comments:

*sš pr-ḥd W3d-lswt-Mry-k3-r* 'Scribe of the Treasury *W3d-lswt-Mry-k3-r*'. The office of 'Scribe of the Treasury' is one of the most frequent scribal titles.<sup>744</sup> Aspects of the actual office of the treasury scribe are pictured on tomb walls of some Old Kingdom mastabas; one scribe of the treasury is seen involved with recording linen,<sup>745</sup> another two are seen in the presence of the *d3d3t nt pr dt*, one of them is seen holding his book roll open in process of recording (probably indicating in that case his identity as a private estate official).<sup>746</sup> *Htp* who was treasury scribe seems to be responsible for reckoning the revenue of the estates of the cult establishment of Merykare. The office also provides fresh evidence to support the notion of private treasuries.<sup>747</sup>

*sš 'prw n nfrw* 'Scribe of the Gangs of Recruits/Cadets'. This function is clearly associated with work and workforces, most likely those who are recruited for major work tasks concerned with royal tombs and major state projects. *nfrw* seems to refer not only to labourers but also levies or military trained workforces.<sup>748</sup>

*imy ḥt prwy ḥd* 'Under-supervisor of the Two Treasuries'.<sup>749</sup> It is likely that the 'Two Treasuries' refer to state treasuries, probably supported by the dual form which usually refers to state financial institutions. The office of *imy ḥt* is a high rank in the administration of the treasuries. It is noted by Strudwick that several officials who oversaw the state financial institutions previously held the rank of *imy ḥt* before they attained the rank of Overseer.<sup>750</sup> Therefore it is probable that *Htp* pursued a scribal career

<sup>744</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, tb. 27, no. 10, cf. also, nos. 9, 11-12, 14; see also Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 7; Hassan, *Giza I*, figs. 133, 135; III, fig. 84; VI/3, fig. 40; CCG 1689. The hierarchy of this office also includes *shd* (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I*, pl. 7; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 278; Hassan, *Giza V*, figs. 67, 70; III, fig. 114; I, figs. b134, 136, 142; Davies, *Ptahhetep*, pls. 32-33; Junker, *Giza X*, fig. 35; Louvre C 250, 251 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, nos. 12, 11; Manchester 10780 = Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 34-36, fig. 4) and *imy-r* (Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 10; Berlin 7779 = *Ägyptische Inschriften I*, 120; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 13-29, fig. 1, particularly p. 18)

<sup>745</sup> Cf. Junker, *Giza V*, Abb. 9.

<sup>746</sup> Cf. Hassan, *Saqqara I*, pl. XXI B; Junker, *Giza IV*, Abb. 9.

<sup>747</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 295; see also, for the independence of these royal funerary institutions Helck, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 96-111; idem, in *Pauly's Realencyclopädie* 46, 2264-2266; idem, *Beamtentiteln*, 125-130.

<sup>748</sup> See Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 267-8; Eyre, in Powell (ed.), *Labor*, 13-14.

<sup>749</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 17-18 (b).





<sup>750</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 296.



in the treasury department, probably first in the royal institution, and then was promoted to a higher rank in the state treasuries during the reign of Merykare or slightly later.

#### Dating:



The type of stela panel, with gently out-curving top is indicative of a date in the Herakleopolitan Period, as is the composition of the offering table with the rectangular shape bread slices, surmounted by a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck. The arrangement

of *wsir nb*  , the phonetic writing of *inpw*, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* are all expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. Another significant feature of a later date is that  replaces the usual Old Kingdom divine determinative , clearly the determinative here after *nb* refers to a royal mastership, possibly Merykare himself.<sup>751</sup> The occurrence of the phrase *qrst nfrrt n NN* is a substantive use which seems not to be known before the Herakleopolitan Period: its earliest occurrence dates to the reign of Merykare, as evidenced from this stela.<sup>752</sup> The most telling indication of the date is, the association of the stela's owner with the cult temple of Merykare: he was a 'Scribe of the Treasury of *W3d-iswt-Mry-k3-r*'.

#### 4.1.33. Stela of *Mst-n.i* (Plate XXVII)

Bibl: CGG 57206 (JE 38555); Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 24, pl. XVI (left); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563.

A small format limestone false door measuring 140 cm x 80 cm, found by Quibell near the Herakleopolitan chapels built around the pyramid of Merykare. The stela style is typical of the end of the Old Kingdom, with both texts and figures in incised relief. The door panel is of the T-shape, which was probably first introduced about the mid Sixth

<sup>751</sup> The  occasionally replaces the  as a divine determinative during the Old Kingdom Cf. *Urk I*, 57; Montet, *Kêmi* 6 (1936), 87 = LD II, 114g = *Urk I*, 257 = Säve-Söderbergh, *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (El-Qasr wa Es-Saiyad)* (Stockholm, 1994), pl. 28 (c); Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 11 lt. Such substitution became more frequent at the very end of the Old Kingdom and thereafter.

<sup>752</sup> Cf. *TPC I*, 201 (44); 262; *Ägyptische Inschriften*, I, 133; cf. also Lapp, *Typologie*, § 501; idem, *Opferformel*, § 68, suggests a Middle Kingdom date for the phrase, a suggestion which is opposed by the stela in question and the Berlin coffin; both have this phrase, and evidently date to the reign of Merykare.

Dynasty, probably first evidenced on the stela of *Dd-Tti* one of the sons of *Ijnti-k3i/Ihhi*.<sup>753</sup> Each of the lintels and jambs has either two lines or two columns of inscription.

At the end of each column is a representation of the deceased showing her standing, facing the central niche. The four figures show her wearing a short curled wig, a broad collar, bracelets, anklets, and a long tight-fitting garment with shoulder straps. Each of the figures shows her in a different posture. The figure on the left outer jamb shows her holding her left hand to her chest, in a gesture of respect, while the other hand is extended open along her side. On the opposite jamb she is represented standing with legs slightly apart, and both hands are hanging open at her side, probably an attitude of veneration and respect.<sup>754</sup> The inner left jamb shows her raising both hands in a gesture of adoration.<sup>755</sup> On the opposite jamb she is in a striding posture, holding with her right hand a lotiform staff, and the left hand extended open at her side. Here the figures seems to have lost any sense of proportion. The panel shows the usual table scene, with the deceased sitting in front of an offering table, above which are rectangular shaped bread slices.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy dw.f imy wt nb t3 d̄sr pr̄it h̄rw* 2. *n im3hwt h̄r n̄tr-ʿ3 h̄krt nswt wʿtt Tst rn.s n̄fr Mst-n.i* 3. (B) *h̄krt nswt wʿtt špst nswt hm(t)-n̄tr H̄t-h̄r im3hwt h̄r inpw Mst-n.i* 4. *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb Ddw pr̄it h̄rw n im3ht Mst-n.i* 5. (C) *h̄krt nswt wʿtt špst nswt hm(t)-n̄tr H̄t-h̄r im3hwt h̄r inpw Mst-n.i* 6. *im3hwt h̄r pth-skr h̄r inpw tpy dw.f nb t3 d̄sr Mst-n.i* 7. (G) *im3hwt Mst-n.i* 8. *h̄krt nswt wʿtt špst nswt Mst-n.i* 9-10 (F) the same as (G). 11 (E) *h̄krt nswt wʿtt im3ht Mst-n.i* 12. (D) *h̄3 t h̄3 hnqt h̄3 k3w h̄3 3pdw h̄3 šs h̄3 mnht n h̄krt nswt im3ht Mst-n.i*

#### Translation:

<sup>753</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 18-19; see also, *TPC I*, 179-81; Goedicke, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 49-50; Malek, *JSSEA X/3* (1980), 232-3; idem, *OLP* 8 (1977), 123. See also W.K. Simpson, in *North Carolina Museum of Fine Art Bulletin* 11/3 (1972), 8, fig. 12; Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 12. For other types see also above *passim*.

<sup>754</sup> A familiar attitude during the Old Kingdom, cf. Petrie, *Medum*, pl X; Junker, *Giza XI*, Abb. 60; Simpson, *Mersyankh*, fig. 3 a-b; see also, Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 5-9, tbl. 1, Abb. 1.

<sup>755</sup> Cf. *TPC II*, pl. 68. See also above (3.1.5)



1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, a voice offering 2. to she who is honoured by the great god, the Sole Ornament of the King, *Tst*, whose good name is *Mst-n.i*. 3. The Sole Ornament of the King, Noblewoman of the King, Priestess of Hathor, revered by Anubis, *Mst-n.i*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, a voice offering to the revered *Mst-n.i*. 5. The Sole Ornament of the King, Noblewoman of the King, Priestess of Hathor, who is honoured by Anubis, *Mst-n.i*. 6. She who is honoured by Ptah-Soker, honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain, lord of the sacred land, *Mst-n.i*. 7. She who is revered *Mst-n.i*. 8. The Sole Ornament of the King, Noblewoman of the King, *Mst-n.i*. 9-10 [the same as] (7-8). 11. Sole Ornament of the King, the honoured *Mst-n.i*. 12. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the Sole Ornament of the King, the honoured *Mst-n.i*.

#### Comments:

The stela seems not be completely finished, the columns of inscription on the right outer jamb are left with no dividing line, and the figures were left with no internal details.

The titles of 'Sole Ornament of the King' and a 'Priestess of Hathor' may indicate her relatively a high social standard in the community.<sup>756</sup>

One of the other ranks she holds, is *špst nswt*: this is probably first known during the Sixth Dynasty, held by men and occasionally by women. Interestingly, at the end of that dynasty, and right through the Herakleopolitan Period, the rank became attached to women with male counterpart almost disappearing.<sup>757</sup> By the end of the Herakleopolitan Period and thereafter the rank had almost vanished, and probably became a mere epithet.<sup>758</sup>

<sup>756</sup> For comment on these two offices see above *passim*.

<sup>757</sup> Cf. Murray, *Index*, pl. 45; see also CCG 1450, 1507, 1575, 1576, 1615, 1616; Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 33, 53, 75; Edel, *Die Felsgräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan* II/1/2, 88 (19); Daressy, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 138; Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), fig. 1-2, 8-9; cf. also, Jéquier, *Mastabat Faraoun*, fig. 24; idem, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 54, 98; idem, *Pyramide d'Oudjebten*, fig. 33; idem, *Monument Funéraire de Pepi II*, II, fig. 51; CGG 369, 1355, 1395.

<sup>758</sup> Note that Fischer suggests that this Old Kingdom title is neither a title nor an epithet in Middle Kingdom inscriptions, *Titles*, 88 (1510)

### Dating:

The style and overall design point to a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom, particularly the window-shutter type panel, and the striding posture.<sup>759</sup> The representation of the female deceased holding a lotiform staff also points to a later date: it is probably first encountered in royal reliefs at the end of the Sixth Dynasty. As suggested by Harpur, the appearance of such a staff is probably connected to the long dangling stem of the lotus blossom frequently held by women, when it was often elongated to the extent that it reached as far as the women's ankles.<sup>760</sup> It is likely that this feature originated first in the royal workshops,<sup>761</sup> and then used by non-royal women during the very end of the Memphite regime, and during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>762</sup> Also indicative of a later date is the adoration posture.<sup>763</sup> The variation of postures adopted by the deceased on the door jamb points also to a later date, probably as late as that of *Ṭpi-m-s3.s* (4.1.5).

The inscription shows little evidence concerning its date: The phonetic writing of *inpw*, and the arrangement of *wsir nb*.<sup>764</sup> The stela should be assigned a date not earlier the Herakleopolitan Period, probably not far from that of *Ṭpi-m-s3.s*.

### 4.1.34. Stela of *Hwy* (Plate XXVIII)

Bibl: CGG 57210 (JE38558); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 22, pl. XIV; Ghalioungui, in *Egypt Travel Magazine* no. 108 (Aug. 1963), 24, fig. 2.

<sup>759</sup> See comments on this posture above passim; see also Fischer *BES* 9 (1988/1989), 16, n. 7, figs 1-3; Harpur, *Decoration*, 138, tbl. on p. 334.

<sup>760</sup> Cf. Hassan, *Saqqara III*, 76, fig. 38 b; cf. also Kanawati and El-Khouli, *Quseir El-Amarna*, fig. 45; Harpur, *Decoration*, 134-5.

<sup>761</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Pyramide d'Oudjebten*, pl. 13; Note also that *D'w*'s wife is seen holding such a staff, which can be explained on the grounds of her husband's relation to the royal family, cf. *Deir el Gebrâwi I*, fig. 22, pl. 4.

<sup>762</sup> Cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 135, tbl. 6.12. Add: Louvre 198 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 33 (from Abydos). Also correct her reference to *S3t-ḥmt* to Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, fig. 136. Note that most of the examples cited, apart from that of *D'w*'s wife, are to be dated to the very end of the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period.

<sup>763</sup> Cf. *TPC II*, pl. 68. See also above comment on the stela and chapel of *Ṭpi-m-s3.s* (4.1.5).

<sup>764</sup> For similar writing cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare); pl. XII; cf. also Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 10 (3, 5).



A large limestone stela, measuring 170 cm x 103 cm. The stela displays the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding, and an inscribed supplementary frame. The stela was found in situ, forming the west wall of a small shallow chapel, which was later usurped by *Ipi/in*.<sup>765</sup> Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, but the table scene on the panel is in raised relief. The cross bar is decorated with a pair of *wd3t*-eyes. Each of the six jambs has a standing portrait of the deceased, facing the central niche. He wears a curled shoulder length wig (on the outer and middle left jambs, as well as the inner and outer right jambs), or a short wig (on the inner left jamb and the middle right jamb). He also wears a broad collar and either a knee length kilt (on the outer jambs) or a pointed kilt (on the middle and inner jambs). The figures on the outer and middle left jambs as well as these on the inner and outer right jambs, show the deceased with both hands hanging open at his side. The inner left jamb and the middle right jamb depict him holding one hand to his chest, and extending the other open at his side. The panel shows the usual funerary meal scene, in which the offering table is arranged in a typical fashion of the Herakleopolitan Period. Interestingly here, the chair on which the deceased sits displays a realistic feature, the overlapping of the back leg on the side of the chair.

Transliteration:

1(A') *htp di nswt wsir prit hrw n.f nfr m hrt-ntr* 2. (B') *n sd3wty bity smr w'ty smsw swnw pr-3 špss-nswt m3' n i3t.f Hwy* 3. (C') *shd hmw ntr Dd-iswt Tti imy ht hmw ntr imy-r pr šn' Hwy* 4. (A) *im3hw hr ntr 3 Hwy* 5. (B) *smsw swnw pr-3 hrp srqt wr swnw t3-mhy šm'w im3hw hr inpw tpy dw.f iry md3t pr-3 Hwy* 6. (C) *smsw swnw pr-3 hrp srqt hrp nsty hrp h3ts km iry md3t pr-3 swnw pr-3 nri phwt Hwy* 7. (F) *smsw swnw pr-3 hrp srqt im3hw wr iri-lbh Hwy* 8. (G) *swnw pr-3 'w hmwt št3t im3h Hwy* 9. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3hw hr ntr-3 smsw swnw pr-3 Hwy*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, a voice offering to him beautifully in the necropolis, 2. to the Seal Bearer of King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, Senior Physician of the Great Palace, Nobleman of the King, effective of his office, *Hwy*. 3.

<sup>765</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. V. For *Ipi/in* see above (4.1.28).

Inspector of Prophets and Under-supervisor of the Prophets of *Dd-lswt-Ttl*, Overseer of the Storehouse, *Hwy*. 4. He who is honoured by the great god *Hwy*. 5. Senior Physician of the Great Palace, Magician (staff of *srqt*), Chief Physician of Lower and Upper Egypt, one who is honoured by Anubis, Keeper of the Documents of the Great Palace, *Hwy*. 6. Senior Physician of the Great Palace, Magician, Director of the Two Seats, Director of *h3ts-km*, Keeper of the Documents of the Great Palace, Physician of the Great Palace, Protector of *pḥwt* (buttocks), *Hwy*. 7. Senior Physician of the Great Palace, Magician, he who is honoured, Chief of those who treat teeth, *Hwy*. 8. Physician of the Great Palace, Interpreter of the difficult art, the honoured *Hwy*. 9. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the one honoured by the great god, Senior Physician of the Great Palace, *Hwy*.

#### Comments:

The titles of the stela's owner reveal his career in the medical profession, together with other titles which he may have been granted purely on economic grounds such as *smr w'ty* and *sd3wty bity*. He also pursued a priestly career which probably gave him the privilege to have an inscribed chapel built close to the cult institution where he practised his priestly offices. He was 'Inspector of the Prophets and Under-supervisor of Priests' in the cult temple of King Teti. He probably also held the office of 'Overseer of the Storehouse' in this institution as part of his administrative responsibilities in the funerary establishment.<sup>766</sup> The designation of *špss nswt*, which is first attainted during the reign of King Pepy I,<sup>767</sup> was a common rank during the rest of this period and thereafter.<sup>768</sup> The addendum phrase *m3c n i3t.f* probably boasts how efficient and reputable the deceased was in his offices, probably referring to the medical profession.<sup>769</sup>

<sup>766</sup> Cf. Andrassy, *SAK* 20 (1993), 17-35.

<sup>767</sup> Cf. Fischer, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 28; idem, *Titles*, 88.

<sup>768</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom*, 15, n. 135. Surprisingly the title, which started as a male designation, was also occasionally held by females of high social standing, but by the end of the dynasty, and during the Herakleopolitan Period, the title is more attested among females than males, cf. Fischer, *ibid*, 15-16, n. 135; see also, Edel, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 12-15.

<sup>769</sup> For similar phrase see, Fischer, *Dendera*, 97, n. 442; idem, *Titles*, no. 1082a; idem, *JAOS* 81 (1961), 423.



The progress of the deceased in his medical career is seen in the progression of the titles of increasing status and specialisation, and others that generally associated with the medical profession:

1. *swnw pr-ꜥ3*
2. *smsw swnw pr-ꜥ3*
3. *wr swnw t3 mḥw šmꜥw*
4. *nri pḥwt*
5. *wr iri-ibḥ*
6. *ꜥw ḥmwt št3t*
7. *ḥrp srqt*
8. *ḥrp nsty*
9. *ḥrp ḥ3ts km*
10. *iry md3t pr-ꜥ3.*

Hwy started his career as an ordinary physician attached to the state medical organisation,<sup>770</sup> which we know of as early as the Third Dynasty.<sup>771</sup> His second (2) designation is probably not a rank of command, but rather refer to seniority and experience.<sup>772</sup> which may have led directly to his appointment as ‘Chief Physicians of Lower and Upper Egypt’ (3).<sup>773</sup> The other three designations (4,5 and 6) refer to his specialities in the medical profession. He mentions that he was *nri pḥwt* probably ‘protector of the anus’,<sup>774</sup> and ‘the great one who treats the teeth’.<sup>775</sup> His experience give him the right to claim the ability to understand and interpret the secret art of medicine.<sup>776</sup> Healing arts and magic are difficult to separate in a society where the percentage of illiteracy is high, which probably explains why the majority of Ancient Egyptian

<sup>770</sup> For a recent discussion of the *pr-ꜥ3* see A. Speidel, *Die Friseure des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Konstanz, 1990). For discussion of that office see under *iri-n-3ḥt/iri* (2.1.3).

<sup>771</sup> Cf. CGG 1426. Note that this profession may have been also pursued by females, cf. the female ‘Overseer of Physicians’, Hassan, *Giza*, I, 83, fig. 143; Fischer, *Varia*, 71 (21).

<sup>772</sup> Cf. Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 38; idem, *JEA* 65 (1979), 180.

<sup>773</sup> Cf. Junker, *ZÄS* 63 (1928), 65; see also (8.1.3).

<sup>774</sup> Cf. Junker, *ZÄS* 63, 66-7; Meeks, *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 87. It is worth mentioning that *pḥwt* could also refer to testicles, cf. Ward, *JNES* 37 (1978), 24, n. 9; Westendorf, *ZÄS* 92 (1966), 142.

<sup>775</sup> Cf. Junker, *ZÄS* 63, 69; see also (8.1.3).

<sup>776</sup> Cf. Peet, *PSBA* 37 (1915), 224; Junker, *ZÄS* 63 (1928), 68; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 29.

physicians were also magicians.<sup>777</sup> The last three titles (8, 9 and 10) probably link the deceased with writing and archives where documents, perhaps those related to medicine were kept. He was a 'Keeper of the Documents of the Great Palace', and 'Director of the Two Seats', as well as 'Director of *ḥ3ts km*'.<sup>778</sup> Although the last two ranks are vague and as yet unidentifiable, they both seem to be related to the *ḥwt-ḥnh*. The location and the function of the *ḥwt-ḥnh* is also not very clear,<sup>779</sup> however, its relation to medicine is evidenced.<sup>780</sup>

### Dating:

The chapel of *Hwy* was found in situ, and re-used by *Ipi/in* who was a contemporary of Merykare or slightly later. This topographical note suggests that the chapel was built a few decades before it fell out of use and became available for another official.<sup>781</sup> The style and overall design show the usual late Old Kingdom style.<sup>782</sup> The occurrence of the *wḏ3t* eyes on the cross bar above the central niche, is a significant stylistic feature which assigns the stela to a date not before the Herakleopolitan Period. The representation of the stela's owner holding the short staff diagonally across his chest is not known before the end of the Sixth Dynasty as noted by Harpur.<sup>783</sup> The type of wig worn by the deceased, with its upper section containing longer locks extending to the edge of the forehead, is not known before the very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>784</sup>

Two other iconographic features are indicative of a later date: the first is the overlapping of the back leg with the edge of the chair.<sup>785</sup> The second is the offering table

<sup>777</sup> See Gardiner, *PSBA* 39 (1917), 31-44, 139-140; see also von Känel, *Les prêtres Ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serket* (Paris, 1984), 163ff.

<sup>778</sup> Cf. Fischer, *MIO* 7 (1959), 314-15. For the reading of the last title, see, Junker, *Giza* II, 161-2

<sup>779</sup> For *ḥwt-ḥnh* see Gardiner, *JEA* 24, 83-91; see also, 166.

<sup>780</sup> See Junker, *Giza* XI, 83; cf. also, Jonckheere, *Les médecins*, 116. A later text refers to *ḥwt-ḥnh* (Gardiner, *JEA* 24, 166) as the place where old books and references are kept, and a place to which one can only gain access with the king's permission.

<sup>781</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. V.

<sup>782</sup> See for the type of the panel here and its recess, Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), pl. 6; cf. also, idem, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 14, n. 47, cf. also p. 9, n. 30.

<sup>783</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 127.

<sup>784</sup> cf. Jéquier, *Pyramide d'Oudjebten*, fig. 34; idem, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 108, 124, 128, 129; cf. also CGG 126; Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 239, n. 16; idem, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 17, n. 80

<sup>785</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 53-4, fig. 6, n. 1; cf. also, CGG 1536 A; Louvre C 164 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 10; *TPC* II, pl. 38; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare); idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (2) (mentions Merykare).







composition.<sup>786</sup> The inscription of the stela also provides a few features which support a date in the Herakleopolitan Period. Particularly, the writing of *im3hw* with the filling stroke,<sup>787</sup> and the occurrence of *nfr* + *m hrt-ntr* directly after the *pri-t-hrw*.<sup>788</sup> The stela


<sup>786</sup> Note here that the offering was placed on the floor rather than on the top of the loaves, probably for lack of space; cf. similar arrangement on the stela of *S3t-7-tnw*, Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), pl. VI.

<sup>787</sup> The filling stroke appears in *im3hw*, *im3hwt*, *im3h*, or *im3ht* in different sites from the Herakleopolitan Period onwards: at Gebelein (Berlin, 13772; Steindorf, *Grabfunde* II, pl. 9; Turin Supp. 1276), at Thebes (TT319 = Fischer, *MMJ* 6 (1972), fig. 5; CCG 20011, 20508-9), at Dra abu el-Naga (*TPPI* § 3, 4), at Abydos (CCG 20012), at Asyut (Chassinat-Palanque, *Assiout*, 205), at Sheikh Ibada (Brussels E 785), at Sedment (Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* I, pls. 23, 27; Hamburg 4056 = Corten, *ZÄS* 68 (1932), 108-110), at Naqada (Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 41), at Naga ed-Deir, (Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 257, n. 318). Here in the Memphite necropolis this feature is first evidenced in the Herakleopolitan Period (cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pls 13 (mentions Merykare), 17; *TPC* II, pl. 75; CCG 1512; Jéquier, *ASAE* 35 (1935), 151-152; idem, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 102). The last example displays a similar writing to that appears on the present stela. It is an alabaster ointment slab belonging to a woman called *Hnwt*, found by Jéquier near the pyramid of Pepy II (*Tombeaux de particuliers*, 90-91, fig. 103).

The use of the filling stroke in the writing of *im3h* also appears on the offering box of *nw* (Pls. LIX-LX) who is probably to be assigned a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom. *nw*'s tomb was cut and built on an original extension added to the south-west corner of the great mastaba of the vizier *Mry-r<sup>c</sup>-l3m* (on the dating of this official see, Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, 50-6; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 80; Kees, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Vizierats im alten Reich*, *NGWF* 4/2 (1940), 44-5; Strudwick, *Administration*, 302; Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 79, 86). Nevertheless it is probable that *nw* had his tomb built a few years after that extension was demolished to make way for the chapel and underground of the tomb of Prince *Tti*, who witnessed the very last years of the long reign of Pepy II (cf. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 152, 297 (no. 560); cf. also, Strudwick, *Administration*, 157-8 (no. 156)). If this hypothesis is correct, *nw* would be placed comfortably in the early part of the Herakleopolitan Period, a hypothesis which might be strengthened by the use of the pyramid texts on his coffin, as well as palaeographic features which mostly did not occur before the Herakleopolitan Period: for instance the

writing of *im3h* in its abbreviated form, as well as with the filling stroke , . Its first appearance is probably in the Eighth Dynasty royal graffiti from Kom Dehmit in Nubia (cf. Roeder, *Debod*, pl. 109; see also, *TPPI*, § 1; Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 10 A). The writing of *imy-r* with the filling stroke underneath the *r*-

sign  , is not evidenced in the Memphite necropolis before the Herakleopolitan Period (cf. Quibell, *Saqqara, 1905-1906*, pl. 15 (mentions Merykare)), as is the case in the provinces (cf. *TPPI*, §§ 11, 14, 18, 20; see also, Schenkel, *FMÄS*, § 7). The addition of the *i* in the writing of the epithet *imy-wt* as well as the use of both embalming and town determinatives is a characteristic writing of the Herakleopolitan Period (cf. Quibell, *Saqqara, 1905-1906*, pl. 13; *TPC* I, 257, II, pls 23, 24; Berlin, 7796 = *Ägyptische Inschriften* I, 131-132) all of these examples belong to persons who are associated with the cult of Merykare, and date to his reign or slightly later (see also a similar spelling on contemporary stelae from Herakleopolis, cf. Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1975), figs. 7-9, 12-14). On the funerary box of *nw*

the *w<sup>c</sup>* sign is written vertically , a feature which is noted by Fischer not to occur before very late in the Herakleopolitan Period and early Eleventh Dynasty (cf. Fischer, *Orientalion*, 122). It is worth mentioning that the vertical orientation of this sign was evidenced occasionally during the Old Kingdom, (cf. Junker, *Giza*, IV, fig. 8; Hassan, *Giza*, II, fig. 213; *LD* II, 30; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 8). *nw* as well as *Hnwt* should be placed in the Herakleopolitan Period.

<sup>788</sup> The adjective *nfr* appears directly after the *pri-t-hrw* on the lintel of *Sbk-m-hnt/Sbky* (Drioton, *ASAE* 55 (1955), 240, pl. 24). He probably dates to the very end of the Old Kingdom: this feature was characteristic



therefore would be placed in Herakleopolitan Period probably in the reign of Merykare, or slightly earlier, and probably not much before *7pi/in* (4.1.28).

#### 4.1.35. Stela of *Tti-m-s3.f* (Plate XXIX)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 545; *TPC* I, 194 (24); Gunn, MSS XIV. 45 (2) [photo]; Notebook, 9, no. 9.

A small format stela, measuring 78 x 56 x 17 cm. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the panel scene is in raised relief. The stela has an unusual design: the panel starts directly under the torus moulding leaving no space for the usual lintel, the narrow long apertures on either side of the square panel located directly under the torus moulding, the inner jambs and the cross bar are made on one level, and also the stela is surrounded by a supplementary inscribed frame. The stela is much weathered, but traces of colour are still visible, particularly the red patches on the skin of the deceased. The panel shows the usual table representation. Each of the inner jambs has a portrait of the deceased, showing him standing facing the central niche. On the left jamb, he wears a shoulder length wig, a broad collar and a pointed kilt, holding a long staff and baton, and on the right jamb, wears similar attire, but with short hair, holding a lotus blossom to his nose with his right hand, while his left hand extended at his side grasping a looped lotus bud.

#### Transliteration:

(Supplementary frame) 1. *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb Ddw prit h̄rw ...* 2. lost 3. *inpw tpy d̄w.f imy-wt ... Tti-m-s3.f.* (false door) 4. (H) *s̄t h̄b h̄knw s̄f̄t nh̄nm tw3t h̄3tt ʿš t̄hnw ...* 5. (F) [missing] 6. (G) *Tti-m-s3.f* 7. (E) [illigible] 8. (D) *h̄3 t h̄3 hnqt h̄3 k3w h̄3 3pdw h̄3 šs h̄3 mn̄ht n im3h̄ Tti-m-s3.f*

#### Translation:

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of the Herakleopolitan Period (cf. Quibell, *Saqqara, 1905-1906*, pl. XII, XIII, XV (pls XIII, and XV mention Merykare); *TPC* I, 237, 239, 246, 261, 262; II, pl. 24 (Merykare); Berlin 7796 (Merykare). This phrase also appears on monuments from other sites from as early as the Eleventh Dynasty: at Thebes (cf. CCG 28027 (reign of Montuhotep II); MMA 20.3.22 (Winlock, *Excavations*, 29-30), at Naga ed-Deir (cf. Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 686, n. 503, 795-797).



1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of Busiris, a voice offering ... 2. [lost] 3. Anubis who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, ... *Tti-m-s3.f*. 4. *st* festival oil, *hknw* oil, *sft* oil, *nhnm* oil, *tw3t* oil, and the best of the *ʕʕ* oil and *thnw* oil ... 5. missing 6. *Tti-m-s3.f*. 7. [illegible] 8. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Tti-m-s3.f*.

#### Comments:

The construction of the owner's name reveals the exalted status of King Teti after his death. Like many other theophorus names, it shows Teti as a protective god or saint. Teti was probably considered a local saint or deity by the priests and local community who were buried in the vicinity of his pyramid.<sup>789</sup> The most telling indication of the deification of this king occurs on a side piece found by Firth and Gunn: its texts qualify the owner as 'one who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, and by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Teti',<sup>790</sup> a phrase which can hardly lead to any other conclusion than the raising of this king to the status of a deity.<sup>791</sup>

#### Dating:

The representation of male figure holding a lotus blossom to his nose, appears frequently during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>792</sup> The arrangement of *wsir nb*, the writing of *pr̄t hrw* with the bird and ox head as well as the additional elongated loaf, the phonetic writing of *inpw*, and the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* are all expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. The theophorus name of the deceased itself points to a date later than the Old Kingdom. On these grounds one would assign the stela to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period.

<sup>789</sup> Cf. theophorus names such as *Tti-m-s3.f* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 394, 564, 570); *Tti-h3-išt.f* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 548, 563); *Tti-hry-m33-nfrw-pt̄h* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 509, 563, 564); *Tti-hr-dw3-ntrw* (TPC I, 284).

<sup>790</sup> Gunn, MSS XV. 39.

<sup>791</sup> For the deification of Teti see, Wildung, *Rolle des Königs* I, 126; Malek, in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies J. Gwyn Griffith*, 67-72.

<sup>792</sup> See above the stelae of *Hry-š.f-nht* I, II (4.1.8-9); cf. also Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, fig. 18; Junker, *Giza* VI, 245, Abb. 104; TPC II, pls. 71 (1-2), 72 (2); CCG 1393, 1400; Kanawati, *Saqqara* II, pl. 23 (FD4).

#### 4.1.36. Stela of *Ṭpt*

Bib: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544; *TPC* I, 188-9 (18).

A limestone stela of a large format, measuring 119 (now) x 97 x 10 cm. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the panel scene is in raised relief. The surfaces are greatly weathered, and there are no traces of colour remaining. The lower part of the stela is lost, but, each of the six jambs has a single column of inscription, all of which end with a portrait of the deceased. The panel displays the usual table scene, depicting the deceased sitting on the left facing an offering table, loaded with bread slices, a leg of beef, cuts of meat, a trussed duck and vegetables. Underneath the table to the right, is a large nested ewer and basin. A large ointment jar is seen under the deceased's chair.

##### Transliteration:

1. (H) [broken away, likely to have a list of oils] 2. (A') (*ḥtp di nswt wsir nb*) *Ddw ntr*-(*ʿ3 nb 3bdw*) 3-4. (B' and C') [missing] 5. (A) *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy ḏw.f imy* 6. (B) *wt nb t3 ḏsr qrst.f (nfr m ḥrt-ntr m smt-imntt im3ḥw Ṭpt)* 7. (C) *ḏ3i.(f pt sm3 t3 r imntt nfrt i'ḏ.f n ntr ʿ3 im3ḥw Ṭpt)* 8-9 (F and G) [missing] 10. (E) (*im3ḥw ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb pt*) *Ṭpt* 11. (D) *ḥtp di nswt ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n im3ḥw Ṭpt* [under the table] *dbḥt ḥtpw*

##### Translation:

1. [missing]. 2. (An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of) Busiris, (great) god (lord of Abydos) 3-4 [missing]. 5. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in 6. the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, may he be buried (beautifully in the necropolis of the western cemetery, the honoured *Ṭpt*). 7. May (he) cross (the firmament and join the land at the beautiful west, may he ascend to the great god, the honoured *Ṭpt*). 8-9 [missing]. 10. (He who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven) *Ṭpt*. 11. An offering which the king gives; a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Ṭpt*. (under the table) Requirement of offerings.

##### Dating:



The composition of the offering table of bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef a trussed duck and vegetables is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period. The inscriptions also provide features which can limit the date of the stela further: the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* is not known before this period. However, the occurrence of *ntr-3 nb 3bdw* as an epithet for Osiris is a feature which is first known during the reign of Merykare in the Memphite necropolis.<sup>793</sup> One would therefore assign this stela to a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare, but not much later since there are no features whatsoever which would indicate a later date.

#### 4.1.37. Stela of *Tpi*

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544; *TPC* I, 199 (19).

A small limestone stela measuring 36 x 21 x 18 cm. It is designed to have a lintel and two jambs, one on each side of the central niche. The stela is only painted: background is buff; leaves of the cornice alternate between red, green and yellow; the triangular space created by the lashings of the torus moulding are filled in black on the inner side, and red and buff on the outer side. Figures on the panel and the jambs have red skin, black wigs, and white garments. The offering table is painted red, with the rectangular shaped loaves yellow, meat cuts are red, vessels are red and yellow. All signs are either red or yellow.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb [Ddw]*<sup>794</sup> *h̄nty imntiw [nb 3bdw]* 2. (F) *pr̄it h̄rw n im3[h] Tpi* 3. (G) *[pr̄it h̄rw n]im3h Tpi* 4. (D) *h̄3 t h̄3 h̄nqt h̄3 k3w h̄3 3pdw h̄3 šs h̄3 mnht n im3h Tpi*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu, lord of Abydos, 2. a voice offering to the honoured *Tpi*. 3. A voice offering to the honoured *Tpi*.

<sup>793</sup> Probably the false door of *Tpi/in* (Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII) is one of the earliest to record such a feature, see *Tpi/in* (4.1.28); cf. also Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), 93-111, figs. 1-6; *TPC* I, 190 (20); cf. also Louvre E 27211; see also Fischer, *GM* 128 (1992), 72, n. 1.

<sup>794</sup> The lack of space on the lintel resulted in missing out *Ddw* after *nb*, as is the case of *nb 3bdw* after Khentiamentiu.

4. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *ṭpl*.

Dating:

The style of the stela, with only two jambs is unusual, but found occasionally here in this cemetery during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>795</sup> The offering table composition is also not expected before this period. This date is also suggested by palaeographic features, for instance the arrangement of *wsir nb*, and the writing of the epithet *im3ḥ* with filling stroke. both are not evidenced on the Memphite stelae before the Herakleopolitan Period.

4.1. 38. Stela of *Hry-š.f-nḥt* IV (Plate XXX)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544; *TPC* I, 192-3 (22).

A large format limestone false door, measuring 170 x 97 x 18 cm. It displays the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, but the scene on the panel is in raised relief. The stela's surface is greatly weathered and no colour remains. The panel displays the usual table scene with the offering table composed in a typical Herakleopolitan fashion.

Transliteration:

1. (H) *sṯ ḥb ḥknw [sṯt] nḥnm [t]w3t ḥ3tt ʿš ṯḥnw ... ..* 2. (A') [illegible] 3. (B') ... .. *w... ..*  
*... .. prit ḥrw nfr n im3ḥw Hry-š.f-nḥt* 4. (C') [*q*]rs.ti.f nfr [*m*] s(m)t imntt imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> im3ḥ  
*Hry-š.f-nḥt* 5. (A) *d3l.f pt sm3.f t3 r imntt nfrt* 6. (B) *i'ī.[f] n ntr-ʿ3 nb pt rḥt nswt m3<sup>c</sup> im3ḥ*  
*Hry-š.f-nḥt* 7. (C) ... .. *ḥr ... .. n imnty im3ḥw Hry-š.f-nḥt* 8. (F) *ḥrp ʿprw n nfrw Hry-*  
*š.f-nḥt* 9. (G) *sš mrwt Hry-š.f-nḥt* 10. (E) not inscribed. 11. (D) [illegible]

Translation:

1. *sṯ* festival oil, *ḥknw* oil, [*sṯt* oil], *nḥnm* oil, [*t*]w3t oil, the best ʿš and ṯḥnw oils ... .. 2.  
[illegible]. 3. ... .. *w ... ..* a voice offering, beautifully to the honoured *Hry-š.f-nḥt*. 4.  
May he be buried beautifully in the western cemetery, Overseer of the Expedition, the  
honoured *Hry-š.f-nḥt*. 5. May he cross the sky and join the land at the beautiful west, 6.

<sup>795</sup> Cf. *TPC* I, 194 (24, 25), 195 (26); cf. also Gunn, Notebook 19, no. 27, and no. 28.



may he ascend to the great god lord of heaven, true Royal Acquaintance, the honoured *Hry-š.f-nht*. 7. (May he travel upon the beautiful roads) of the west, the honoured *Hry-š.f-nht*. 8. Director of the Crews of Recruits, 9. Scribe of the serfs *Hry-š.f-nht*. 10. not inscribed 11. [illegible].

#### Comments:

One of the interesting offices held by the stela's owner is 'Scribe of the Serfs'. *Mrt* probably indicated a type of labourer, associated with private, royal and religious funerary institutions.<sup>796</sup> Their identity is hard to establish, but they probably included both Egyptians and foreigners,<sup>797</sup> although the orthography of the word *mrt* does not show any indication of foreign origin. This class of organised worker seems to be associated with no specific type of labour: they carry out domestic as well as agricultural work.<sup>798</sup> It seems from the titles associated with *mrt* people that they were organised in a department *lswy (n) mrt*, whose head was probably in charge of all the affairs of these workers.<sup>799</sup> The stela owner's other offices also associate him with the labouring and expedition work, being 'Director of the Crews of Recruits' and 'an Overseer of the Expedition'.

#### Dating:

The style and overall design display features which one would expect to see in the stelae of the later part of the Old Kingdom. The iconography and palaeographic features however, clearly assign the stela to a later date. The representation of the offering table with bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck and vegetables is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of *pryt hrw* with the additional determinatives of bird and ox's head as well as the elongated loaf frequently occurs during this period.<sup>800</sup>

<sup>796</sup> Cf. A. Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt* (Cairo, 1952), 22-25.

<sup>797</sup> Cf. Endesfelder, *OLZ* 72 (1977), 254-6.

<sup>798</sup> Bakir, op. cit, 22-25; Helck, *LA* II, 1235-7; Eyre, in Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden*, 112. On the issue of slavery see also, Diakonoff, *Acta Antiqua* 22 (Budapest, 1974), 45-78; Menu, *RHDFE* 55 (1977), 391-410; idem, *RdE* 36 (1985), 73-87; Cruz-Urbe, *RIDA* 29 (1982), 47-71.

<sup>799</sup> For 'Overseer of the Two Bureaux of *mrt*-people' see, Mariette, *Mastabas*, 125, 230; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, 13. For other offices which probably were part of this department and associated directly with *mrt*-worker, cf. *imy-r sš mrt* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 185; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 243); *shd sš mrt* (Badawy, *Nyhetepptah*, fig. 39); *imy-r lswy hry-htm mrt* (LD II, 64 9b); *imy-r hry-htm n n nswt n mrt* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 213); *iry-md3t mrt* (Fischer, *JEA* 65, 181); *imy-r wpt 3ht mrt* (cf. *AAA* 4, 104; see also, Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 180, 191, 192); *imy-r mrt* (CCG 123 = Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 93-4; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 297.

<sup>800</sup> See above passim. Cf also Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 163.

The addition of the plural strokes in the writing of *ms<sup>c</sup>*, *nfrw* and *mrwt* is also indicative of a later date,<sup>801</sup> as is the abbreviation of the west ideogram. The abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*, and its writing with the filling stroke are indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of *nfr* with the filling stroke after the *r* sign also points to later date.<sup>802</sup> The occurrence of the adjective *nfr* directly after *prtt hrw*, is also a characteristic the Herakleopolitn Period. The theophorus name of the stela's owner points to a later date, particularly that *Hry-šf* was the patron deity of the nome in which the Herakleopolitan Dynasty was established. It is probable that this stela should be assigned to a date not prior to the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 4.1. 39. Stela of *Gmnl-nhw* (Plate XXXI)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544; *TPC* I, 187 (15); II, pl. 74 (2); Gunn, MSS XVIII. 45 (2) [photo].

A small format limestone false door measuring 78 (now) x 49.5 x 10 cm, with the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding, and a panel with a gently out-curving top. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the scene on the panel is in raised relief. Inscriptions are laid out in a conventional way: each of the outer jambs has a single column of inscription, the cross bar is left blank, and the inner jambs are only decorated with standing portraits for the deceased. On the left jamb the deceased is seen wearing a shoulder length wig, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt, and holding the usual long staff and baton. On the opposite jamb he is depicted as corpulent, wearing a short wig, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar, and long skirt. He has both hands extended open along his side. The panel shows the deceased sitting on the left facing right, on a low back chair, wearing a shoulder length wig, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar and a knee-length kilt. He holds his left hand to his chest grasping, what is probably a papyrus roll,<sup>803</sup> and extends his right hand towards an offering table. The table is loaded with bread slices,

<sup>801</sup> See, Schenkel, *FMAS* § 5.

<sup>802</sup> Cf. a similar writing though not identical, Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 71. Cf also the writing *ḥ*, *Pyr* 782; *Wb* II, 259.

<sup>803</sup> Cf. Junker, *Giza* V, fig. 18; Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 206; III, figs. 84, 114; *BMHT* I, pls. 28, 30; Fischer, *Varia*, 6, fig. 3.



a foreleg of beef, cuts of meat and a bunch of lettuce. Above the table is short ideographic offering list in which the signs are directed towards the deceased.

### Transliteration:

1. (A) *h̥tp di nswt inpw tpy ḡw.f nb t3 ḡsr* 2. (B) *lmy wt prit ḡrw n im3ḡw ḡr nb.f Gmni-<sup>c</sup>nḡw.* 3. (C) *im3ḡw ḡr wsir nb ḡdw Gmni-<sup>c</sup>nḡw.* 4. (D) *ḡ3 t ḡ3 ḡnqt ḡ3 k3w ḡ3 3pdw ḡ3 šs ḡ3 mnḡt* 5. *n im3ḡw Gmni-<sup>c</sup>nḡw.*

### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, lord of the sacred land 2. who is in the wt, a voice offering to the one who is honoured by his lord *Gmni-<sup>c</sup>nḡw*. 3. He who is honoured by Osiris lord of Busiris *Gmni-<sup>c</sup>nḡw*. 4. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing 5. to the honoured *Gmni-<sup>c</sup>nḡw*.

### Comments:

The name *Gmni-<sup>c</sup>nḡw* is a theophorus name constructed with the element *Gmni*, a local saint<sup>804</sup> whose cult was probably functioning during the very end of the Old Kingdom and through the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>805</sup> Evidence for such an elevation can be seen in the large number of local people whose names are constructed with element *Gmni*.<sup>806</sup> He is described in these names as ‘protector’, ‘living’, ‘satisfied’, ‘the foremost’ and other qualifications which were usually applicable to gods. The most telling indication, however,

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<sup>804</sup> see above (4.1.22) *Sheikh* literally means ‘a man of old age’, who, after his death, for his good reputation or for commercial-political reasons was elevated by local people to a higher rank than just being a fellow human being. He is thought to be more knowledgeable, and closer to god, and his reputation and purity put him in a position of a mediator who can help his people, one who can use his intercession to intercede with god for them. So, as it is the case in some villages now, people still take presents and go to visit the tomb (*Maqam, shrine*) of this *Sheikh* to gain his blessing and his powerful assistance to over-come their problems. Being close to such *Sheikhs* was not only by visiting and bringing offerings but also by local people naming their children after them as a mark of respect and in the expectation that he will grant their children blessing and approbation. Also as a mark of gratitude and the desire to be close to these *Sheikhs*, people usually like to choose their final resting place as close as it can be to these Saints’ chapels, just as was the case thousands of years earlier.

<sup>805</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 521-5; von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gemni-kai* 2 vols. (Berlin, 1905-11). On the reading of this vizier’s name see, de Morgan, *Les fouilles et déblaiements exécutés par le Service d’Antiquités de l’Égypte pendant l’année 1893* (Cairo, 1893), 4; see also Steindorff, *ZÄS* 33 (1895), 70-2; Sethe, *ZÄS* 42, 142-3.

<sup>806</sup> Cf. TPC I, 128-9; Kanawati, *Saqqara I*, pls. 10, 24.

is that in at least two cases the deceased is referred to as *lm3hw hr k3-gm.n.l*,<sup>807</sup> a fact which can hardly lead to any other conclusion than that the vizier Kagemni was venerated by local people after his death.<sup>808</sup>

Notable here is the unusual arrangement of *hr*, written  $\Theta \bigcirc$ , apparently due to lack of space.<sup>809</sup> *nb* is written here with the post-complement *n*  $\text{—}$ , a feature which is not uncommon during the Old Kingdom.<sup>810</sup>

#### Dating:

The small format and overall design is typical of the very end of the Old Kingdom. However, the gently out-curving panel top is indicative of a date in the Herakleopolitan Period. The long skirt worn by the mature figure of the deceased on the right inner jamb also points to a later date.<sup>811</sup> The degenerated shape of the town determinative, the writing of the *t3* sign with two pellets,<sup>812</sup> the writing of the epithet *lmy wt*, are all expected during this period. On these grounds the stela should be assigned to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period.

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<sup>807</sup> TPC I, 212 (1); 223 (38).

<sup>808</sup> Cf. Martin-Pardey, 'Kagemni', *LÄ* III, 290-1; E. Edel, *MIO* 1 (1953), 224-6; Helck, *WZKM* 63/64 (1972), 18-19; Otto, *ZÄS* 78 (1942), 30-1, 35; Alliot, *BIFAO* 37 (1937/38), 145-8; cf. also Goedicke, 'Vergöttlichung', *LÄ* VI, 989-92; Sethe, in *Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (1913), 646-52; Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt*, *MÄS* 17 (1969), 74. n. 4; TPC I, 126-130.

<sup>809</sup> Cf. TPC I, 223 (38); Kanawati, *Saqqara* I, pls. 22, 29.

<sup>810</sup> Cf. e.g. TPC II, pl. 74 (1); Ziegler, *Stèles*, nos. 12, 24, 25; Kanawati, *Hagarsa* III, pl. 30; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 57, 119.

<sup>811</sup> For this type of skirt and its later appearance see Harpur, *Decoration*, 131; Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 245, fig. 10 e.

<sup>812</sup> Fischer, *BES* 9 (1987/88), 18, n. 10; idem, *Varia Nova*, 26



#### 4.1.40. Stela of *S3t-inl-Ttl/S3t-inl* (Plates XXXII-XXXIII)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 38, fig. 53; II, pls. 20-21; *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 539. For the side pieces of the chapel of *S3t-inl* see below.

A large format limestone false door, measuring 117.5 x 80 x 10 cm. It was found in situ, together with its two side pieces and the upper lintel. It displays the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding, and window-shutter panel type. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, and the scene on the panel is in raised relief. Each of the door lintels has a single line of inscription, which runs from right to left. Each of the jambs retains a single column of inscription. The middle and outer jambs display a standing portrait of the deceased facing the central door.

The deceased wears a long lappeted wig, a broad collar, and a long tight fitting garment. On the left middle and outer jambs as well as on the right middle jamb, she is seen with feet slightly apart in a striding attitude, holding a spear-head like staff with one hand, and extending the other hand open at her side. The right outer jamb also shows her in a striding posture, holding a lotus blossom to her nose with her right hand, while her left hand is hanging open at her side. The panel depicts the usual table scene, in which the deceased sits on a low-back chair with back leg overlapping the side of the chair. She is similarly dressed to the figures which appear on the jambs, and holds a lotus blossom to her nose with her left hand, while the right hand is extended towards an offering table. The table carries the rectangular-like bread slices shape, surmounted by a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck, a joint of meat, and a bundle of lettuce. Above the table scene is a short ideographic offering list. The stela is in a good state of preservation, with good workmanship. Traces of paint are still visible: leaves of the cornice are painted alternatively blue and red; lashings are black, signs are red; figures' skins are yellow, the central niche has red lines on a yellow back-ground, and a black-painted band appears at the bottom of the jambs representing the ground line.

### Transliteration:

1. (A') *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb Ddw h̄nty lmntiw nb* 2. (B') *3bdw pr̄it h̄rw n.s nfr m ls.s n h̄rt-n̄tr im3h̄t S3t-ini* 3. (C') *h̄tp di nswt inpw h̄nty sh-n̄tr pr̄it h̄rw n l3h̄t hm(t)-n̄tr H̄t-h̄r S3t-ini* 4. (A) *h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy ḡw.f lmy wt* 5. (B) *qrst.s m s(m)t lmntt im3h̄t S3t-ini* 6. (C) *h̄tp di nswt inpw nb t3 ḡsr pr̄it h̄rw n im3h̄t S3t-ini* 7. (F) *im3h̄t h̄r inpw S3t-ini-Tti* 8. (G) *im3h̄t hkrt nswt w̄tt S3t-ini-Tti* 9. (E) *im3h̄t h̄r n̄tr-3 S3t-ini* 10 (D) *h3 m t hnqt 3pdw k3w šs mn̄ht n im3h̄t S3t-ini*

### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiū, lord of 2. Abydos, a voice offering to her beautifully in her tomb of the necropolis, the honoured *S3t-ini*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, the foremost of the divine booth, a voice offering to the honoured, Prophetess of Hathor, *S3t-ini*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, 5. may she be buried in the western cemetery, the honoured *S3t-ini*. 6. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, lord of the sacred land a voice offering to the honoured *S3t-ini*. 7. She who is honoured by Anubis, *S3t-ini-Tti*. 8. The honoured, Sole Ornament of the King, *S3t-ini-Tti*. 9. She who is honoured by the great god *S3t-ini*. 10. A thousand of bread, beer, fowl, oxen, alabaster, and clothing to the honoured *S3t-ini*.

### Comments:

'Priestess of Hathor', and 'Sole Ornament of the King' were probably functional offices which associate their holders with the cult of Hathor and the royal court.<sup>813</sup>

### Dating:

The style of the stela with its out-curving top panel indicates a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>814</sup> The stela forms the west wall of a type of small shallow chapel, a

<sup>813</sup> See comment above passim; cf. also Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom*, 16, nn. 141-2.

<sup>814</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XV (mentions Merykare); idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (2) (mentions Merykare).



design which was very common during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>815</sup> The offering table is also composed in a fashion typical of this period. The representation of the deceased holding a lotiform staff, although known as early as the reign of Pepy II, did not become frequent before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>816</sup> In addition, the striding attitude of the deceased also points to a later date: this feature is adopted by major female figures at the very end of the Old Kingdom, but did not become frequent before the advent of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>817</sup> The representation of the back leg of the chair overlapping the side of the chair is also indicative of a later date.<sup>818</sup>

The construction of the name of the stela owner *S3t* + *NN* points to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>819</sup> The arrangement of *wsir nb*, the degenerated shape of the town determinative, the abbreviated west ideogram, the phonetic writing of *lnpw* and the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht*, all point to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom. In addition, the reversal of the *w<sup>c</sup>* sign is a common feature at the very end of the Old Kingdom and during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>820</sup> The occurrence of the adjective *nfr* + *m ls.s n hrt-ntr* directly after *pryt hrw* is a feature which is not known before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>821</sup> One would therefore assign the stela to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period probably close to the reign of Merykare.

<sup>815</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 248-250, n. 12; see also Vandier, *Manuel* II, 435. For similar constructed chapels and found complete see, Louvre 14184 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45; Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), pls. XIX-XXIII; cf. also Simpson, in *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* XI/3 (1972), 4-13, figs. 3-13.

<sup>816</sup> Cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 135; cf. also, *Tw-iw* (Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebeten*, 30, fig. 37); *Tti* (ibid, 26, fig. 33); *S3t-hmt* (Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XVI (right); *Tst/mst.n.l* (ibid, pl. XVI (left); *šndt* (5.1.5); *K3wt-i3wt* (Florence, Museo Archeologico no. 2560); *Bnnt* (Corten, *ZAS* 68 (1932), 108-110); *K3wt-iqrt* (Boston, MFA 04-1851).

<sup>817</sup> See comments (4.1.5) above.

<sup>818</sup> See Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 53-4, fig. 6.

<sup>819</sup> Fischer, *ZAS* 90, 36, n. 2; idem, *JAOS* 76 (1956), 104-105; Abd el-Gelil et al., *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 154, n. 66.

<sup>820</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 126; idem, *La pyramide d'Oudjebeten*, fig. 33; CCG 1412, 1654, 1507; BM 1287 = *HT* I, pl. 33; Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 71, 77; CCG 1611, 1644; also see CCG 28008, 28012; Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 7.

<sup>821</sup> For this feature see Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 178 and references there.

### Side pieces of *S3t-ini*<sup>822</sup>

#### (a) Right side piece:

This piece is almost complete, measuring 118 x 55.5 x 8 cm. Its relief is divided into two halves: the top half is decorated with a tabulated offering list, in incised relief, and the other half is decorated with four registers in raised relief. Colouring: the rectangles of the band framing the decoration on the side piece are painted red and yellow with black lines, the skins of male figures and wigs are black, garments are white, vases are yellow, the low offering table is red, female skin is yellow, the table, geese, *hs* jar are yellow, bread slices, meat offering, ewer are red, box is yellow, and the offerings carried by the bearers are red. At the bottom of the registers is a thick black band.

The offering menu contains 97 entries. At the top of the menu is a single line of inscription in raised relief, running from right to left: 'that which the offering table requires, numerous spiritualization spells and funerary offering to the honoured *S3t-ini*'. The offering items are presented in short columns each in a separate compartment. Each item is listed with the required determinative, and the number of portions needed placed at the bottom of each entry in a separate box.<sup>823</sup> The list includes: libation, incense, drops of cool water, opening of the box,<sup>824</sup> scent of feasts, *hknw* oil, *sft* oil, *nhnm* oil, *tw3t* oil, the best *ʿš* and *tḥnw* oils, green and black kohl bags, two rolls of linen strips, offering stand, voice of offering that comes with the royal meal, *hṭp di nswt*, offering from the broad hall, breakfast, barley bread, baked bread, *dsrt* and *l3tt* beer, *hnmst* beer, sorts of food, *swt* bread, water, natron, onion, shoulder of beef, thigh, kidney, other cuts of meat, ribs, roast meat, liver, flesh, breast meat, geese and ducks, pigeon, sorts of cake, drinks, figs, wine, *išd* fruit, every thing sweet, all kind of vegetable,<sup>825</sup> all sorts of offering.

<sup>822</sup> TPC I, 38; II, pl. 20-21. The chapel was found in situ (HMK 26), together with its false door. Both side pieces are now in Boston Museum Acc. no. 24.593. It is likely that the chapel was found sometime after season of 1921-22, then purchased by Boston Museum from the Antiquities Service in 1924.

<sup>823</sup> For offering lists see, Hassan, *Giza VI/2*; Barta, *Die Altägyptische Opferliste* (Berlin, 1963).

<sup>824</sup> Cf. Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles*, 215, 222, 233.

<sup>825</sup> Many of the offering scenes of the Old Kingdom mastabas refer to presenting 'select cuts of meats and all kind of vegetables'. They are items which are usually seen offered in that order by the relatives and priests in the offering chapel before the deceased who is depicted sitting before a heap of offerings, cf. Fischer, in *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 73 n. 13; cf. also Junker, *Giza III*, 111-113.



At the end of the last row of the offering menu is a small register, which depicts a kneeling priest extending both hands towards a low offering table, surmounted by different sorts of bread. Above the table is written 'every offering table with half loaves, oxen and fowl'.<sup>826</sup> Behind the kneeling man is another priest represented standing holding a large libation jar and pouring water over the offering table in front of the kneeling man. Behind that priest stands a third, wearing a shoulder length wig which leaves his ear exposed, a sash across his chest, with his left hand raised in a gesture of invocation, and his right hand extended open at his side. Although there is no caption, his attire and posture identify him as a lector priest who is reciting the offering table rituals.<sup>827</sup> Underneath that, there are three full registers. The top register shows the usual table scene, with deceased sitting on the left facing right on a low back chair. She wears a long lappeted wig, a broad collar, and a long tight-fitting dress. A harp is depicted behind her chair. Interestingly the top terminal of the harp is represented as a human head, while the base terminal is depicted as a lion head. The pegs of the harp are shown in relief, with the strings painted red. Also, significantly, the harp is seen propped up by a piece of wood which takes the shape of an *ḥnh* sign. The offering table in front of the deceased, appears with the usual bread slices, surmounted by a foreleg of beef, *swt* joint, a tray of fruit and an ox heart. Under the table, on the left, is a large nested ewer and basin, on the right are a trussed duck, a tall *ḥs* jar, and a large rectangular stand holding three wine jars, and under the stand are cone-shaped loaves.

The second register shows two butchers trying to overthrow a bull. On the left stands a man called *Ny-ḥnh-Hr* holding the bull by its horns with one hand, while the other hand is grasping the tether which the bull licks. Behind the bull stands another man who pulls a robe tied around the bull's horns and back legs. Above the bull is written what *Ny-ḥnh-Hr* says to his colleague: 'throw him, he is a sturdy bull', to which his colleague *Nḥtw* answers: 'I shall do what you wish'. On the far right stands another assistant called *Thhy*,

<sup>826</sup> Cf. *TPC* I, 207, n. 1; Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles*, 203; Lapp, *Opferforamen*, § 237-257; Munro, *GM* 5 (1973), 13-16; Worsham, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 7-10; For this shape of loaves see also recently, Bárta, *SAK* 22 (1995), 21-35.

<sup>827</sup> The scene in different variations is discussed by several scholars: cf. e.g. Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), 87-8; Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhat* (London, 1915), 93-4; L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1915), 138; H. Altenmüller, *JEA* 57 (1971), 146-153.

holding a bowl and knife, and saying: 'I shall let you do the work'. The third register displays a row of offering bearers of four women carrying different sorts of offering and leading animals. They face left towards the deceased. The first female is called *Int-n.s* and entitled *sd3wt*.<sup>828</sup> The second is named *It-w3.s*, the third *Nt-mwt*, and the fourth *S3t-gmnl-htp*.

#### Left side piece:

The remaining part of this side piece is broken into three fragments. They measure when joined 83.5 x 55 x 7 cm. This side piece is also divided into two parts: the top is decorated with a tabulated offering menu, in incised relief, and the second part is decorated with three registers of raised relief. Colouring: offerings are painted red, figures' skin is red, wigs are black; table is yellow, female skin is yellow, garments white. Next to the last column of the tabulated offering menu on the right is a sub-register of offering vessels.

Three registers appears underneath the tabulated offering menu. The first register depicts priests carrying out the usual rituals and ceremonies before the offering table, identical to those represented on the right side piece. The second shows the deceased in the usual funerary meal composition, similar, although different in the way in which the offering items are arranged, to the scene on the right side piece. Above the head of the deceased is a large bowl of lotus flowers. The last register is probably a continuation of the overthrowing bull scene on the opposite side piece. Here the register displays two butchers slaughtering the bull. On the far left stands a man facing right who is seen holding one of the back legs of the bull or calf and saying to the butcher 'let me get (it) out'. On the right of the slaughtered bull stands the butcher, with his knife, facing left, and answering the man on the left saying 'it is a fine choice-piece'. On the far right of the register stand two offering bearers facing right towards the false door. The first is carrying a fore-leg of beef: his name and title are written before him, '*k3*-priest *Itqr*'. The second bearer is carrying a dish of ribs and *swt*-joint on his shoulder, supporting them with his left hand, while the right hand is extended at his side grasping a calf's heart. Above the scene a

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<sup>828</sup> For comment on this title see Fischer, *Varia*, 70, nn. 9-11.



single line of inscription runs from right to left: 'bringing up the choice meat of the calf for the honoured *S3t-Int-Tt*'.

Comment:

The two side pieces display a miniature version of the reliefs which once covered the walls of the offering chapel in multi-roomed mastabas.<sup>829</sup> Here the scenes which were usually seen on the north, south and east walls of the offering chapels are abbreviated and placed in a register series.

Dating:

Decorated side pieces flanking a false door are a chapel design which are not known before the Herakleopolitan Period, as is the offering table composition. The harp with human head is not known before that period,<sup>830</sup> and the formation of the supporting piece of wood in the shape of an *nh* sign is also indicative of a later date.<sup>831</sup> One of the female bearer has the name *S3t-gmni-htp* which also points to a date later than the Old Kingdom.<sup>832</sup> The occurrence of the phrase *n k3 n* here on superstructure inscriptions probably also points to a similar date.<sup>833</sup> The whole chapel should be assigned to the Herakleopolitan Period.

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<sup>829</sup> For the decoration and relief orientation of these chapels see Harpur, *Decoration*, 106-110.

<sup>830</sup> Vandier, *Manual*, IV\1, 368-70, fig. 186.

<sup>831</sup> Cf. *ibid*, 371; cf. also, Schott, in *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 457-64.

<sup>832</sup> Cf. Ficsher, *ZAS* 90, 36, n. 2; See also Abd el-Gelil et al, *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 154, n. 66.

<sup>833</sup> See comments on this feature under *Tpi/In* (4.1.28).

4.1.41. Stela of *Dw3w-htp/S3t-gmni* (Plate XXXIV)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 539; *TPC* I, 188 (17); II, pl. 75; Gunn, MSS. XVIII. 3 (2), 44 (2) [photo].<sup>834</sup>

A limestone stela measuring 137 x 100 x 21 cm. The stela has a blank supplementary frame, and the usual text lay-out. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the scene on the panel is in raised relief. No colours remain, and the surface is slightly weathered, particularly on the panel. Notable is the reversal of the titles of *S3t-gmni* on the inner right jamb so as to face the deceased's portrait on the outer jamb. Each of the outer jambs has a portrait of the deceased. Both figures are identical depicting her standing facing the central niche, wearing a long lappeted wig, and a long tight fitting garment. She holds a lotus flower to her nose with one hand, while the other hand is at her side holding an *ʿnh* sign.

The panel is of the type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs. It displays the usual table scene.

Transliteration:

1. (A) *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw hnty* 2. (B) *lmntiw nb 3bdw prit hrw n im3ht Dw3w-htp*. 3. (C) *htp di nswt inpw tpy dw.f lmy wt nb t3 dsr prit hrw n S3t-gmni* 4. (F) *im3hwt hr inpw Dw3w-[htp]* 5. (G) *hkrt nswt wʿtt hm(t)-ntr Ht-hr nb(t) (im3h) S3t-gmni*. 6. (E) *im3hwt rht nswt nbt im3h Dw3w-htp* 7. (D) *htp di nswt h3 t h3 hnqt (h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3ht Dw3w)-htp*.

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu, 2. lord of Abydos, a voice offering to the honoured *Dw3w-htp*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, a voice offering to *S3t-gmni*. 4. She who is honoured by Anubis, *Dw3w-htp*. 5. Sole Ornament of the King, Prophetess of Hathor, possessor of reverence, (the honoured) *S3t-gmni*. 6. She who is honoured, Royal Acquaintance, possessor of reverence, *Dw3w-htp*. 7. An offering

<sup>834</sup> A rectangular wooden coffin of a lady called *Dw3w-htp* was excavated by Firth and Gunn probably not far from where the stela was found (HMK 37); cf. *TPC* I, 54, 258-9 (14).



which king gives, a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, (a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Dw3w)-h̄tp*.

### Comments:

The element *Dw3w* in the name of the stela owner, is the name of a god who is known as early as the Archaic Period.<sup>835</sup> A god who was probably associated with physicians, in particular oculists.<sup>836</sup> The other name mentioned on the stela, is *S3t-gmni*, associates her with one of the local deity *Gmni*.<sup>837</sup>

One of the offices which appears on the false door is that of *rht nswt*: two different readings are debated by scholars. The reading adopted here is *rht nswt*, with the meaning of 'Royal Acquaintance', literally 'one who is known to the king'.<sup>838</sup> The Middle Kingdom writing of the title strongly supports such a reading.<sup>839</sup> The other proposal suggests the reading *iry-h̄t-nswt*.<sup>840</sup> The writing of the title itself does not support it, except in a very few cases such as *iry-h̄t pr-3*,<sup>841</sup> *iry-h̄t pr-h̄d*,<sup>842</sup> *sh̄d iry-h̄t*,<sup>843</sup> *iry-h̄t nfr-h̄3t*,<sup>844</sup> *iry-h̄t n st nswt m ʿh šm3ʿw*,<sup>845</sup> *iry-h̄t n h̄kr Hr*.<sup>846</sup> These titles are superficially analogous to the title

<sup>835</sup> Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid II*, pl. 107 (2).

<sup>836</sup> Cf. Otto, *LÄ I*, 1147; Cf. also, Leclant, in *Festschrift Elmar Edel*, 294, nn. 50-2.

<sup>837</sup> For a similar name see *TPC I*, 201 (45); see also Abd el-Gelil et al, *MDAIK 52* (1996), 154, fig. 4 (b); Ranke, *PN I*, 294:11. There is no reason why this stela should not mention two different people rather than one person with two names. In that respect it is worth mentioning that Firth and Gunn found a fragmentary wooden coffin with the name *Dw3w-h̄tp* (*TPC I*, 258 (14)), as well as a fragmentary stela for a woman called *S3t-gmni* who bore similar titles to those of *S3t-gmni* on the present stela (*TPC I*, 201 (45)). For sharing a false door stela, either by a husband and wife or family member, see Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 2-3, nn. 12-13; cf. also CCC 1336, 1347; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 130.

<sup>838</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 8, n. 15; idem, *Egyptian Women*, 15; Brunner, *SAK 1* (1974), 55-60; Edel, *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan*, II (Wiesbaden), 91-2.

<sup>839</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Egyptian women*, 45, n. 132; see also, CCG 20104.

<sup>840</sup> Firth and Gunn, *TPC I*, 157, n. 5; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 26-28; Goedicke, *MDAIK 21* (1966), 61-2; J. Lopez, *RdE 19* (1967), 57-8; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives II*, 595; Meeks, *Année lexicographique I*, no. 77.0368; II, no. 78.0395; III, no. 79.0282; Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* (Boston, 1992), 4.

<sup>841</sup> Cf. Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 16; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 70, 198; Fischer, *MMJ 10* (1975), 20, n. 57; idem, *ZÄS 105* (1978), 54, n. 7.

<sup>842</sup> Cf. Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 60-1; Strudwick, *Administration*, 293-4.

<sup>843</sup> Cf. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives II*, 597; Meeks, *Année lexicographique I*, no. 77.0368.

<sup>844</sup> Cf. Mariette, *Mastabas*, 322.

<sup>845</sup> Cf. Fischer, *ZÄS 105* (1978), 50, n. 41.

<sup>846</sup> Ibid.



*rht nswt*, and although they do not provide us with concrete evidence to support a reading of *lry-ht nswt*, at least they admit the possibility of such a reading.<sup>847</sup> The function of this office is not yet settled beyond question, however it is clearly a court office, which reflects the high standing in the social hierarchy of the stela's owner. The other titles appearing on the stela are two offices which are frequently associated with the Hathor cult and probably reflect the relation of Hathor to King: 'Sole Ornament of the King and Prophetess of Hathor'.<sup>848</sup>

### Dating:

The supplementary frame is not known to appear in the design of the false door stela before the reign of Pepy II. However, the full panel that fills the entire space between the outer jambs is not evidenced before much later, probably not earlier than the reign of Merykare. The latter date is strongly suggested by the representation of the deceased holding the sign of life  $\text{𓅓}$ . The emblem is known originally from the predynastic period as a talisman. Its adaptation as a hieroglyph evidently gave it a more precise and potent meaning. Before the end of the Old Kingdom, holding the life emblem was an exclusively divine symbol: in the early part of this period even kings are rarely represented holding this emblem.<sup>849</sup> By the end of the period kings and queens were probably allowed to be represented holding this sign which once was the gods' or goddesses' privilege.<sup>850</sup> No one other than gods, goddesses, kings and queens are allowed to be seen holding this emblem. During the Herakleopolitan Period one finds non-royal persons holding this life symbol which once was a divine prerogative. There are a few widely scattered cases which show private individuals holding an  $\text{𓅓}$  sign in their hands, all dated to the

<sup>847</sup> For a recent treatment for this title see, Leprohon, *JARCE* 31 (1994), 46-7.

<sup>848</sup> Cf. R.A. Gillam, 'Priestesses of Hathor: Their function, decline and disappearance', *JARCE* 32 (1995), 211-237; M. Galvin, *Priests and Priestesses of Hathor in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period* (Diss., Brandeis University, 1981).

<sup>849</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *PSBA* 39 (1917), 87-88. For the invalidity of this example see von Bissing, *ZÄS* 57 (1922), 137. One of the earliest royal representation depicting kings holding this sign is that of Neuserre who is seen holding the emblem which was bestowed on him by one of the gods. Cf. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Re*, fig. 6, pl. 16.

<sup>850</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. V (2); Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, II, pls. 30-33; III, pl. 45; Cf. also Gardiner, Peet, and Cerny, *Sinai I*, pl. 9; Jéquier, *Pyramide des reines*, fig. 2.



Herakleopolitan Period and Eleventh Dynasty. Three of these cases certainly come from the Memphite necropolis, and another stela now in the Egyptian Museum is likely to come from Saqqara too.<sup>851</sup> Palaeographic features also provide some support for the date suggested by the style and iconography: the writing of the epithet *imy wt* with the addition of the prothetic *i*, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht*, as well as its writing with the addition of the filling stroke, point to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>852</sup> The arrangement of *wsir nb*, the degenerated shape of the town determinative, the phonetic writing of *lnpw* are all indicative of a date in the Herakleopolitan Period. The name formation of *S3t-gmni* also points to a later date.<sup>853</sup> One might assign the stela a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare or probably slightly later.

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<sup>851</sup> In addition to the example in question, there are two other examples known to me to come from Teti Pyramid Cemetery, in all three cases the females are represented holding the life emblem, Cf. Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, fig. 136, *Sni* (4.1.15) and a false door from Egyptian Museum (CCG 57186) (9.3.4). For further discussion for this iconographic feature see above (4.1.15); cf. also Fischer, *ZÄS* 100 (1974), 23-28.

<sup>852</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 131, n. 578; Schenkel, *FMÄS*, 120.

<sup>853</sup> Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 37, n. 2 ; idem, *JAOS* 76 (1956), 104-5; cf. also Abd el-Gelil et al, *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 154, n. 66.

4.1.42. Stela of *Ipi-hr-ssnb.f* (Plate XXXV)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544; *TPC* I, 190-1 (20).<sup>854</sup>

A limestone large format false door, measuring 146 (now) x 93 x 20 cm. The stela displays the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding. The panel is of the type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs. The lay-out of the inscriptions is conventional, each of the jambs has two vertical columns of inscription, and each of the two lintels also has two lines of inscription. Interestingly, the text of the top line on the upper lintel is symmetrically arranged →←. Inscriptions and figures on the jambs are incised, while the scene on the panel is in raised relief. The stela's surface is much weathered, the bottom parts are missing, and the right upper edges are also lost. The flat area above the cornice has a horizontal line of inscription only in paint.

The figures on the jambs depict the deceased standing facing inwards in the direction of the central niche. Figures on the middle and outer jambs are identical, showing the deceased wearing a shoulder length wig, which leaves his ear exposed, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt, and holding a long staff in one hand, and a folded cloth in the other. On the inner jambs the deceased is probably represented with the same posture, but here he is wearing a short wig, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar and a knee-length kilt. The panel shows the usual funerary meal scene, in which the offering table is composed in a typical Herakleopolitan fashion, the table is loaded with the usual rectangular shape bread slices, surmounted with a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck, and onions.

Transliteration:

1. (H) [traces of writing, most likely a list of ointments]. 2. (A') *h̄tp di [nswt] wsir nb Ddw n̄tr-ꜣ 3bdw* 3. (B') *pr̄it h̄rw n.f n̄fr m is.f n h̄rt-n̄tr mꜣꜥ h̄ry-ib n n̄tr-ꜣ nb pt imy-r ...* 4. (A') [*qrst.f*] *n̄fr m h̄rt n̄tr sꜣh̄ti.f in h̄ry-h̄b m wp rnpt h̄b* 5. (B') *D̄h̄wty h̄b tpy rnpt h̄b wꜣg h̄b skr h̄b 3bd h̄b smdt h̄b h̄rt (nt) h̄rw nb imy-r ... Ipi-h̄r ssnb.f* 6. (A') (top line) worn

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<sup>854</sup> He is probably the same as *Ipi-hr-ssnb.f* the owner of (HMK 69 = *TPC* I, 55), cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 538; *TPC* I, 55, 239-45 (6), fig. 61; II, pl. 32 (A-C); de Buck, *CT* IV, Sq. 4 sq.



away 7. (C') ... .. *lmnty nfrt m smt lmntt im3h Tpl-hr-ssnb.f* 8. ... .. *hnty-š hrp 'prw n nfrw im3h Tpl-hr-ssnb.f* (A) 9. *im3hw hr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt rh nswt m3ʿ Tpl-hr-ssnb.f* 10. *htp di nswt inpw hnty sh-ntr lmy* 11. (B) *wt ntr-ʿ3 nb hrt-ntr lmy lb n nb.f m lswt.f nbw im3hw Tpl[-hr-ssnb.f]* 12. *mty-n s3 Dd-lswt lmy-r šnwty mry it.f hsi n [mwt.f] Tpl[-hr-ssnb.f]* 13. (C) ... .. *m ist št3t im3h Tpl-hr-ssnb.f* 14. ... .. *mty n s3 mry nb.f hsy.f m lswt.f nbw Tpl-hr-ssnb.f* 15. (F) *im3hw hr nswt Tpl-hr-ssnb.f* 16. *im3hw hr ntr-ʿ3 Tpl-hr-ssnb.f* 17. (G) *im3h hr wsir Tpl-hr-ssnb.f* 18. *hsy n [nb.f] Tpl-hr-ssnb.f* 19. (E) [*im3hw hr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt*] *Tpl-hr-ssnb.f* 20. (D) *htp di nswt h3 t hnqt h3 k3w 3pdw h3 šs mnht n k3 n* 21. *lmy-r mšʿ im3h Tpl-hr-ssnb.f*

### Translation:

1. [broken away, likely list of oils] 2. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, great god, lord of Abydos, 3. a voice offering to him beautifully in his tomb of the necropolis, pleasing (acceptable) to the heart of the great god, lord of heaven, Overseer of ... .. 4. (May he be buried) beautifully in the necropolis, may he be spiritualized by a lector priest in the opening of the year feast, 5. *Dwhty* feast, first of the year feast, *w3g* feast, Sokar feast, monthly feast, half monthly feast, and in the course of everyday, Overseer of ... *Tpl-hr-ssnb.f*. 6. [worn away] 7. ... .. to the beautiful west in the western cemetery, the honoured *Tpl-hr-ssnb.f*. 8. ... Tenant of ... .. Director of Crews of Recruits, the revered *Tpl-hr-ssnb.f*. 9. He who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven, true Royal Acquaintance, *Tpl-hr-ssnb.f*. 10. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, the foremost of the divine booth, who is in 11. the *wt*, the great god, of the necropolis,<sup>855</sup> he who is in the heart of his lord in all his places, the honoured *Tpl[-hr-ssnb.f]*. 12. Regulator of the Phyle of *Dd-lswt*, Overseer of the Two Granaries, beloved of his father, praised of his [mother], the honoured *Tpl[-hr-ssnb.f]*. 13. ... .. in the secret places, the revered, *Tpl-*

<sup>855</sup> The epithet 'lord of the necropolis' is attested for both Osiris and Anubis as early as the end of the Fifth Dynasty or early Sixth Dynasty (cf. *Götterwelt*, (Anubis), 21, 23, 28 and (Osiris) 121-122, 125). However, its association here with *ntr-ʿ3* might indicate that 'lord of the necropolis' refers to Osiris. For discussion of the epithet *ntr-ʿ3* and its close link to Osiris, see Griffiths, *The Origin of Osiris* (Leiden, 1980), 184. For different view see, Junker, *Giza II*, 53. For more detail see Fischer, *GM* 128 (1992), 72-74.

*hr-ssnb.f.* 14. Regulator of the Phyle of ... ..., beloved of his lord, praised of him in all his places, *1pl-hr-ssnb.f.* 15. He who is honoured by the king, 16. he who is honoured by the great god *1pl-hr-ssnb.f.* 17. He who is honoured by Osiris... 18. praised by... *1pl-hr-ssnb.f.* 19. (He who is honoured by the great god lord of heaven), *1pl-hr-ssnb.f.* 20. An offering which the King gives, a thousand loaves, beer, a thousand of oxen, fowl, and a thousand of alabaster and clothing to the *k3* of 21. the Overseer of the Expedition, the honoured, *1pl-hr-ssnb.f.*

### Comments:

The name of the stela's owner is *1pl-hr-ssnb.f* 'may *1pl* makes him healthy'; similar theophorus names associated with this deity, or most likely a local saint, are frequently known during the later part of the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>856</sup> Most of the individuals whose personal names are associated with this saint/deity are known to come from Teti Pyramid cemetery.

*hrp* 'pr n *nfrw* 'Director of a Crew of Recruits';<sup>857</sup> the title seems to be associated with work and workforces; *nfrw* refers to a groups of young men who are enrolled by the state for some form of service.<sup>858</sup> One of the large governmental expedition to Hatnub was made up entirely of 1600 *nfrw* in three roughly equal groups from different places.<sup>859</sup> Evidently this suggests that the *nfrw* were military-trained labourers of a young age who were enrolled for mass labour.<sup>860</sup>

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<sup>856</sup> Ranke, II, 262: 26-8.

<sup>857</sup> Cf. D. Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London, 1988), 92-3 (188). For the meaning of this office see, Gunn, *TPC* I, 190, who suggests the translation of 'Director of a Company of Recruits'; Junker on the other hand suggests 'Leiter einer kadetten Mannschaft', cf. *Giza* V, 160; XII, 173; Meanwhile, Faulkner prefers 'Controller of Gangs and Recruits, cf. Faulkner, *JEA* 39 (1953), 35.

<sup>858</sup> Cf. Faulkner, *JEA* 39 (1953), 34-5; Fischer, *OMRO* 41 (1960), 5-6, 11-13; Goedicke, *JEA* 54 (1968), 25.

<sup>859</sup> Cf. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Gr. 6.

<sup>860</sup> Eyre, in Powell (ed.), *Labor*, 19; see also Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 258-9.



*mty n s3 Dd-lswt* 'Regulator of the Phyle of the Pyramid *Dd-lswt*', it is noticeable here that the cartouche of the king is omitted, probably due to lack of space, or the increasing fame of the town name *Dd-lswt*.<sup>861</sup>

... .. *m st št3t* '... .. in the secret places'. The restoration of the title is problematic. The word *št3t* with the meaning of 'secrets' occurs in different titles,<sup>862</sup> but the expression *st-št3t* 'state of secrets' hardly ever appears in titles. It may therefore in the present case, refers to 'secret or hidden places'.<sup>863</sup> In this respect, it appears in association with a military office in at least one case, where the governor of the Oryx Nome has the office of 'Overseer of the Army in All hidden Places'.<sup>864</sup> It is probable that the same title applies here since the stela's owner is also Overseer of the Army.

*lmy-r mšc* 'Overseer of the Expedition', it is noted by Gardiner that *mšc* frequently has the meaning of an 'expedition'.<sup>865</sup> This is partly correct, since such expeditions have a military as well as a civil nature.<sup>866</sup> *mšc* refers to groups who are employed by the state to perform duties not only of strictly military nature, but also they form the core of the state work-force sent to the mines and stone-quarries on the Egyptian borders, probably not only to act as pure labourers but also to protect Egyptian interests in these important industrial mines and quarries.<sup>867</sup>

The stela's owner seems to have enjoyed a fairly high social standing, pursuing a career of civil and military nature, holding one of the very important state offices heading the department of granaries, as well as overseeing state expedition activities. He also has a

<sup>861</sup> Cf. *TPC* I, 202 (50); see also Helck, *MDAIK* 25 (1957), 91-111; Stadelmann, *RdE* 33 (1981), 67-77; idem, *LA* V, 9-14

<sup>862</sup> Cf. *Wb* IV, 554 (4); cf. also Junker, *Giza* VII, Abb. 86; III, Abb. 46; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 70; Smith, *BMFA* 56 (1958), 56-7, fig. 1.

<sup>863</sup> Cf. *Wb* IV, 551:13. see also, *El Bersheh* II, pl. 21 (13), in which case the term *st št3t* is to be taken to refer to a private sector in the royal palace 'having free access to the hidden place, to seeing the dance in the private apartment'.

<sup>864</sup> See n. 199, cf. also, *Beni Hassan* II, pl. 14.

<sup>865</sup> Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 29.

<sup>866</sup> Cf. Faulkner, *JEA* 39 (1953), 32-36; cf. also Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 268-9


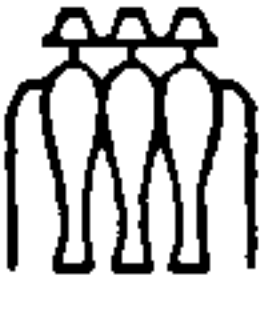
<sup>867</sup> A letter from the Sixth Dynasty speaks clearly about some of the civil aspects of the Overseer of the Expedition, cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 13 (1927), 75; Gunn, *ASAE* 25 (1925), 242-55; E.F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, 1990), 42, no. 40. Also the autobiography of *Wni* clearly pictures both the military and civic aspects of this, cf. *Urk* I, 102-108.




priestly office, being the phyle regulator in the cult temple of King Teti. Perhaps the last office influenced where his tomb was built.<sup>868</sup>

### Dating:

The style and format of the stela is usual for the late Old Kingdom. However, the type of full panel, which fills the entire space between the outer jambs in a small formatted door, or the middle jambs in a large formatted stela is not known before the reign of Merykare.<sup>869</sup> The composition of the offering table, however, is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period.

The symmetrical lay-out of the inscriptions on the upper lintel of the stela points to a later date. The writing of the *is* sign is first known in the Coptos Decrees of the Eighth Dynasty, and became frequent thereafter.<sup>870</sup> The forked tail of the *w3* sign,<sup>871</sup> the degenerated shape of the town determinative,<sup>872</sup> are expected in the inscriptions of this

period. The writing of *hs* jars with a distinctive lid  in the writing of *hnt*  sign, occurs as early as the Eighth Dynasty in one of the Coptos Decrees,<sup>873</sup> and is also known from that time at Saqqara.<sup>874</sup> This writing became common during the Herakleopolitan Period both in the Memphite necropolis and in the provinces.<sup>875</sup> The writing of *pr* *hrw* with the additional determinative of duck and ox's heads is also indicative of a date in the Herakleopolitan Period and not before.<sup>876</sup> The separation of

 and  in the writing of  and the addition of the filling stroke is not known

<sup>868</sup> Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* IV, 209-210; idem, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion*, 71-2.

<sup>869</sup> See also Strudwick, *Administration*, 19; cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare); idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (2) also mentions Merykare.

<sup>870</sup> Cf. *Urk* I, 301:4; 304:16; Fischer, *Dendera*, 133 (9).

<sup>871</sup> Cf. Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, § 18, 21, 22; Fischer, *Dendera*, 82 (10).

<sup>872</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 78-9; idem, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 22.








<sup>873</sup> R. Well, *Les décrets royaux de l'Ancien Empire Égyptien* (Paris, 1912), pl. 10, line 6.

<sup>874</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 38, 41, 46, 51, 111; idem, *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1933), fig. 30; Cairo J. 59158 = Fischer, *ZAS* 90 (1963), pl. 6; Lilyquist, *JARCE* 11 (1974), pl. 2 (b).

<sup>875</sup> For recent discussion on this writing and its variants see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 2199-222.

<sup>876</sup> Cf. Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 155, 163; cf. also Fischer, *Dendera*, 83, n. 359.




before that period.<sup>877</sup> The arrangement of the epithet *ntr-ꜣ*  with the horizontal lay-out of the *ꜣ*  is rather significant. It is suggested by Schenkel that this a writing is not known before the end of the Eleventh Dynasty and early Middle Kingdom.<sup>878</sup> Nevertheless, this writing is evident in Saqqara on the coffins of *ṭpl-ꜣnhw* and *Snni*, both to be dated on the grounds of style and decorative theme to the Herakleopolitan Period probably, not earlier than the reign of Merykare,<sup>879</sup> perhaps the same date as the present stela.<sup>880</sup> The orthography of *s3ht.f*   with the addition of the filling stroke is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period,<sup>881</sup> as is the addition of the prothetic *i* in the writing of the epithet *imy wt*. The use of the filling stroke in the writing of ,<sup>882</sup> ,<sup>883</sup> ,<sup>884</sup> and the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*, are all indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of *mšꜣ* phonetically is typical of the Old Kingdom, but the addition of the plural strokes is evidently an innovation of the late Old Kingdom.<sup>885</sup> The occurrence of the phrase *n k3 n* is difficult to date with any precision.<sup>886</sup> it is probably first known at the very end of the Fifth and early Sixth Dynasty.<sup>887</sup> However, this phrase did not became frequent on stela before the

<sup>877</sup> Cf. Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, 104-5, abb. 167; 47, abb. 71, 73, Taf. 2-6; *TPC I*, 246 (8), 262 (20); Louvre E14184 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45; cf. also Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. XXVIII; see also Fischer, *BES 9* (1987-1988), 18, n. 16.

<sup>878</sup> Schenkel, *FMAS* § 4. He suggests that this writing made its first appearance on a coffin which dates to year 46 of the reign of *Mntw-ḥtp Nb-ḥpt-rꜣ*. For an even later date for this coffin, cf. Fischer, *MMJ 11* (1976), 161, n. 33; cf. also idem, *Bib. Or 23* (1966), 30.

<sup>879</sup> Lapp, *Typologie*, Sq 8, and Sq 91 a-b

<sup>880</sup> It is worth mentioning that the writing of  horizontally is not uncommon during the later part of the Old Kingdom, cf. Junker, *Giza VIII*, Abb. 34, XI, Abb. 40, 83; Cf. also Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, n. 4; *TPC I*, 205 (c).

<sup>881</sup> Cf. Schenkel, *FMAS*, § 5.

<sup>882</sup> Cf. Schenkel, *FMAS* § 5-6; see also, *TPC I*, 192 (22).


<sup>883</sup> For this writing see Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-07*, pl. VIII (6); idem, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare); *TPC II*, pl. 27 (B) (mentions Merykare), 70 (1); *TPC I*, 231 (3), 268 (3); Berlin 10184; Berlin 7796 (mentions Merykare).

<sup>884</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare); cf. also *TPC I*, 232 (4); 253 (9), 257 (12) (mentions Merykare), 260 (16); 262-3 (20), 267 (1), 268 (3); Berlin 7796 (mentions Merykare)

<sup>885</sup> Cf. Schenkel, *FMAS*, § 5.

<sup>886</sup> Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 39, n. 41; cf. also Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 355

<sup>887</sup> Cf. *TPC I*, 144, 146; Lapp, op. cit; Fischer, *MMJ 11* (1976), 20.

Herakleopolitan Period and thereafter.<sup>888</sup> The writing of the  with the additional of the filling stroke is indicative of a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare.<sup>889</sup>

#### 4.1.43. Stela of ʿnh.tl.fy<sup>890</sup>

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544; *TPC* I, 194-5 (25); Gunn, MSS. XIV. 45 (1) [photo], 45 A [a]; Notebook, 9, no. 12.

A small limestone stela measuring 42 x 38 x 10 cm. Texts are incised, while the offering scene on the panel is in raised relief. Traces of colour remain: figure's skin, and meat are red. The panel scene is well carved, but the rest of the relief and inscriptions are poor. The cornice is lost, and much of the lower part has flaked away. The panel shows the usual table scene. Each of the four jambs has a single column of inscription which fills the entire length of the jambs.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *h̄tp dī nswt lnpw lmy wt prit h̄rw* 2. (B) *n.f m is.f n h̄rt-n̄tr ʿnh.tl.fy* 3. (C) *lm̄3h̄w h̄r wsir ...* 4. (F) *ms n ...* 5. (G) *im[3h̄w] ...* 6. (E) *im̄3h̄w h̄r nb.f* 7. (D) *h̄3 t h̄3 hnqt h̄3 k̄3w h̄3 3pdw h̄3 šs h̄3 mn̄ht n mry lt.f ʿnh.tl.fy.*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is in the *wt*, a voice offering 2. to him in his tomb of the necropolis ʿnh.tl.fy 3. he who is honoured by Osiris .. 4. born of ... 5. he who is honoured ... 6. He who is honoured by his lord. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to he who is beloved of his father ʿnh.tl.fy.

#### Dating:

The style of the stela points to a date later in the Old Kingdom in general, but some of the iconographic and palaeographic features may assign the stela to a date even later than the

<sup>888</sup> Lapp, op. cit., § 355.

<sup>889</sup> See under *Gmnl-m-h̄3t* (4.1.31).

<sup>890</sup> Cf. Ranke, *PNI*, 68: 22; II, 29-30, 35.



end of the Old Kingdom. The representation of the offering table loaded with rectangular shape bread slices, surmounted by a foreleg of beef, and a trussed duck is indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of the epithet *lmy wt* with pustule and town determinative points to a later date, as are the addition of the filling stroke in the writing of  $\text{ss} \text{ } \text{ } ^{891}$  and the phonetic writing of *lnpw*. But the most indicative feature of a later date is the occurrence of the kinship phrase *ms n*, which is possibly not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>892</sup>

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<sup>891</sup> Cf. *FMĀS* § 5

<sup>892</sup> Cf. Ranke, *PN* II, 9-10; Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 361; see also Sethe, *ZĀS* 49, 95-99; Schenkel, *FMĀS* § 27; Obsomer, in *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte. Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au professeur Aristide Théodoridès*, 163-200.

## 4.2. Teti Pyramid Cemetery, Macquarie University Excavations.

In 1983-4, and 1988 Macquarie University undertook excavations in the area north-west of Teti's pyramid and north of the Sixth Dynasty viziers' mastabas. These excavations were published in two volumes,<sup>893</sup> and resulted in the discovery of some mid to late Sixth Dynasty small mastabas of middle class officials. They also found some later monuments, including false doors which on the grounds of style, iconography and palaeography can be assigned to later date than that suggested by the excavator: for instance, the false doors of *K3.l-m-dri*, *Gmni* and *Tti-ḥ*.<sup>894</sup> In 1988, the expedition discovered more mastabas and false doors of Old Kingdom date,<sup>895</sup> at least two of which are characteristically later than the Old Kingdom, and will be discussed in detail below.




### 4.2.1. Stela of *Msy* and *Thrt* (Plate XXXVI-XXXVII)

Bibl: Kanawati, *Saqqara* II, 30-32, pls. 20-21.

Avoiding repetition, a detailed description of the stela and text translation is not included here except when necessary. The date suggested by the excavator was proposed on the grounds of a supposed identification of the stela's owner with an official named *Msi* who appears twice: once in the tomb of *ḥ-m-ḥr*<sup>896</sup> and again in the tomb of *Thhi*.<sup>897</sup> Apart from the fact that his name is spelled differently, he also held different offices from those of the owner of the present stela: he is described in both

<sup>893</sup> N. Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara North-west of Teti's Pyramid* I (Sydney, 1984); II (Sydney, 1988).

<sup>894</sup> Consecutively, Kanawati, *Saqqara* I, pls. 23, 24, 29. Note that the doors of both *K3.l-m-dri* and *K3.l-gmni* were found in the tomb of *Tti*, whose mastaba Kanawati dates to probably mid Sixth Dynasty purely on the basis that both doors were found in the mastaba of this official. (ibid, 37). However the style and design of their false doors, particularly the inscribed surrounding frame, indicate a date not earlier than the reign of Pepy II or perhaps even later. The stela of *Tti* himself is of unusual design, also on one of its jambs the deceased's wife is represented with striding posture, which although known from the later part of the Old Kingdom did not become frequent before the Herakleopolitan Period. The false door of *Tti-ḥ* displays, however, some later features: the writing of

*3b* sign , the sloping sides of the *dw* sign and , the phonetic writing of *inpw*, the abbreviation of the west ideogram , all indicative of a later date.

<sup>895</sup> Cf. Kanawati, *Saqqara* II, pls., 9, 21, 23, 22.



<sup>896</sup> Cf. Badawy, *Ny-hetep-ptah*, fig. 45.

<sup>897</sup> James, *Khentika*, pl. 10.



tombs as ‘Scribe of the Bureau of Documents of the Great Palace’,<sup>898</sup> while the only title which occurs on the present stela is *imy-r ḥ3tiw*, a rather unusual office.<sup>899</sup>

The chapel of *Msy* is designed as a shallow chapel with false door flanked by two decorated side pieces, a typical design of the Herakleopolitan Period, particularly around Teti’s pyramid. The stela has a supplementary inscribed frame which is not evidenced before end of the Sixth Dynasty.

The theophorus name of the son of the stela’s owner *Gmni*, points to a later date, perhaps later than the end of the Old Kingdom, when personal names associated with the saint *Gmni* became common. The short offering list on the panel, although is slightly chipped, begins its second line with . It does not seem possible to restore it in any other way than .<sup>900</sup> If this reading is correct,<sup>901</sup> that would strongly assign the stela to the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>902</sup>

#### 4.2.2. Stela of *Hnm-htp* (Plate XXXVIII)


Bibl: Kanawati, *Saqqara* II, 34 (S88:FD4), pl. 23.

A limestone false door of large format. Its upper part is lost, but the remaining measures 72 x 63 cm. The surface is greatly weathered, and the bottom right corner is missing.<sup>903</sup>

#### Transliteration:

1. (B') ... .. *im3ḥw m3<sup>c</sup> Hnm-htp* 2. (C') ... .. *[im3ḥ]w imy-r ḥwt-wrt ... .. Hnm-htp* 3 (B) ... .. *qrst.f Hnm-htp* 4. (C) ... .. *[smr w<sup>c</sup>]ty imy-r pr mry nb. f Hnm-htp*

<sup>898</sup> Helck, *Beamtentitel*n, 70ff.

<sup>899</sup> It is translated by Kanawati as ‘Overseer of the Foremost’. The word *ḥ3t* is known to occur in other titles during the Old and Middle Kingdom, cf. Mariette, *Mastabas*, D 25; Pirie and Paget, *Ptahhotep*, pl. 33; See also Ward, *Index*, nos. 861-63; Fischer, *Titles*, 19, no. 860a; cf. CCG 20473, 20472, 20520, 20636. This title is unique, but the size of the stela and the absence of any other significant office in the stela’s inscriptions may suggest a low rank office for *imy-r ḥ3tiw*. Notably, the word *ḥ3tiw* refers also to a sort of linen, see *Wb* III, 28: 4; it can also  refers to a subdivision of a phyle, see Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives* II, 565-566, 572.

<sup>900</sup> Note that this feature is not noted by Kanawati himself, Kanawati, *Saqqara* II, pl. 20.

<sup>901</sup> This needs varification on the monument.

<sup>902</sup> For the identification of private individuals with Osiris see above (4.4 and 4.5).

<sup>903</sup> Note that Kanawati’s transliteration misses some words and readable signs.

5. (F) *lm3hw hr nb.f Hnm-htp* 6. (G) *[l]m3hw hr ntr-3 Hnm-htp* 7. (E) *lm3hw hr lnpw*.  
 8. (D) [inscriptions lost]

Translation:

1. ... .. he who is truly honoured *Hnm-htp*. 2. ... .. he who is honoured, Overseer of the Great Mansion, ... .. *Hnm-htp*. 3. ... .. may he be buried, *Hnm-htp*. 4. ... .. (Sole Companion), Overseer of the House, beloved of his lord, *Hnm-htp*. 5. He who is honoured by his lord, *Hnm-htp*. 6. He who is honoured by the great god, *Hnm-htp*. 7. He who is honoured by Anubis. 8. [lost].

Dating:

Kanawati, in his introduction to this volume states that the majority of the inscribed blocks date to the Sixth Dynasty, unless otherwise mentioned. In this particular case he does not provide an alternative date. Kanawati must have dated this stela on a general basis. In the present case, the stela displays features which are not known before the Herakleopolitan Period: the full panel that fills the entire space between the middle jambs is not evidenced before the reign of Merykare, as does the offering table composition, with a rectangular-like bread slices shape, surmounted by a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck. In addition, on the middle jambs the deceased is seen holding a lotus blossom to his nose, a feature frequently associated with false doors of that period.

The stela therefore can hardly be dated earlier than the reign of Merykare.<sup>904</sup>

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<sup>904</sup> For the male figure holding lotus flower to his nose, see under (4.1.8).



### 4.3. *Sk-wsht* Family stelae, and chapels.

#### 4.3.1. Chapel of *Sk-wsht* (Plate XXXIX)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 548-9; Gunn, MSS XIV 32; JE 55618; Aly Abdalla, 'The Cenotaph of the Sekwaskhet family from Saqqara', *JEA* 78 (1992), 95-97, fig. 2, pl. XIX.

In a series of family chapels, *Sk-wsht* is the owner of the first chapel from the left, and therefore probably also the first chapel to be decorated.

#### (a) stela:

This small limestone stela measures 121 x 78 x 14 cm. It displays the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding. Inscriptions and figures on the jambs are incised, while the scene on the panel is in raised relief. Colouring: figures' skin, haunch of beef, some of the cornice leaves are red; some of the cornice leaves, and hieroglyphic signs are green. Part of the top left hand side is broken away, otherwise the stela is in a good condition. The text lay-out is conventional: each of the jambs has a single column of text, both the lintel and cross bar have a single line of text. Each of the four jambs displays a standing figure of the deceased facing towards the central niche. The figures on the outer jambs are identical; they show the deceased wearing a short wig, a broad collar, and a knee-length kilt, holding a long staff with one hand, and extending the other hand along his side grasping a short staff with curled tip. On the inner jambs the figures are also mirror images, depicting the deceased wearing similar attire to that on the outer jambs, but here holding a long staff in one hand, and a folded cloth in the other. The panel fills the entire space between the outer jambs, and shows the usual table scene. The deceased sits on the left facing right, on a low-back chair. He wears a shoulder length wig, which leaves his ear exposed, a broad collar, and a knee length kilt. He holds his left hand to his chest, while extending his right hand towards an offering table. The offering table has the usual rectangular-like bread slices shape, above which are a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck, onions and an unidentified item perhaps a sort of cake.<sup>905</sup> Underneath the table, to the left of the table pedestal, is a caption:

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<sup>905</sup> See, *TPC* II, pls. 23 (A), 21 (c), 54.

‘Requirement of offering’. On the right is a large nested ewer and basin, resting directly on the floor. Next to that is a tall sealed wine jar on a ring stand.<sup>906</sup>

Transliteration:

(H) [Not inscribed] 1. (A) *h̄tp dī nswt wsir nb D[dw]* 2. (B) *n̄tr-[‘3] nb 3bdw prlt-h̄rw n.f im3h Sk-wsht* 3. (C) *h̄pl.f m h̄tp m h̄rt-n̄tr im3h Sk-wsht* 4. (F) *im3h Sk-wsht* 5. (G) *im3h Sk-wsht* 6. (E) *sšm.tw.f in k3w.f m lmnty im3h Sk-wsht* 7. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3h<sup>907</sup> Sk-wsht*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris 2. the great god, lord of Abydos, a voice offering for him, the honoured *Sk-wsht*. 3. May he travel in peace in the necropolis, the revered *Sk-wsht*. 4. He who is revered *Sk-wsht*. 5. The honoured *Sk-wsht*. 6. May he be guided by his *kas* in the west, the revered *Sk-wsht*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster and a thousand of clothing to the revered *Sk-wsht*.

Comments:

The name of the deceased is consistently written from right to left, probably to face the figure of the deceased.<sup>908</sup>

The phrase *sšm.tw.f in k3w.f* ‘may he be guided by his *kas*’, is probably first known in the funerary texts early in the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>909</sup>

Dating:

The overall design of the false door points to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. In particular, the door panel, that fills the entire space between the outer jambs, is first known in Saqqara no earlier than the reign of Merykare.

<sup>906</sup> For the occurrence of such jars in the offering table iconography see Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, crit. 25, 26; see also, CCG 1413, 1416, 1485. For the occurrence of this decorative item in the provinces, see also Brovarski, *Naga ed Deir*, 203-205, fig. 12; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 13, 14, 16, 26, 28, 29, 40; idem, *Dendera*, pls. 24, 25, 26, 28. Interestingly this tall wine jar on a ring stand appears on each panel of the false doors of this family.

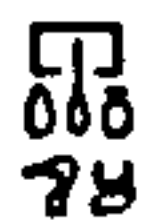


<sup>907</sup> Note that the sign should read *im3h* as shown clearly from the photograph, it is mistakenly copied by Aly Abdalla as *n k3 n*. cf. *JEA* 78 (1992), fig. 2 (a).





<sup>908</sup> For orientation and reversal of signs see Fischer, *Orientation*.

<sup>909</sup> Cf. Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 9, 11, 102; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 412-13, 433.; cf. also *TPC* I, 122, n. 2; For this phrases see Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 142-144; see also Junker, *Giza* VIII, 129; Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), 253; Schweitzer, *Ka*, 83; Barta, *Opferformel*, 307.



The offering table is composed in a fashion expected during the Herakleopolitan Period, as is the short staff with curled tip, held horizontally by the deceased on the outer jambs.<sup>910</sup>

The writing of *pr̥t-hrw* , the arrangement of *wsir nb*  , the abbreviation of the epithet *lm3h*, are all expected during the Herakleopolitan Period.

The application of the plural stroke in the writing of *k3w*  ,<sup>911</sup> and the filling stroke in the writing of *lmnty*   are both indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period inscriptions. The occurrence of the epithet *ntr-3 nb 3bdw* as an Osirian epithet is rather indicative: it is first evidenced in the Memphite area during probably the reign of Merykare.<sup>912</sup> On the grounds of these features, one would assign this stela to a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare, and not later than the end of the Herakleopolitan Period and the early part of the Eleventh Dynasty.

#### (b) Side pieces (Plate XL):<sup>913</sup>

The two side pieces with the false door form a type of a shallow roofed chapel or mini-chapel, a characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period particularly around the pyramid of Teti. Each of the side pieces is made of a single slab of limestone, and measures 126 x 45.5 x 14 cm. The decoration on the left hand side piece is divided into two halves. The upper section is decorated in incised relief with an offering menu. The bottom section is decorated in incised relief and displays two registers. The top register shows the deceased in the usual funerary meal representation. In front of the deceased's head is a vertical inscription: 'for the *ka* of the revered *Sk-wsh*'.

<sup>910</sup> On sticks and staffs in general, see A. Hassan, *Stöke und Stäbe im pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, *MÄS* 33 (München, 1976); Fischer, 'Notes on sticks and staves in Ancient Egypt', *MMJ* 13 (1978), 9-10. An identical staff is seen in the hands of the deceased in the funerary representations of XI and XII Dynasties; it also appears around the same time held by herdsmen and hunters (cf. Fischer, *MMJ* 13 (1978), 9-10, n. 31-2; Hayes, *Scepter* I, fig. 101), as well as soldiers (cf. Arnold and Settgast, *MDAIK* 20 (1965), fig. 2).

<sup>911</sup> Cf. Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 144 (3-5); Schenkel, *FMÄS*, §5; cf. also, *TPC* I, 227-8, 237.

<sup>912</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara, 1905-1906*, pl. XIII, XV; both belong to officials who are associated with the cult temple of King Merykare and probably lived during his reign or slightly later. For the earliest occurrence of this epithet in Thebes and other provinces see Fischer, *GM* 128 (1992), 72-74. It seems that the epithet first known during the reign of the king *Sḥnḥ-t3wy*, cf. BM 1203 = Clère et Vandier, *TPPI*, §23.

<sup>913</sup> Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), 95-6, pl. XIX 1-3, fig. 2 (b, c).



On the second register the deceased is represented standing on the right facing outwards. He is depicted wearing a short wig, a broad collar, sash across the chest and pointed kilt. He holds a long staff in his right hand, while his left hand is extended at his side grasping a baton. In front of his face is written 'the revered *Sk-wsht*'. Before the deceased stands a mortuary priest called *ṭpl-ḥw*,<sup>914</sup> wearing a short wig, and a knee length kilt. He presents a goose,<sup>915</sup> which is traditionally killed by wringing (*wšn*) its neck at the very moment that it is presented to the deceased.<sup>916</sup>

The right-hand side piece is decorated in raised relief, with five registers. The first, second and third registers show *frises d'objets*, including oil jars in the first registers, gold bracelets, collars, bangles, and battle axes in the second and third.<sup>917</sup> The fourth register depicts a herdsman lassoing a bull with a rope;<sup>918</sup> above the scene a caption reads: 'lassoing a bull by the herdsman of the estate'. The last register shows the deceased standing on the left facing outwards, wearing a short wig tied with a head band, a broad collar, a sash across his chest and a pointed kilt. He is holding a long staff in his left hand, while his right hand is extended at his side holding a folded cloth. Before him stands the ka-priest, performing the rite of wringing a goose's neck, as he presents it to the deceased. Above the scene a single horizontal line of inscription runs from right to left: 'He who is revered by the king, possessor of love *Sk-wsht*'.

### Comments:

<sup>914</sup> For similar theophorus names see above passim; Fischer suggests that the element *ṭpl* may refer to the owner of CCG 1536, who had probably been buried in the Teti Pyramid cemetery and who can be dated to the later part of the Sixth Dynasty, cf. Fischer, *Varia*, 87, n. 34.

<sup>915</sup> The manner in which the goose is presented to *Sk-wsht*, with straight outstretched arm holding the neck of the bird, is an iconographical feature which is first noted in tomb relief at the very end of the Fifth Dynasty (Brunner-Traut, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 27-30; Harpur, *Decoration*, 264 (7); see also, Brovarski, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* I, 99-100.

<sup>916</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Orientation*, 128, fig. 118; see also Wild, *Ti*, pl. 181; *ASAE* 36 (1936), 40. It may be perhaps that the scene is a representation of the ritual of wringing the neck of a bird in front of the deceased, cf. *Rifeh*, tomb. 7; *Siut*, pl. 19; see also, Montet, *Kêmi* 6 (1936), 160; cf. also a New Kingdom text which speaks of the decapitation of a bull and goose before presenting them, 'the *ḥr*-animal is brought, its head is cut off, the *smn*-goose is brought and its head is decapitated', (*Rekh-mi-Re*, pl. 107).

<sup>917</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 141-152, 62-76, 97-102, 208-210.

<sup>918</sup> Cf. Steindorff, *Ti*, Taf. 128; Montet, *Les scènes*, 152; *TPC* II, pl. 21; Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), fig. 8; W.K. Simpson, *North Carolina Mus. of Fine Art Bull.* XI/3 (1972), 8-9, n. 16.



The man who is seen lassoing the *ngʒ*-bull is entitled *mniw*<sup>919</sup> *n pr-dt* 'Herdsman of the Estate' an office which is not otherwise attested, but is probably comparable with offices such as *hqʒw n pr dt*,<sup>920</sup> *nht-hrw n pr dt*,<sup>921</sup> as well as other offices associated with the administration of the private estates.<sup>922</sup>

#### Dating:

Apart from the architectural style which clearly show the characteristic Herakleopolitan Period chapel design, the side pieces' iconography provides more substance in support of a date in this period. The offering table composition is expected during this period, as is the representation of the anklets/bracelets,<sup>923</sup> and the pair of bangles.<sup>924</sup> The battle axes, although known earlier in relief, are not used in the *frises d'objets* before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>925</sup>

#### 4.3.2. Chapel of Ny-*nh-Hr* and Šdy (Plate XLI)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 549 (2); Cairo JE 55618; Aly Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), 97-99, fig. 3, pl. XX (1-3).

##### (a) The double stela:

The double stela is surmounted by a single cavetto cornice, and has the usual torus moulding. The limestone double stela measures 121 x 93 x 15 cm. The left false door is dedicated to Ny-*nh-Hr*, while the right hand side door belongs to probably his wife Šdy. The double door is fractured into two halves, and the top left hand side of the left door is missing. Inscriptions and figures on the jambs of both doors are incised, while the table scenes on the panels are in raised relief. According to Gunn, the signs are

<sup>919</sup> For this word see Gardiner, *ZAS* 42 (1905), 116-123; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 177-179.

<sup>920</sup> Moussa und Altenmüller, *Nianchnum*, 110.

<sup>921</sup> Ibid, 127; for this title see also Müller, *JEA* 58 (1972), 117, n. 1; Junker, *Giza* VI, 201-2; Fischer, in *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Art* 51 (1972), 73.

<sup>922</sup> Cf. Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 138. For discussion on the *pr-dt* and its administrative and economic significant, see Junker, *Giza* III, 59; Lüddeckens, *MDAIK* 11 (1943), 8, Anm. 3; Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, § 68; idem, *ZAS* 83 (1958), 14-15; Goedicke, *ZAS* 83 (1958), 25; idem, *Privaten Rechtsurkunden*, 35; Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 136-7; see also Eyre, in M.A. Powell (ed.), *Labor*, 32-34; For further discussion on the *pr-dt*, see J.J. Perepelkin (translated and commented by R. Müller-Wollermann), *Privateigentum in der Vorstellung der Ägypter des Alten Reichs* (Tübingen, 1986), 158-207.

<sup>923</sup> Cf. Lapp, *Typologie*, § 548, n. 36.

<sup>924</sup> Cf. Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1990); see also for similar bangles on the coffin of princess K3yt from Thebes, Lapp, *Typologie*, § 371

<sup>925</sup> Ibid, § 554, no. 60.

painted in green as are the broad collars. Some of the cornice leaves and wigs are black. The rest of the cornice leaves, the male figure's skin, head of the goose, lower part of the jar on a ring stand, the bread slices on the panel, and the upper part of the ewer are painted red. The torus and probably the overall background are yellow.

The left side of the false door has its texts outlined in a conventional way. Each of the four jambs shows a standing portrait of the deceased facing the central niche. The figures on the outer jambs are identical, depicting the deceased with short hair, wearing a broad collar, and thigh-length skirt, and raising both hands in a posture of adoration. The inner jambs show another pair of identical images. The deceased appears with short hair, wearing the usual broad collar, and knee length kilt. He holds a long staff in one hand, while the other is extended along his side holding a short staff with curled tip. The panel is of that type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs. It is decorated with the usual table scene which is produced here in a fashion typical of the Herakleopolitan Period. The deceased sits on the left facing right before an offering table; underneath the whole scene is a horizontal line which runs from right to left, and probably represents a sort of platform, or ground line. Above the offering scene is the usual ideographic offering list in which the signs are directed outwards to provide a symmetrical arrangement with that on the panel of the deceased's wife.

The right hand side door has a similar layout to that of the husband's stela, but the offering formula on the lintel runs from left to right confronting that on the right door and creating a symmetrical impression. Such a change in direction of the formula required the changing of the orientation of the texts on the jambs, so one notices that texts which were usually written on the right jamb (C) are here moved to the left jamb (B). Each of the four jambs has a standing figure of the deceased, facing towards the central niche. The four figures are identical, showing her wearing a long lappeted wig, a collar and a long tight-fitting dress. Both of her hands are extended open at her side, probably as a gesture of respect. The panel which fills the entire space between the outer jambs, shows the usual funerary meal scene, but here the deceased sits on the right facing left, in the direction of her husband, as if sharing the meal with him.

#### Transliteration:

(H) *st ḥb ḥknw sft nhnm tw3t ḥtt ʿš ḥtt tḥnw... ...* (left false door) 1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. (B) [*ntr-ʿ3 nb*] *3bdw prit-ḥrw n.f nfr m is.f im3ḥ Ny-ʿnh-Ḥr* 3. (C) *ḥpl.f*





*m ḥtp m ḥrt-nṯr sšm.tl.f in k3w.f im3ḥ Ny-ᶜnh-Ḥr* 4. (F) *prīt-ḥrw (m) smdt ḥb n im3ḥ Ny-ᶜnh-Ḥr* 5. (G) *prīt-ḥrw (m) smdt ḥb n im3ḥ Ny-ᶜnh-Ḥr* 6. (E) *im3ḥ n(y) mrwt m3ᶜ Ny-ᶜnh-Ḥr* 7. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n im3ḥ im3ḥ Ny-ᶜnh-Ḥr*  
(right hand side door) 1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. (C) *nṯr-ᶜ3 nb 3bdw prīt ḥrw n.s nfr n im3ḥt ḥrw nswt Šdy* 3. (B) *ḥpl.s m ḥtp r imntyṯ nfrt sšm.tl.(s) in k3w.s im3ḥt Šdy* 4. (F) *prīt ḥrw (m) smdt ḥb n im3ḥt Šdy* 5. (G) *prīt ḥrw (m) smdt ḥb n im3ḥt Šdy* 6. (E) *im3ḥt ḥr inpw Šdi<sup>sic</sup>* 7. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n im3ḥt Šdy*

#### Translation:

(H) *sṯ* festive oil, *ḥknw* oil, *sṯt*-oil, *nḥnm*-oil, *tw3t*-oil, the best of ᶜš oil, the best of *tḥnw*-oil, ..., ... . (left stela) 1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of Busiris, 2. the great god lord of Abydos, a voice offering to him, beautifully in his tomb, the honoured *Ny-ᶜnh-Ḥr*. 3. May he travel in peace in the necropolis, and be guided by his *kas*, the revered *Ny-ᶜnh-Ḥr*. 4. A voice offering (in) the monthly feasts to the honoured *Ny-ᶜnh-Ḥr*. 5. A voice offering (in) the monthly feasts to the honoured *Ny-ᶜnh-Ḥr*. 6. He who is revered, possessor of true love *Ny-ᶜnh-Ḥr*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Ny-ᶜnh-Ḥr*.

(right stela) 1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of Busiris, 2. the great god lord of Abydos, a voice offering to her, beautifully to the one who is revered by the king, *Šdy*. 3. May she travel in peace to the beautiful west, and be guided by her *kas*, the honoured *Šdy*. 4. A voice offering (in) the monthly feasts to the revered *Šdy*. 5. A voice offering (in) the monthly feasts to the revered *Šdy*. 6. She who is revered by Anubis, *Šdi*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the revered *Šdy*.

#### Comments:

The word *m3ᶜ* on the cross bar of the left false door is written with an  sign instead of .

The position of Šdy and the location of her false door related to that of Ny-<sup>c</sup>nh-*Hr* conforms to the usual subordinate position of wives when they are represented with their husbands.<sup>926</sup> This position, as well as the fact that Šdy shares with Ny-<sup>c</sup>nh-*Hr* the double stela and the niche chapel, may suggest a matrimonial relationship between the pair.

Šdy is referred to as honoured by a *nswt* whose identity is not made clear. However, the word may refer to one of the Herakleopolitan Dynasty kings. It is noteworthy that a similar phrase occurs on the stela of *Sk-wšht*, probably the head of the family, and the father-in-law of Šdy.

#### Dating:

The overall style and design of the double stela is not known, as far as I know, before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>927</sup> The style of the panel that fills the entire space between the outer jambs is also a feature which is first known at Saqqara as early as the reign of Merykare.<sup>928</sup> The arrangement of offerings on the table is in a fashion typical of that period. A noticeable feature which appears on almost all the table scenes on the false doors and side pieces of this family, is a tall wine-jar on a ring stand. This, with other similar features which appear on the family stela, might suggest that a single workshop was responsible for producing these funerary stela for the *Sk-wšht* family. Also indicative of a later date is the adoration posture adopted by the deceased on the outer jambs.<sup>929</sup>

The arrangement of *wsir nb*, the phonetic writing of *inpw*,<sup>930</sup> the writing of *pr̥t-hrw* with an ox's head and bird's head<sup>931</sup> and the elongated loaf of bread,<sup>932</sup> are all

<sup>926</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 2-3.

<sup>927</sup> All the examples known so far date to the Herakleopolitan Period on the grounds of their style, iconography and palaeographic features: see the double stela of *Sk-wšht* <sup>c</sup>3 and his wife *Mwt-m-s3.s*; the double stela of *Sk-wšht hry-ib* and *Sk-wšht nhnw*; the stela of *Mry* and his wife *Htp* (Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), 93-106; the double stela of *Mrt-mwt.s* and *Pth-nht* (cf. *The World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum*, no. 28); and the double stela of *Ky* and *Šdi-3bd* (cf. Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45).

<sup>928</sup> The earliest dated false door with a full panel is probably that of *Ipilin* who probably date to the reign of Merykare or slightly later, Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII.

<sup>929</sup> See comment on this posture above, *passim*.

<sup>930</sup> Cf. Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 7, n. 9; see also Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 228-9. Contra Spanel, (*Beni Hasan*, 123, n. 23) the phonetic writing of *inpw* appears on at least two monuments that antedate the end of the Old Kingdom from Giza, cf. Junker, *Giza VII*, fig. 104; XI, fig. 40.

<sup>931</sup> On the right hand side door *pr̥t-hrw* is written with  $\Delta$  instead of the usual elongated loaf of bread  $\square$ , for the substitution of  $\Delta$  for either the elongated loaf of bread or the *bd3*-shape loaf (for the latter, see Bárta, *SAK* 22 (1995), 21-27), cf. CCG 20005; Bristol H 3126 = Petrie, *Diospolis Parva* (London, 1898-99), pl. 25; Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, no. 19.



typical of the Herakleopolitan Period in the Memphite necropolis. The use of the expletive stroke in the writing of *imnty* and *k3w* on the right door; the abbreviation of the west ideogram, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*, and *im3ht*, are all expected features during that period. The plural strokes *iii* used in the writing of *k3w* also point to a later date.<sup>933</sup> The occurrence of the epithet *nfr-3 nb 3bdw* as an Osirian epithet is a feature which is not evidenced before the reign of Merykare. The occurrence of the adjective *nfr* followed by an adverbial phrase directly after *přit-hrw* is phraseology typical of the Herakleopolitan Period. One would therefore suggest a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period, and probably not before the reign of Merykare.

(b) Side pieces (Plate XLII):

The limestone niche of this pair was the second from the left, and therefore, probably the second to be built in the group. The left hand side piece was decorated on both faces and shared by *Ny-nh-Hr* and *Sk-wsht*, the owner of the first niche. It belongs to *Ny-nh-Hr*, while the right hand side piece belongs to his wife *Šdy*.<sup>934</sup>

The left side piece measures 121 x 41 x 13.5 cm. It is divided into two sections, the upper section being decorated in incised relief with an offering menu. The bottom section has two registers; the upper one shows the usual table scene, while the lower register depicts a row of three offering bearers, two females and one male, directed towards the false door in the direction of the deceased. It is interesting to note the similarity between this niche and that of *Sk-wsht-3*, a similarity which might shed some light on the relationship of these two individuals as well as probably suggesting some sort of chronological order.

<sup>932</sup> The writing of *přit-hrw* in the form that appears here is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period. However, the mention of fowl and oxen in the writing of *přit-hrw* is fairly common at Giza during the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, e.g. Junker, *Giza II*, Abb. 7; III, Abb. 14, 17; VI, Abb. 69; Hassan, *Giza I*, fig. 142; VI, fig. 36; VI/3, fig. 58, pl. LXXXIV; Curto, *Gli Scavi*, tav. XX, XXIX (b); see also Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 168 (7-9); § 169 (4); § 155 (18). It is worth noting that the occurrence of the ox head and bird's head in the writing of *přit-hrw* appears in provincial texts as early as the end of the Herakleopolitan Period and Eleventh Dynasty, cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 83, n. 359; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 251; cf. also Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs*, pl. 12; Siut III, 70, IV, 81.

<sup>933</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, fig. 31; TPC I, 228, 227, 237; it is also written so on the stelae of the other family members. Also this writing is found on the stela of *Gmni-m-h3t* whose career probably progressed during the reign of Merykare, cf. TPC II, pl. 27 (B). The use of plural strokes in general is well attested much earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period, cf. *Urk I*, 177: 10, 202: 4, 220: 2, 266: 12, 267: 5, 296: 9, 298: 14, 299: 8, 304: 18; see also Fischer, *ZAS* 105 (1978), 49, n. 31.

<sup>934</sup> Cf. Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), pl. XX (1, 3), fig. 3 (b-c).



The right hand side piece measures 120.5 x 45 x 15 cm, and displays five registers of raised relief decoration. The top register depicts a row of ointment jars on a rectangular stand, arranged in a symmetrical order.<sup>935</sup> The second, third and fourth registers display friezes of bracelets, necklaces and collars on rectangular stands.<sup>936</sup> The last register shows the deceased standing on the left facing outwards, in a striding attitude, wearing a long wig, a broad collar and long dress with shoulder straps. She holds an ointment jar to her nose with her left hand, while her right hand is extended open at her side. Before her, probably for artistic reasons, is a large representation on an ointment jar, identified as an altar by Aly Abdalla.<sup>937</sup> Opposite the deceased stands her maid-servant who is pictured on slightly smaller scale, but seen wearing similar attire to her lady. The maid-servant, whose name is not mentioned, presents her lady with a mirror with a lotiform handle, with her right hand, while holding a piece of cloth, probably a napkin, in the other hand. The whole scene is probably one of the daily activities of a high class woman attended by her maid when applying cosmetic ointment to her face. Above the scene is a single line of inscription which runs from right to left: 'she who is revered (by) Hathor in all her places,<sup>938</sup> the honoured Šdy'.

#### Comments:

The presentation of a mirror here in a toiletry scene probably reflects two aspects: a practical aspect of the mirror, the other suggested by the fact that the mirror is represented here in a funerary context. In that sense it probably represents the act of re-birth for the deceased as suggested by Blackman and others.<sup>939</sup>

#### Dating:

This type of mini-chapel was a characteristic design of the Herakleopolitan Period, particularly in the cemetery around the pyramid of Teti, probably a design which was the result of lack of space in a cemetery which was already overcrowded by the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>940</sup> The composition of the offering table, and the occurrence of the

<sup>935</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 141-145, figs. 373-89, 396-397.

<sup>936</sup> Ibid, 62-77; for *mnit* collar, its manufacture, meaning and use see, Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 185, fig. 171.

<sup>937</sup> Cf. Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), 99.

<sup>938</sup> For this epithet and its implications see, Gillam, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 211-237.

<sup>939</sup> Cf. Blackman, *JEA* 5 (1918), 148-165; see also, Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 98; see also Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), 107, and references there.

<sup>940</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Aribus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 12; Vandier, *Manuel* II (1954), 432-435; W.K. Simpson, *North Carolina Museum of Fine Art Bulletin* XI/3 (1972), 4-13; Hayes, *Scepter* I, 145-146; *TPC* I, 201-211.



*mnit* collar both indicate a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom,<sup>941</sup> as is the striding posture of the female owner of the side piece. The presentation of a mirror is an iconographic feature hardly ever found before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>942</sup> The writing of the epithet *im3ht* with the filling stroke, points to a date probably not earlier than the reign of Merykare.<sup>943</sup>

#### 4.3.3. Chapel of *Sk-wsht-3* and *Mwt-m-s3.s* (Plate XLIII)

Bibl: Cairo JE 55618; Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), 99-101, fig. 4, pl. XXI 1-3).

##### (a) The double stela:

The limestone double stela measuring 121 x 96 x 16 cm, was designed in a similar fashion to that of *Ny-3nh-Hr* and his wife *3dy* in both style and lay out of the inscriptions, as well as the orientation of the funerary meal scene on the panels. The double stela is surmounted by an inscribed architrave, and a cavetto cornice. The left door is dedicated to *Sk-wsht-3*, while the right door belongs to his wife *Mwt-m-s3.s*. Traces of colouring are still visible: red patches appear on the male figure, wigs are painted black, while collars are green. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the table scenes on both panels are in raised relief. The stela is in a fairly good condition apart from the text on the left hand side of the architrave which is worn away.

Each of the four jambs of the left door displays at the end of its inscription a portrait for the deceased. The four figures are mirror images showing the deceased standing facing the central niche. He wears a short wig, a broad collar, and a knee

<sup>941</sup> It is known on coffin friezes from the same period, cf. *TPC* II, pl. 23, belonging to *Gmni-m-3st*, who is the owner of a false door on which he mentions the cult temple of Merykare, cf. *TPC* II, pl. 27 (B); cf. also Gunn, Notebook, 17, where this type of collar appears on the coffin of *Sk-wsht*, probably the same *Sk-wsht* as the patron of the family group under consideration. It also appears on coffin friezes from the provinces around the same time at the end of the Herakleopolitan Period and early Eleventh Dynasty: at Bersheh on the coffin of *Dhwti-htp* (cf. *Studi Rosellini* I, 263ff; *BMFA Bulletin* 19 (1921), 43; see also Lapp, *Typologie*, Abb. 73 (d)); at Meir e.g. on the coffin of *Snbi* (Cf. Berlin 70/71 = Katalog Berlin, 1984), 88f = Lapp, op. cit., Abb. 112 (e)); at Thebes, it appears on the coffin of *Nfrw* (PM I, 392 = GM 72 (9184), 36, Taf. 1; Lapp, op. cit., Abb. 181 (d)). See also for general discussion Lapp, op. cit., § 546 Nr. 27.

<sup>942</sup> Although the representation of mirrors in relief is known as early as the Sixth Dynasty, presenting mirrors to the deceased is not evidenced before the period under consideration. Cf. Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 16, n. 170, fig. 137; see also Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 871-4.

<sup>943</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 131, n. 577; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 257-8, n. 320.

length kilt on the outer jambs, but a pointed kilt on the inner jambs. He holds the usual long staff in one hand, and a folded cloth in the other. The panel, which fills the entire space between the outer jambs, displays the usual table scene. Above the offering table is a short ideographic offering list, in which the signs are directed outwards, probably to conform symmetrically with the opposite list on the wife's door panel.

On the right stela, each of the four jambs shows a standing figure of the deceased facing inwards. The two figures on the right outer and inner jambs are identical, depicting the deceased with short hair with a long pigtail projecting from the back of her head, terminating in a disk-like shape.<sup>944</sup> The two figures of the deceased on the left inner and outer jambs show her with a long lappeted wig. All four figures depict the deceased wearing a broad collar and long tight fitting garment, with both her hands extended open at her side. The panel is of the same style as that of her husband, with the usual table scene. It is worth noting here the orientation of the scene, with the deceased represented sitting on the right facing left, means that she faces her husband on the left panel, giving the impression that they are sharing the meal as well as maintaining the symmetrical orientation noticed in the arrangement of the short offering list on the panels and offering formulae on both door lintels.

Transliteration:

(H) *st hb hknw sft nhnm tw3t h'tt 'š h'tt thnw 'rf (n) wd3w 'rf (n) msdmt ... ..* (left stela) 1. (A) *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. (B) *ntr-3 nb 3bdw prit-hrw n.f nfr m im3h Sk-wsht-3* 3. (C) *hpl.f m htp r imntt nfrt im3h Sk-wsht-3*. 4. (F) *prit hrw n im3h Sk-wsht-3* 5. (G) *prit-hrw n im3h Sk-wsht-3* 6. (E) *im3h hr nb.f n mrwt m3c Sk-wsht-3* 7. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3h Sk-wsht-3* (right stela) 1. (A) *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. (C) *ntr-3 nb 3bdw prit hrw (n).s nfr m hrt-ntr im3ht Mwt-m-s3.s* 3. (B) *hpl.s m htp r imntt nfrt sšm.tl.s in k3w.s im3ht Mwt-m-s3.s* 4. (G) *prit hrw (m) 3bd hb n im3ht Mwt-m-s3.s* 5. (F) *prit hrw (m) 3bd hb n im3ht Mwt-m-s3.s* 6. (E) *im3ht hr Ht-hr im3ht Mwt-m-s3.s* 7. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3ht Mwt-m-s3.s*

Translation:

<sup>944</sup> Cf. E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 181. This feature which indicates the young ideal is well illustrated in the tomb of Idout of the early Sixth Dynasty, cf. Macramallah, *Idout*, passim.



(H) *st* festival oil, *hknw* oil, *sft* oil, *nhnm* oil, *tw3t* oil, the best of *33* oil, the best of *tḥnw* oil, a bag of green eye-paint, a bag of black eye-paint ... ... (left stela) 1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of Busiris 2. the great god lord of Abydos, a voice offering to him beautifully in (the necropolis), the revered *Sk-wsḥt-ʿ3*. 3. May he depart in peace to the beautiful west, the honoured *Sk-wsḥt-ʿ3*. 4. A voice offering to the honoured *Sk-wsḥt-ʿ3*. 5. A voice offering to the honoured *Sk-wsḥt-ʿ3*. 6. He who is honoured by his lord, proressor of true love, *Sk-wsḥt ʿ3* 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the revered *Sk-wsḥt ʿ3*.

(right stela) 1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of Busiris 2. the great god lord of Abydos, a voice offering (to) her beautifully in the necropolis, the honoured *Mwt-m-s3.s*. 3. May she travel in peace to the beautiful west, and may she be guided by her *kas*, the honoured *Mwt-m-s3.s*. 4. A voice offering at the monthly feasts to the revered *Mwt-m-s3.s*. 5. A voice offering at the monthly feasts to the revered *Mwt-m-s3.s* 6. She who is revered by Hathor, the honoured *Mwt-m-s3.s*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand, alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the revered *Mwt-m-s3.s*.

#### Comments:

The stela's owner is probably named after his grandfather who bears the same name *Sk-wsḥt*, and it is likely that the epithet *ʿ3* was added to his name here to distinguish him from other brothers who bore the same name.<sup>945</sup> Presumably *Sk-wsḥt-ʿ3* was the elder brother of both *Sk-wsḥt* the middle and *Sk-wsḥt* the younger.

*n(y) mrwt* or *n(y) mrwt m3ʿ* 'possessor of love, or possessor of true love'. The nisba *n(y)* is frequently used to introduce or form titles and epithets. It is more frequent, however, with epithets rather than with titles, e.g. *n(y) st-ib n nb.f* 'one who belongs to the heart of his lord',<sup>946</sup> *n(y) st-ib nb t3wy* 'one who belongs to the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands',<sup>947</sup> *n(y) st-ḥntt* 'possessor of pre-eminent place'.<sup>948</sup> The

<sup>945</sup> Fischer, *Varia*, 89-90.

<sup>946</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 252.



<sup>947</sup> Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 49.

<sup>948</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 99, n. 451.

epithet *n(y) mrwt* or *n(y) mrwt m3<sup>c</sup>* is known in the Old Kingdom,<sup>949</sup> but it is likely that the epithet's association with *im3h* and its placing directly before the deceased's name, is a phenomenon which first appeared at the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>950</sup>

On the right door *Mwt-m-s3.s* is represented as a young woman, as she is seen on her door jambs with side lock terminated with disk-like shape. It is noteworthy here that she is represented with this youthful image on the right jambs, while she is seen in a mature portrait on the left jambs.<sup>951</sup> The artistic use of the pigtail as a reference to youth probably goes back as early as the Fifth Dynasty, where it appears in dance scenes, showing female dancers with pigtail side-lock terminated with disk-like shape, probably indicating their young age.<sup>952</sup>

### Dating:

The style and overall design of the double false door, as well as the full flat panel which fills the entire space between the outer jambs, points to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period, as does the composition of the offering table. The appearance of a single tall jar on a ring stand is probably also indicative of a later period. The youthful image for a major female figures, although known as early as the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>953</sup> probably did not appear on the false door before the very end of the Old Kingdom, if not later.<sup>954</sup> The arrangement of *wsir nb*, the arrangement of *přit-hrw* with the ox head and bird's head as well as the elongated bread loaf, the forked tail of the sign *w3*, the writing of *hrt-ntr*,<sup>955</sup> the use of the filling stroke in the writing of *rf*, *imnty* and *nb.f*, all indicate a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The substitution of  for  in the writing of the name *Mwt-m-s3.s*, points probably to a later date in the Herakleopolitan Period itself.<sup>956</sup> The abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* or *im3ht* is also expected during that period. The the writing of *Ht-hr* on the cross bar

<sup>949</sup> Cf. *Wb* II, 102: 10-13; Mariette, *Mastabas*, D. 43, D. 10 and C 25; Berlin 1108 = *Ägyptische Inschriften* I, 110.

<sup>950</sup> Cf. Davis, *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pl. 8, 13, 23 = *Urk* I, 143:8; see also Fischer, *Dendera*, 127; CCG 1431 = *Urk* I, 118:6 = Fischer, *Orientation*, 141; see also, Fischer *ZAS* 105 (1978), 49.

<sup>951</sup> Cf. Macramallah, *Idout*, passim; Cf. *TPC* II, pl. 71 (1-2); Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 14, n. 15, figs. 8-9; Harpur, *Decoration*, 131-133.

<sup>952</sup> Cf. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht*, 18, Abb. 15 and references there.





<sup>953</sup> Macramallah, *Idout*, passim.

<sup>954</sup> Cf. Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 14, n. 15.

<sup>955</sup> See above and below; See also Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 27, and references there.

<sup>956</sup> Cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 304 (7-9), 69 (23-26), 384 (19-22), all of which are dated to the Middle Kingdom. This feature, however, is evidenced as early as the Herakleopolitan Period in Saqqara, cf. the stela of *Ipī-m-s3.s* (4.1.5); Fischer, *MMJ* 9 (1974), 26.



of the wife stela also points to later date.<sup>957</sup> The use of the  as a determinative is occasionally found as early as the very end of the Old Kingdom to replace the usual Old Kingdom divine determinative .<sup>958</sup> The substitution of the sign  for  in the writing of *3bdw* is indicative of a later date.<sup>959</sup> The occurrence of the epithet *ntr-ʿ3 nb 3bdw* points to a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare in the Memphite necropolis, as are the occurrence of the adjective *nfr* followed by the adverbial phrase *m hrt-ntr* directly after *prtt-hrw* and the occurrence of the epithet *ʿ3* after the name of the stela's owner *Sk-wsht*.<sup>960</sup>

(b) Side pieces:

The niche of this pair is the third from left to right. The left one belong to probably the husband, while the right side piece is dedicated to the wife *Mwt-m-s3.s*.

The left side piece is made of a single block of limestone, and measures 120.5 x 45 x 15 cm. This block is decorated on both sides and is shared by *Sk-wsht ʿ3* and *Šdy*, probably his mother. This side piece is divided into two sections, the upper section decorated with an offering list which is in incised relief, while the lower section is decorated in raised relief. There are two registers, the top one showing the deceased sitting before an offering table. In front of the deceased is written: 'the honoured *Sk-wsht-ʿ3*'. The lower register displays a row of offering bearers, two females and one male carrying different sorts of offering and seen walking towards the false door in other words in the direction of the deceased.<sup>961</sup>

The right-hand side piece is also made of a single block, decorated in raised relief, and displaying five registers. The decoration here is almost identical to that of *Šdy*, (who was probably her mother-in-law).<sup>962</sup> The first four registers from top to bottom show the usual friezes which depicts the ointment jars, golden bracelets, necklaces, and collars. On the last register, the deceased is represented in a youthfull

<sup>957</sup> For different writings of *Ht-hr* see M. Galvin, *JAOS* 103 (1983), 425-430, table A-G.

<sup>958</sup> See Fischer, *Dendera*, 211, n. 820.

<sup>959</sup> This palaeographic feature appears on false doors dated to the Herakleopolitan Period in South Saqqara, see under (Zakaria Ghoneim cemetery, 4.8).

<sup>960</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Varia*, 89, n. 45. For an earlier date for this feature, see Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 177-8; idem, *Hagarsa III*, 29. Note that Kanawati brings the date of the occurrence of this epithet early on the grounds of his unfounded assumption that *Tti-ʿ3*, the owner of an architrave in the Oriental Institute Museum, was the son of *Špsy-pw-mnw/hnl* (Cf. Kanawati, *Hawawish II*, fig. 18, 24, 26).

<sup>961</sup> Cf. Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), pl. XXI, 2, fig. 4 (b).

<sup>962</sup> See description of *Šdy*'s side piece above.

ideal, with pigtail lock terminated in a disk-like shape.<sup>963</sup> She is seen in striding posture, wearing a long garment with a single shoulder strap. She holds an ointment jar to her nose with her left hand, while her right hand is extended open along her side. Before her is a large representation of an ointment jar. Opposite the deceased stands her maid-servant, who is also depicted in a striding attitude, and wearing a long tight-fitting dress, long wig, and presenting her lady with a lotiform-handled mirror and a napkin. In front of the deceased's head is written: 'one who is honoured *Mwt-m-s3.s*', while the inscriptions before the maid-servant: 'her nurse<sup>964</sup> *Ny-sy Mwt*'.<sup>965</sup>

#### Comment:

It is interesting here to be able to apply a function to a title from a scene context. The scene on the lower register of the right side piece shows some of the tasks the maid-servant *mn<sup>c</sup>t*<sup>966</sup> was in charge of. She is seen attending her lady, helping her with her daily toilet.

#### Dating:

The design, iconography (the offering table composition, the striding posture) and palaeography (the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht*) of both side pieces point to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period, as does the whole architectural design of the shallow chapel. The title *mn<sup>c</sup>t*, although it is known as early as the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>967</sup> did not become frequent before the Herakleopolitan period and Middle Kingdom.<sup>968</sup>

#### 4.3.4. Chapel of *Sk-wht hry-ib* and *Sk-wht nhn* (XLIV)

Bibl: Cairo JE 55618; *JEA* 78 (1992), 103, fig. 5 (a-c), pl. XXII (3).

#### (a) The double stela:

<sup>963</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 21, nn. 175-177.

<sup>964</sup> Note the word *mn<sup>c</sup>t* is written here with extra *t* which was probably added by the scribe to fill the space after the determinative.

<sup>965</sup> Note that the sign  with the flagellum also can read *Nhbt* (see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 22, n. 60).

<sup>966</sup> For this title see *Wb* II, 78: 1; Ward, *Index*, 95 (799).

<sup>967</sup> Cf. P. Kaplony, *MIO* 14 (1968), 197-8, fig. 4; see also Macramallah, *Idout*, pls. 6-7; Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 6, n. 49.

<sup>968</sup> Cf. Kees, *ZAS* 82 (1957), 60.



The double limestone false door measures 121 x 95 x 16 cm. The left door is dedicated to *Sk-wsht* the middle, while the right stela belongs to *Sk-wsht* the youngest. Both stelae are very similar, apart from minor details. The texts and figures on the jambs of both stelae are incised, while the panel scene is in raised relief. The jambs of the doors display mirror images of the deceased standing, facing inwards, in the direction of the central niche. Both of them are seen with short hair, wearing a broad collar, a knee length kilt on the inner jambs, and pointed kilt on the outer jambs. Both of the deceased's figures are seen holding a long staff in one hand, while the other hand is extended along the side holding a folded cloth on the outer jambs, but a short staff with curled tip on the inner jambs.

The panels are of that type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs, and both show the usual table scene. Colouring: some of the leaves of the cornice, haunch of beef, the ox's heart, lower part of the elongated jar, and some of the signs on the panel are painted red; the rest of the cornice leaves are green; male skin is red; garments are white; the rectangular-like bread slices shape, the torus moulding and the general back ground are pale yellow.

#### Transliteration:

(H) *st-ḥb ḥknw sft nḥnm tw3t ḥꜥtt ʕš ḥꜥtt tḥnw ʕrf w3ḏw ʕrf msdmt wnḥwy* (left stela) 1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. (B) *ntr-ʕ nb 3bḏw prit-ḥrw n.f n im3ḥw Sk-wsht ḥry-ib* 3. (C) *ḥpl.f m ḥtp r imntt nfrt im3ḥw Sk-wsht ḥry-ib* 4. (F) *prit-ḥrw (n) im3ḥw Sk-wsht ḥry-ib* 5. (G) *prit-ḥrw n im3ḥw Sk-wḥt ḥry-ib* 6. (E) *im3ḥw ḥr nb.f n mrwt Sk-wsht* 7. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqth3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n im3ḥ Sk-wsht ḥry-ib* (underneath the table to the left) *dbḥt-ḥtp* (right stela) 1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. (B) *ntr-ʕ nb 3bḏw prit-ḥrw n.f n im3ḥw Sk-wsht nḥn* 3. (C) *ḥpl.f m ḥtp r imntt (nfrt) im3ḥw Sk-wsht nḥn* 4. (F) *prit ḥrw n im3ḥw Sk-wsht nḥn* 5. (G) same as (F) 6. (E) *im3ḥw ḥr nb.f n mrwt m3ꜥ Sk-wsht* 7. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n im3ḥ Sk-wsht nḥn*



#### Translation:

(H) *st* festival oil, *ḥknw* oil, *sft* oil, *nḥnm* oil, *tw3t* oil, the best of *ʕš* oil, the best of *tḥnw* oil, bag of green eye-paint, bag of black eye-paint, and two rolls of *wnḥwy* linen. (left stela) 1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris 2. the great god, lord of Abydos, a voice offering to him, to the honoured *Sk-wsht* the middle. 3. May he travel in peace, to the beautiful west, the revered *Sk-wsht* the middle. 4. A voice

offering (to) the revered *Sk-wsht* the middle. 5. A voice offering to the revered *Sk-wsht* the middle. 6. He who is honoured, possessor of love *Sk-wsht*, the middle. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand, jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Sk-wsht* the middle.

(right stela) The inscriptions on right stela are identical to those inscribed on the left stela, but dedicating the inscriptions to *Sk-wsht* the youngest. Only the text on the cross bar (E) is slightly different: 'he who is honoured, possessor of true love, *Sk-wsht* the youngest'.

### Comments:

Epithets such as *hry-ib* and *nḥnw* are frequently used to identify family members who bore similar names.<sup>969</sup> Abdalla suggests that the phonetic value of the sign  is *nḥi*.<sup>970</sup> However, a full writing of the epithet is written on what is probably a later offering table found next to the niche of these two probable brothers; here the epithet is written *nḥn* with the sign  as a determinative, a writing that leaves no doubt about the reading cited in the transliteration above.<sup>971</sup>

*nb.f* 'his lord': *Sk-wsht* the middle and *Sk-wsht* the youngest as well as *Mry*, probably a third brother, all are honoured by their lord. The master in question must refer to a royal, divine or private mastership. This term is usually applied to kings and gods, although infrequently, persons of lesser ranks, are sometime called by their subordinates 'nb'.<sup>972</sup> Here however, a reference to a royal mastership is made on the stela of *Sk-wsht*, probably the head of the family, leaving little doubt that the term *nb.f* on this stela and that of *Mry* also refer a royal mastership.

### Dating:





<sup>969</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Varia*, 88, 93, fig. 8.

<sup>970</sup> Cf. *JEA* 78, 109.

<sup>971</sup> For the phonetic value of this sign, see Fischer, *Varia*, 90. It is noteworthy that the occurrence of such reading on the false door in question probably brings the date of the introduction of this epithet slightly earlier than the Middle Kingdom, as stated by *Wb* II, 311 (10) citing CCG 20058, 20105; see also Fischer, *Varia*, 93; *TPC* II, pl. 39 (B).

<sup>972</sup> For instance, in a late Old Kingdom text the director of the dining pavilion *Hnm-ḥtp* says 'I went forth with my lord the count and god's treasurer *Tt* and my lord, the count, god's treasurer *Hwi* to Byblos and Punt' (*Urk* I, 140:17). Towards the end of the Herakleopolitan Period *Th* of Bersha says: 'I made a tomb in the desert plateau under the feet of (that) of my lord *Hsw*' (cf. *Bersheh* II, pl. XXI bottom, lines 13-14). A Middle Kingdom text from Edfu states 'I was one who followed his lord at his goings: I followed the count *S3-nqt* born of *Tb*' (cf. *ASAE* 22 (1922), 114).



The double stela with one architrave and one cavetto cornice is a design of false door which is not known before the Herakleopolitan Period. Since, it is likely that this stela was produced by the same workshop that designed and carved the chapels for the whole family, one would expect to see similar stylistic and architectural dating criteria appearing here: the full panel and the general design of the stela, palaeographic and epigraphic features are similar to those discussed in the stelae of *Ny-<sup>c</sup>nh-hr* and *Šdy* and *Sk-wsht 3<sup>c</sup>* and *Mwt-m-s3.s*. All point to a similar date, not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. If the reading of  as *nhnw* is correct that would probably brings the date of the introduction of this epithet slightly earlier than the Middle Kingdom as stated by *Worterbuch*.<sup>973</sup> Noteworthy are the rectangular shape of the bread determinative  which is usually elongated and round, and the writing of *λ* instead of  on the panel and cross bar of the right door. The occurrence of the beer jar determinative with handles  is expected during this period.<sup>974</sup>

(b) Side pieces:

The niche of these two individuals is the fourth one from left in this group. The left side piece belongs to *Sk-wsht hry-lb* while the right is dedicated to his probable younger brother *Sk-wsht nhnw*. Both these side piece are shared by other family members. The left one is shared between *Sk-wsht hry-lb* and his probable mother *Mwt-m-s3.s*. The right piece has also decoration on both of its faces, and is shared between *Sk-wsht* the younger and a probable third brother or nephew called *Mry*.

The left side piece measures 120.5 x 42.5 x 10.5 cm. It is divided into two sections. The top section displays an incised offering list. The bottom section displays two registers, the top one showing the usual table scene, with the deceased facing outwards sitting before an offering table. The scene is similar to that of *Sk-wsht 3<sup>c</sup>*, except that underneath the offering table is a tall *hs*-jar on a rectangular stand. The second register shows two offering bearers facing inwards, bringing different sorts of offering to the deceased.<sup>975</sup>

<sup>973</sup> See n. 79 above.

<sup>974</sup> Fischer, *BES* 9 (1987/88) 18; idem *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 18, fig. 2 (t-z); Petrie, *Abydos* II, pl. 25. Earlier examples of this writing are known from hieratic documents, cf. Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Paleography* (Baltimore, 1988), 46a-b (W 22).

<sup>975</sup> Cf. Abdalla, *JEA* 78, 103.

The right side piece measures 121 x 39 x 7.5 cm, with five registers of raised relief. The top four registers display a frieze decoration of oil jars, gold collars, bracelets, and bangles, similar to that of *Mwt-m-s3.s*. However here, on the fourth register, two battle axes are represented on either side of jewellery box. On the last register, the deceased is represented standing facing outwards, with short hair, wearing a broad collar, and a pointed kilt. He holds a long staff with one hand, while the other hand is extended along his side grasping a piece of cloth. Before him there is an ointment jar similar to that represented on the side pieces of *Šdy* and *Mwt-m-s3.s*.<sup>976</sup> Above this large ointment jar is a bowl, which is frequently encountered with toiletries on coffin friezes, particularly these which date to the Herakleopolitan Period and early Middle Kingdom,<sup>977</sup> and similarly appear in toiletry scenes from the same period.<sup>978</sup> This bowl is identified as a *m3h(r)tt* bowl, used for mixing eye-paint or grinding cosmetic material: it is notably that the bowl is represented here with the grinding stick inside.<sup>979</sup> The item represented just above this cosmetic bowl is probably no more than a napkin, similar to that presented by the maid-servants to their ladies on the side pieces of *Šdy*, *Mwt-m-s3.s*, and *Htp*.<sup>980</sup>

#### Dating:

The occurrences of the bangles and the bracelets, as well as the grinding kohl bowl are not known before the Herakleopolitan Period either in relief or in the coffin friezes.<sup>981</sup> Given these features, one would suggest a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. It is also probable that this niche predates that of *Mry* and *Htp*, whose artist probably used the reliefs of *Sk-wsh* the middle and *Sk-wsh* the younger as a models.

<sup>976</sup> Note that these toiletry items are identified wrongly by Abdalla, *JEA* 78, 103.

<sup>977</sup> Cf. G. Lapp, *Typologie*, Abb. 34 (c), 85 (a), 101 (f), 131 (d), 156, 182 (c); see also Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 130, figs. 348-352.

<sup>978</sup> Cf. Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, figs. 124, 136.

<sup>979</sup> Cf. Lapp, *GM* 94 (1986), 49-51, abb. 1-3. It is worth noting that this type of stick was also represented on its own next to the cosmetic bowl, cf. Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 130, fig. 346-352; Lapp, *Typologie*, Abb. 101 (f); cf. also Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi* I, pl. XVII.

<sup>980</sup> Cf. Abdalla, *JEA* 78, pls. XX (2), XXI (2), XXIII (2); cf. also Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 120-122, fig. 325; see also Fischer, *MMJ* 10 (1975), 148, fig. 7.

<sup>981</sup> Cf. Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, fig. 124, here above the cosmetic bowl is an inscription which reads 'black eye-paint', probably indicating the material ground in the bowl; cf. also *Mirrors*, fig. 136, the servant is seen presenting this cosmetic bowl together with a mirror to her lady. Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. 24; Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, Abb. 71, Taf. 6, 8, 9; cf. also Lapp, *Typologie*, Abb. 34 (c), 85 (a), 101 (f), 131 (d), 156, 182 (c); Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 130, figs. 348-352.



#### 4.3.5. Chapel of *Mry* and *htp* (XLV)

Bibl: Cairo JE 55618; Abdalla, *JEJ* 78 (1992), 105, fig. 6 (a), pl. XXIII. 3.

A double limestone false door stela, measuring 122 x 99 x 18 cm. Texts and figures on the jambs of both doors are incised, while the table scene and inscriptions on the panels are in raised relief. Colouring: some of the cornice leaves, large signs, collars, goose, are painted green; some other cornice leaves, skin of the male figure, some of the signs, lower part of *Ġ*, the leg of beef, lower part of the sealed jar on a ring stand, the cover of the ewer are painted red. The garments, lower part of the ewer, the upper part of the water jar are white. The torus moulding is yellow. Texts are arranged on both doors in a conventional way, each of the jambs of stelae having a single column of inscription, each ends on with a standing portrait for the deceased facing towards the central niche. The four figures on the left stela are identical except that the figures on the inner jambs show the deceased wearing a knee length kilt. Otherwise the deceased is depicted with short hair, a broad collar and a pointed kilt, holding a long staff with one hand, while the other hand is extended open at his side on the outer jambs, and grasping a short staff with curled tip on the inner jambs. On the right door *Htp*, most likely *Mry*'s wife, is depicted on the jambs standing facing the central niche. She wears a short wig with a side lock probably picturing her with an ideal of youth, a long tight-fitting dress, extending both of her hands open along her side.

Both panels are of that type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs, displaying the usual funerary meal scene. It is notable here that *Htp* is seen sitting on the left facing right on her panel, contrary to the position adopted by both *Šdy* and *Mwt-m-s3.s* on their false door panels where they sit on the right facing left to face their husbands on the opposite door panel.

#### Transliteration:

(H) not inscribed. (left stela) 1. (A) *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. (B) *ntr-ʿ3 n 3bdw prit hrw n.f n im3h Mry* 3. (C) *hpi .f m htp r imnyt nftr im3hw Mry* 4. (F) *priti hrw n.f n im3hw Mry* 5. (G) *priti hrw n.f n im3hw Mry* 6. (E) *im3hw hr nb.f Mry* 7. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3hw Mry*. (under the offering table) *dbht htp* (right stela) 1. (A) *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. (B) *ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw priti hrw n.s nfr m hrt-ntr im3ht Htp* 3. (C) *hpi.s m htp (m) htp r imntt sšm.ti.s in k3w.s im3ht Htp* 4. (F)

*prît hrw n.s nfr n im3ht Htp* 5. (G) *prît hrw n.s nfr n im3ht Htp* 6. (E) *im3ht hr Ht-hr Htp* 7. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3ht Htp* (underneath the table)  
*dbht htp*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, 2. the great god, lord of Abydos, a voice offering to him, to the honoured *Mry*. 3. May he depart in peace to the beautiful west, the revered *Mry*. 4. A voice offering to him, to the honoured *Mry*. 5. A voice offering to him to the revered *Mry*. 6. He who is honoured by his lord *Mry*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Mry*.  
 (under the offering table) Requirement of offering table.

(right stela) 1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, 2. the great god, lord of Abydos, a voice offering to her, beautifully in the necropolis, the revered *Htp*. 3. May she depart in peace (in) peace to the west, may she be guided by her *kas*, the honoured *Htp*. 4. A voice offering to her, beautifully, to the honoured *Htp*. 5. A voice offering to her beautifully, to the honoured *Htp*. 6. She who is honoured by Hathor *Htp*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Htp*.

Comments:

The relationship of the couple, probably husband and wife, to the rest of the family of *Sk-wsht* can only be seen in the light of the similarity of their chapel with those of the rest of the family, as well as sharing the side piece that separates their chapel from that of *Sk-wsht* the middle.

Dating:


The style and design of a double stela, the full type panel, clearly assigns this couple to a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare. The composition of the offering table, as well as the representation of *Htp* in a younger ideal portrait, points to a similar conclusion. The occurrence of the short staff with a curled tip,<sup>982</sup> is also indicative of a later date. According to Fischer this sort of staff made its first appearance during the

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<sup>982</sup> See above (4.3.1)



reign of Montuhotep II,<sup>983</sup> as also suggested by Brovarski.<sup>984</sup> However, the occurrence of such a staff on this false door, and its occurrence on contemporary monuments might bring its date slightly earlier than the reign of Montuhotep II, and later probably copied by Theban artists or by Memphite artists who were brought to Upper Egypt after the unification. Four members of the family of *Sk-wsht* are seen holding this sort of staff: *Sk-wsht*, *Sk-wsht* the middle, *Sk-wsht* the youngest, and *Mry*. It also appears on the stela of another individual, *Ny-ꜥnh-Hr*.<sup>985</sup> This short staff with curled tip is also known from the coffin friezes of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>986</sup>

The arrangement of *wsir nb*, the writing of *prIt hrw*, the abbreviation of the west ideogram, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* or *im3ht* as well as the addition of the filling stroke in the writing of *imnty*, all are expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. Noticeable here also is the determinative of the goddess Hathor : although known during the Old Kingdom, it was more frequently used during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>987</sup> The occurrence of the epithet *ntr-ꜥ3 nb 3bdw* as an epithet for Osiris indicates a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare, as does the occurrence of the adjective *nfr* followed by the adverbial phrase *m hrt-ntr* directly after *prIt-hrw*.

#### (b) Side pieces:

The niche of this couple was the first chapel from right, numbered by the excavator as (A). The left side piece is dedicated to *Mry*, and the right side piece is for the *Htp*, most likely *Mry*'s wife.<sup>988</sup>

The left side piece measures 121 x 39 x 7.5 cm. This side piece separates the niche of *Mry* and his wife from that of *Sk-wsht* the middle and *Sk-wsht* the youngest, hence it is decorated on both faces. The decoration of *Mry*'s side piece is divided into two sections: the upper section is decorated in incised relief with the offering menu.

<sup>983</sup> Fischer, *MMJ* 13 (1978), 9-10, n. 31.

<sup>984</sup> Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 241, n. 275.

<sup>985</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XVII (6).

<sup>986</sup> Cf. Gunn, Notebook 17; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 548; Lapp, *Typologie*, Abb. 45 (b); §§ 551, nr. 48.

<sup>987</sup> Cf. *Urk* I, 128:12; see also Fischer, *Dendera*, 33, n. 139; see also Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, 76; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, ch. 11 (6); Schenkel, *FMAŠ*, § 12; see also Chassinat and Palanque, *Assiout*, 27, 132; Lutz, *Stele*, no. 28.

<sup>988</sup> Cf. Abdallah, *JEA* 78 (1992), 105, pl. XXIII (1, 2), fig. 6 (b-c).

The bottom section displays two registers of raised relief. The top register shows the usual funerary meal scene, while the lower displays two offering bearers. Noteworthy here is the striking similarity of this decoration with that of the side piece of *Sk-wšht* the middle,<sup>989</sup> a resemblance which might suggest some sort of relationship between these two individuals.<sup>990</sup>

The right side piece measures 120.5 x 39 x 11.5 cm. It is decorated with five registers of raised relief. The top four registers display friezes of ointment jars, gold collars, necklaces, armlets, battle axes and paint-mixer bowl. The bottom register shows the deceased in a striding posture on the left facing outwards, wearing a long lappeted wig, a broad collar and a long tight-fitting dress, and extending her right hand open at her side, while she holds a lotus blossom to her nose with her left hand. Before her stands her maid-servant, who is pictured in a similar posture to that of her lady but in slightly small proportion. She presents her lady with a mirror and a napkin. Separating the two women is a large ointment jar. Before the deceased is written 'she who is honoured (by) *Ht-hr*, *Htp*', while the title and name of the maid-servant is written above her head 'she who belongs to the estate, *S3t-gmni*'.<sup>991</sup> The decoration of this side piece is similar to that of *Šdy* and *Mwt-ms3.s*, apart from the appearance of the battle axes, and the grinding kohl bowl and grinding pestle.<sup>992</sup> Both these features appear on the side piece of *Sk-wšht* the youngest, from which probably these features were probably copied on the side piece of *Htp*. If this suggestion is correct, it probably provides an alternative arrangement of the family false doors to that suggested by Abadalla.<sup>993</sup> Also noteworthy is the similarity of tasks of the post of *nt pr-dt* to that of *mn't* which appears in a similar context on the side piece of *Mwt-m-s3.s*.

#### Dating:

The golden bangles, the battle axes and the grinding bowl, with its pestle, as well as the presentation of the mirror are iconographic features which are not known before the Herakleopolitan Period. The abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht*, and the use of the filling

<sup>989</sup> See (4.3.4) above.

<sup>990</sup> For further discussion on the subject of the similarities in decoration between chapels, and its indication of kinship, see Harpur, *Decoration*, 21-26.

<sup>991</sup> For this office see above (3.8.1); Ward, *Index*, 101 (840); Fischer, *ZÄS* 105 (1978), 49.

<sup>992</sup> Above the grinding pestle is a pearl shape item, which is identified by Aly Abdalla as a pellet of incense. The pearl shape may represents an eye-paint bag, which is frequently seen with grinding bowl and stick on the coffin friezes.

<sup>993</sup> Cf. Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), 109.



stroke in the writing of *dt* <sup>3</sup> both point to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom, as does the formation of the name of the maid *S3t* + NN. A date during the reign of Merykare or slightly later is therefore suggested.

#### 4.3.6. The *Sk-wsht* family chapels. A review of the history of its excavation, family relations and genealogy (Plate XLVI).

This family tomb, whose individual elements are described above, was discovered by Firth and Gunn in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery during the second half of their 1921 excavation season. The exact location of these chapels is shown on a plan published by Firth and Gunn.<sup>994</sup> Further evidence on where this group of stelae were found is on unpublished photograph of a general view of the offering chapels in situ (Plate XLVI). In this photo one can clearly identify some still existing monuments.<sup>995</sup> A letter written on July 24, 1930, by Firth, to the Director General of the Antiquities Service reveals where this group of chapels was found.<sup>996</sup> Both the photograph and the letter show clearly that the family mastaba was located very close to the south-east corner of the mastaba of the well known Sixth Dynasty vizier *Nfr-sšm-R<sup>c</sup>* called *Ššī*, just in front (to the east) of the large uninscribed stela, or probably large door post, still standing at the south end of the *Rue de tombeaux*.

The letter sent by Firth mentions no burial shafts in relation to any of these stelae, which led Abdalla to suggest that the offering chapel was not a real burial place but a family cenotaph, assuming that the chapels and their false door stelae were put up long after the death of all the individuals whom they were commemorated. However, from the plan of the offering chapel and the old site photograph, it is clear that one is dealing with a well known mastaba plan, characteristic of the very end of the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period. This type is a communal mastaba, with an east-west orientated mud-brick funerary chapel in which a family member or a group of individuals put up their niches or stelae. Perhaps this type of communal mastaba was

<sup>994</sup> Cf. *TPC* II, pl. 51, note that the stelae are not mentioned in the texts; see also G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et Nubie* (Brussels, 1940), 15-17, n. 12; idem, *CdE* 14 (1939), 41

<sup>995</sup> See catalogue below.

<sup>996</sup> See Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), 93, n. 3; Gunn, Notebook, no. 12

created because of the over-populated cemeteries, lack of space and available funds for the individual to have a separate tomb. The fact that Firth failed to find the burial shafts or burial places of these individuals does not mean that they do not exist. In this context, it is worth mentioning that Gunn copied a coffin of man called *Sk-wsht*.<sup>997</sup> It is not inconceivable that he is the same *Sk-wsht* as the owner of the first niche and probably the family patron, and therefore come from his burial shaft. If this identification is correct, that would clearly oppose the cenotaph theory.<sup>998</sup>

The other point one worth raising here is the relationship between the people mentioned on this group of chapels. Their specific relationship is not clear, and it is difficult to draw a final conclusions without further understanding the overall development of the Herakleopolitan Period cemetery around the pyramid of Teti. Aly Abdalla suggests that *Ṭpi-ḥnw*, the *ka*-priest who appears on the right side piece of *Sk-wsht*'s niche, is related to the *Ṭpi-s3-Ḥt-ḥr* who later dedicated two offering tables: one to *Sk-wsht*, probably the head of this family, and another to both *Sk-wsht* the middle and *Sk-wsht* the youngest. Abdalla's suggestion was given on the grounds that both names have the element *Ṭpi* in their names, a suggestion which is speculative since names with the element *Ṭpi* are very common in the Memphite necropolis particularly in the cemeteries around the pyramid of Teti during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>999</sup> Abdalla's attempt to identify *Ṭpi-ḥnw*, with another *Ṭpi-ḥnw* the owner of HM 26<sup>1000</sup> is equally speculative. As a result his family genealogy is not definitive, since it is built on hypothetical identifications of the different individuals mentioned on the family chapels, and on the numerical order given by the excavator who numbered the niches from right to left, probably as they turned up at the time of the discovery.

However the order given by the excavator was not based on a detailed study of the chapels. If we accept the order given by the excavator as significant, one would automatically expect to find the niche of *Sk-wsht* the elder and his wife in position before that of the *Sk-wsht* the middle and *Sk-wsht* the younger, being the elder of three

<sup>997</sup> Gunn, Notebook, 17; Sq 1 sq = de Buck, *CT* IV (Chicago, 1951); V, VI (Chicago, 1956); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 548-9

<sup>998</sup> Abdalla himself suggests an identification of *Sk-wsht*, the owner of a coffin found in Teti pyramid cemetery, with the *Sk-wsht* the owner of the first niche in the family group, an identification which contradicts his suggestion that the chapel was a family cenotaph: *JEA* 78, 108, 110-111.

<sup>999</sup> Cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 22:13-20, including other sites than Memphis; cf. also PM III<sup>2</sup>, 957

<sup>1000</sup> Cf. *TPC* I, 50-51.



sons who bear the same name.<sup>1001</sup> It is also clear from the site photograph that the offering tables were placed on a rather higher level than the chapels, a fact which strongly suggests that these tables were added much later. It also suggests that *ṭpl-s3-Ht-hr*, the dedicator of two of these tables, was probably related to this family, and represents a later generation who still remembered his ancestors and commemorated their names. The representation of *ṭpl-ḥnw* wringing a duck's neck and presenting it to *Sk-wšht* hardly suggests a blood-kinship.<sup>1002</sup>

To sum up, It seems likely that the chapels were the products of a single workshop.<sup>1003</sup> Although they may all have been erected at the same time, they were probably decorated at different times. The chapels were erected against the west wall of a mud-brick offering chapel, which was the offering place of a large family communal mastaba. The five niches probably belong to four different generations of father, sons, and grandsons. The offering table seems to be added later: this is not only a conclusion from viewing the site photograph, but is also suggested on the grounds of the style and palaeography of these offering tables: both have typical Middle Kingdom features which do not appear on the chapels or the false doors. In the course of re-considering Abdalla's conclusions, some other points came to light which might suggest an alternative arrangement of the family tree. According to the priority of directions for the Ancient Egyptian, the left hand side is always the dominant position in term of iconography and chapel location. That stands against the alphabetic order given by the excavator, adopted by Abdalla, who numbered the niches from right to left.<sup>1004</sup> In this

<sup>1001</sup> This a genuine order in the Egyptian family internal hierarchy, particularly when iconography is concerned cf. Fischer, *Varia*, 88, fig. 8; idem, *Coptite Nome*, no. 4; Chicago FM 31700 = MacFarlane, *GM* 100 (1987), 63-73, fig. 2. all show that the elder son has a more prime position than the younger ones, in relation to the father.

<sup>1002</sup> The rite of wringing a duck's neck with out-stretched hand is seen frequently in Old Kingdom mastabas relief since late Fifth Dynasty, usually executed by priests, sons, attendants and ka-priests, see e.g. Brunner-Traut, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 27ff; Harpur, *Decoration*, 264-97; Brovarski, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* I, 99-100. The Old Kingdom iconography shows that this rite sometimes was made by sons (cf. Louvre C 160 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 31 = Brovarski, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* I, 109-112, fig. 6; CCG 20106) as well as by priests and other attendants (cf. Louvre E 25 508 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 20; LD Erg. VI, the rite is made in front of the deceased in each case by 'Inspector of the ka-priests'; Louvre E 14 184 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45, here practised by a 'Lector-priest'; Bologna B 1901 = Fischer, *Varia*, fig. 4, pl. II; Hassan, *Giza* III, fig. 39, the rite is preformed in both cases by a 'ka-priest'.

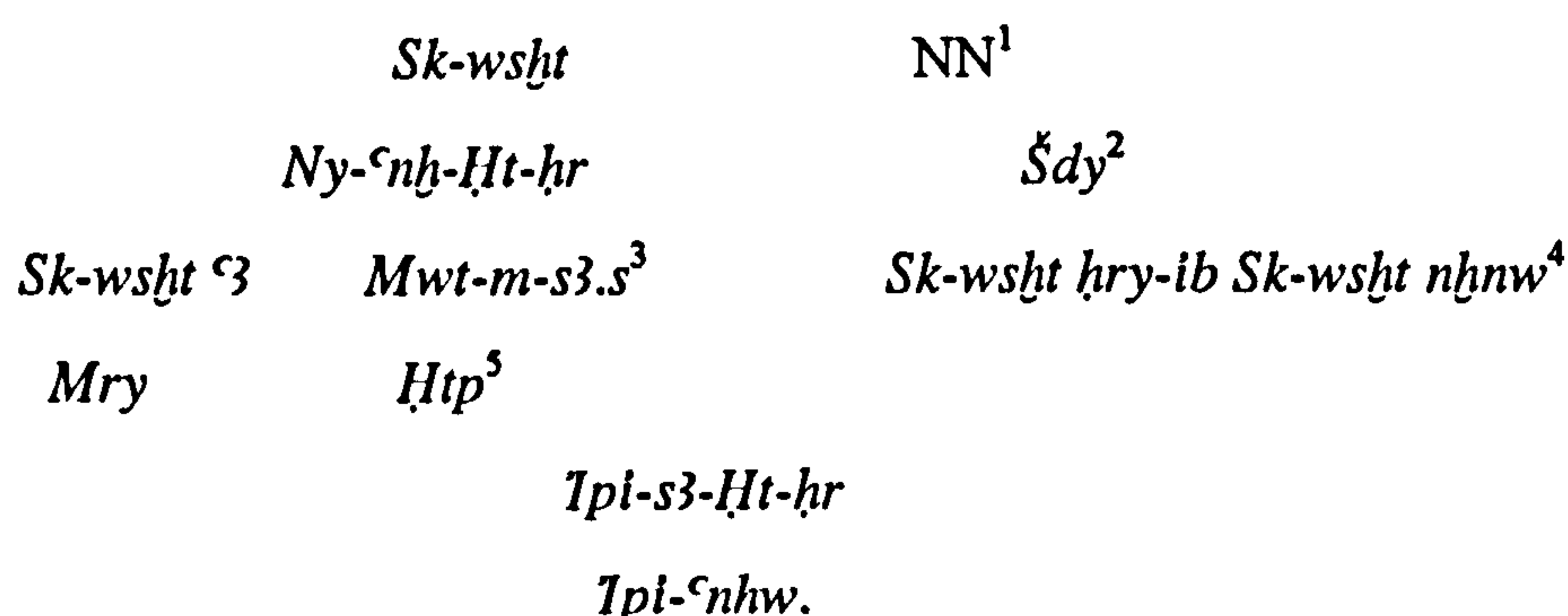
<sup>1003</sup> This can be seen in the light of the similarities between the stelae in terms of design and palaeographic features. The same can be suggested by the similarity of the decorations of the side pieces.

<sup>1004</sup> Cf. Fischer, *LÄ* V, 189-191; Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 2-3.



context also it is worth noting that the first chapel from left hand side is the closest to the cult temple of Teti.<sup>1005</sup> The similarity between the decorations on the side pieces of the second and third chapels may suggest that the artist who decorated the third chapel had access to that of *Ny-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hr* and *Šdy* before he started his work on the chapel of *Sk-wšht* ʕ3 and *Mwt-m-s3.s*, as is the case with the rest of the chapels.

The other consideration is the occurrence of the name of *Sk-wšht*, adopted by four members of this family. The first is named simply as *Sk-wšht*, the owner of the first niche on the left hand side. The second is identified as *Sk-wšht* ʕ3, while the third and fourth are known as *Sk-wšht hry-ib* and *Sk-wšht nhnw*. The use of the epithets here to distinguish either three brothers, or three grandsons. Leaving the first *Sk-wšht* without any further specification, may suggest that he was the patron of the family, and the other three members were named after him.<sup>1006</sup> If this hypothesis is correct, an alternative order for the family tree should be suggested, opposing that of Aly Abdalla.<sup>1007</sup>



The other issue is the dating of the five chapels, Abdalla mentions in the summary of his article "... offering niches from the private cenotaph of the *Sekwaskhet* family of the early Middle Kingdom". The typology, style, iconography, palaeography and orthography of the chapels suggest a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare. However, neither the style, decorations, nor the inscriptions suggest a date later than the Herakleopolitan Period or early Eleventh Dynasty. The only definite late Eleventh Dynasty, or early Twelfth Dynasty elements are the offering tables which were added later.<sup>1008</sup>

<sup>1005</sup> Note that the owner of this niche was 'Regulator of a Phyle and *hnty-š*-priest' probably in the cult temple of Teti, near which he chose to have his family tomb built.

<sup>1006</sup> For kinship established by the similarity in names, see Harpur, *Decoration*, 16-21.

<sup>1007</sup> The superscript numbers refers to the order of the niches form left to right.

<sup>1008</sup> For this type of offering table see, Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 13-14; cf. also the typical Middle Kingdom offering formulae *hup di nswt ... ... di.f prit-hrw...*, cf. Bennett, *JEA* 27 (1941), 77-82; see



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also Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 203-206. As well as other orthographic features which did not appear before the Middle Kingdom, or at least very late in the Eleventh Dynasty, cf. Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, 69-70; see also C. Obsomer, in *Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès* (Brussels, 1993), 163-200; Spanel, in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson II*, 765-772.

#### 4.4. The early occurrence of the epithet 'Osiris' in private inscriptions.

##### 4.4.1. Stela of *Tti* (Plate XLVII)<sup>1009</sup>

Bibl: Fischer, 'A stela of the Heracleopolitan Period at Saqqara: The Osiris Iti', *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 35-41, pl. V; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 567; Gunn MSS. R.6.4; XIV. 46 (3); Notebook, 9, No. 20.

*Tti*'s false door stela was found by Firth, possibly later than the seasons 1920-22 since it was not included in the *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*. It is made of limestone, and measures 126 x 67 x 21 cm. The stela displays the usual cavetto cornice, and torus moulding, with the expected recessed bordering frame outside the torus moulding. On the lintel there are two horizontal lines of hieroglyphic text running from right to left. Each of the outer jambs has two vertical columns of text, while the inner jambs were left blank. At the end of the inscription on each jamb there is a figure of the deceased standing looking towards the central niche. These figures also serve as the determinative to the inscriptions identifying the stela's owner. On the right jamb, the deceased is represented with short hair, wearing a broad collar, and long kilt,<sup>1010</sup> holding a long staff with one hand, and the other hand is hanging open at his side. On the left jamb *Tti* appears with a shoulder-length wig which leaves his ears exposed, and a broad collar and a pointed kilt, and holding the usual long staff and baton. On the cross-bar is a horizontal line of hieroglyphs running from right to left. The panel is of the type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs. It displays the usual funerary meal scene: *Tti* sits on the left on a low-back chair, wearing a shoulder length wig, a broad collar, and a knee-length kilt. He extends his right hand towards a table covered with a conventionalised row of tall half-loaves of bread, surmounted by a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck, while his left hand is clenched on his chest holding a folded cloth.. At his feet, under the long forked stand of the offering table, are a basin and ewer resting on a small rectangular stand. Above the offering table is a brief ideographic list of offerings, in which the hieroglyph signs are directed towards the deceased.

<sup>1009</sup> The name *Tti* was familiar during the Old Kingdom in both the Memphite area and in the provinces, for example see, PM III<sup>2</sup>, 450, 491, 676, 677, 692, 774. The name was also held by women, see e.g. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 456 (name of the mother of *M33-nfr*), 478, 623, 674.

<sup>1010</sup> The thigh-length skirt is typical of representations of older men, and probably indicates a measure of authority, see Fischer, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 17-22.



Transliteration:

1. (A) *htp di nswt, lnpw tpy dw.f lmy wt nb t3 dsr prit-hrw nt hry-hb Tti* 2. *htp di nswt hnty sh-ntr qrs.ti. f nfr m hrt-ntr hry-hb smsw Tti* 3. (B) *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty m33 nfrw nb.w.f* 4. *hry-hb smsw iry nfr h3t m sskr nb.w.f Tti* 5. (C) *hry hb lmy rnpt hry sst3 n pr-dw3t* 6. *hry hb smsw hm-ntr Mn.w nb ipw im3h.w Tti* 7-8 [F-G are blank] 9. (E) *hry-hb tw n dšrt wr id.t Tti* 10. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 sš h3 mnht .* 11. *n wsir Tti*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the wt, lord of sacred land, a voice offering of the Lector Priest *Tti*. 2. An offering which the King gives and he who presides over the divine booth, that he be beautifully buried in the necropolis, Senior Lector Priest *Tti*. 3-4. Sole companion, he who sees the beauty of his lords, Senior Lector Priest, Keeper of the Head-dress in Ornamenting his Lords *Tti*. 5-6. Lector Priest who is in the year (of service), Privy to the Secret of the House of Morning, Senior Lector Priest, Prophet of Min lord of *Ipw*, the revered *Tti*. 7-8.(blank). 9. Lector Priest, he who supports the red (crown, land), Great of Fumigation *Tti*. 10. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand clothes 11. for the Osiris *Tti*.

Comments:

Many of the titles held by *Tti* are related to his office as *hry-hb*.<sup>1011</sup> as a lector priest, he was responsible for directing and reciting the daily rituals in the cult establishment in which he was employed. It is well known from tomb reliefs as well as the funerary temples of the Old Kingdom that the lector priest played an essential role in the funeral and temple ceremonies.<sup>1012</sup> The title *hry-hb* appears on the stela of *Tti* in three different forms, which do not, perhaps, reflect the internal hierarchy of the *hry-hb* priesthood as much as they probably describes different groups of priests associated with this institution and concerned with different tasks.

<sup>1011</sup> For the reading of the *hry-hb.t* see K. Sethe, 'Miszellene' *ZAS* 70 (1934), 134. The title of *hry-hb* appears as early as the Second Dynasty, usually held by the crown prince cf. Kaplony, *Inschriften*, 518; and by high officials from at least the Third Dynasty, cf. *Ibid*, 403-4; 449-50, Taf. 86, Abb. 324.

<sup>1012</sup> Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), 213ff; Gardiner, *AEO* II, 56\*-58\*; see also Kees, *ZAS* 87 (1962), 124ff; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives* II, 583, 635-6.

The second and the third forms are the most interesting and deserve some comments: *hry hb smsw* 'Senior Lector Priest',<sup>1013</sup> a title which possibly does not appear before the mid Sixth Dynasty. The earliest dated example is of the time of Pepy I.<sup>1014</sup> Fischer, on the grounds of iconographic evidence from the sanctuary of the funerary temple of Pepy II,<sup>1015</sup> suggests that this group of *hry-hb* priests usually appears in a distinctive outfit. They are seen wearing a shoulder-length wig, with a sash tied across the waist and over the shoulder and a pointed kilt. However, from the scene contexts, it is probable that this outfit was worn on special occasions, since priests of the same rank appear in the same temple with ordinary clothes like the other officials, in which case they are encountered as offering bearers. There is also evidence that such attire is worn by an ordinary lector priests, such as in the sun-temple at Abusir,<sup>1016</sup> and the same outfit is worn by *smr-w'ty* officials in the temple of Pepy II.<sup>1017</sup> It is probable that this was simply a ceremonial outfit, since it usually appear in ritual scenes in Old Kingdom tombs.<sup>1018</sup> The position and rank of *hry hb smsw* priest inside the internal hierarchy of the *hry-hb* priesthood has been discussed by James who argues that the multiplicity of examples of these priests in the funerary temple of Pepy II is indicative of a significant division inside the hierarchy itself. He adds that they might be honorary lector priests, perhaps exercising ceremonial duties occasionally as cadets.<sup>1019</sup> Fischer agrees with James that the *hry hb smsw* is not a degree of command but, contra James, he considers them lector priests with a considerable degree of experience and knowledge which gave them the right to add *smsw* to their title,<sup>1020</sup> to acknowledge their seniority within the different groups of both *hry-hb* and *hry-hb hb hry tp*.<sup>1021</sup>

I know of at least twenty seven cases of officials and priests with the title *hry-hb smsw* in addition to the owner of the present stela, which come from Saqqara. None of these

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<sup>1013</sup> For the phonetic value of  in the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom see Fischer, *Varia*, 87-93.

<sup>1014</sup> *Urk* I, 98; 15.

<sup>1015</sup> Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, II, pls. 48-59; see also in addition, e.g. Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. XIII; Lloyd et al., *Saqqara Tombs II*, pl. 23.

<sup>1016</sup> Von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re*, II, e.g. pl. 6 (13), 9 (20), 16 (39).

<sup>1017</sup> Jéquier, op. cit. III, pl. 35.

<sup>1018</sup> See Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), 213ff.

<sup>1019</sup> T.G.H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi* (London, 1953), 43 (19).

<sup>1020</sup> Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 38.

<sup>1021</sup> *TPC*, pl. 54.



individuals is to be dated before the Sixth Dynasty, and probably not even before the time of Pepy I. The title continued to be held during the last phase of the Memphite regime, during the Herakleopolitan Period and also during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1022</sup> The following is a list of the officials who held the title *hry-hb smsw* during the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period:

1. *Wr-k3-b3* Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 113-4, pl. 63b-e; Junker, *Giza XI*, 89-90.<sup>1023</sup>
2. *Mmi* Kanawati, *Excavations at Saqqara I*, 26, pl. 12.
3. *K3-gm.n.l* Ibid, pl. 24.
4. *Hwi* Lloyd et al., *Saqqara Tombs II*, 35, pl. 23.<sup>1024</sup>
5. *Mrrl* Davies et al, *Saqqara Tombs I*, pl. 11.
6. *Ssi* Son of Neferseshemre, see Capart, *Rue de tombeaux II*, pl. XV.
7. *Dd-Tti* Son of Khentika/ Ikhekhi, see, James, *Khentika*, 43 (19).
8. *Mtty/Mmi* Gunn MSS XV. 36, note 10 no. 46.
9. *Mry-r<sup>c</sup>nh/Iri* Berlin Mus Inv. Nr. 18/67. Possibly from Saqqara.
10. *Šm3i* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 687; Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, fig. 26.
11. *Rdi-hnm* Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, II, pl. 72.
12. *...Issi* Ibid., 60.
13. *Ppl-nh* Ibid, pl. 59.
14. *Irry* Ibid, pl. 59.
15. *Ir-n-Ppi* Ibid, pl. 59.
16. *Sšm-nfr* Ibid, pl. 57.

<sup>1022</sup> See Ward, *Index*, 141: 1209a, 1210; see also, *TPC II*, pl. 54; CCG 20185e, 20515c; *BMAA* 29 (Nov. 1934) pt. 2, 26; *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 17; see also Fischer, *Titles*, 29-30, 78.

<sup>1023</sup> The statue was dated by the excavator to the Fourth Dynasty. Smith in his study of Old Kingdom sculpture reconsidered the stylistic dating criteria and re-dated the statue to the Sixth Dynasty (cf. Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 87). Noticeable here in the titles of Werbaba (Werbakhnum) is the association of the *hry-hb.t smsw* with *db3.t* room, see Fischer, *ZAS* 86 (1961), 25. n.1; Kees, *RT* 36 (1914), 1-3, 15-6. On the meaning and function of *db3.t* see Junker, *Giza I*, 241; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 38; Roccati, *Littérature*, 191; James, *Khentika*, 10; see also N. Beaux, 'La douat dans les Textes des pyramides Espace et temps de gestation' *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 1-6. It seems that the word *db3.t* relates to the King's wardrobe since it is usually associated with the royal toilet. cf. Kees, op. cit., 1-3; See also, Lloyd et al., *Saqqara Tombs II*, 35, n. 5.

<sup>1024</sup> Note that Lloyd read the title as two separate offices.

17. *ʿnh-ḥti* Ibid, pl. 57.
18. .... *ḥry-ḥb smsw n (nfr-k3-rʿ) (mry-n-rʿ)*, cf. Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, fig. 26.
19. .... Idem, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig 122, from the tomb (M. V) of the vizier *Šnʿi*
20. *Hnm-ḥtp* Ibid, fig 126.
21. *3bbi* TPC, pl. 78 (1).
22. *Ny-ʿnh-Ppi* Hassan, *Saqqara II*, 22, pl. XXII (c).
23. *Hnw* Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. IX (4).
24. *Hti* Ibid, pl. XI.
25. *ṯpi-m-s3.f* Ibid, p. XVI.
26. *ṯy-wny/impy* Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VII.
27. *ʿmw* Jéquier, *ASAE* 35 (1935), 149, fig. 15.

The title in question is rarely held by officials outside Memphis. Only three cases are known to me, and two of these were closely associated with the residence. The first of these is known to have started his career and spent much of it at the capital. It is likely that he held the title in discussion while serving there. These officials are:

1. *Wni* *Urk* I, 98:15.
2. *Hw-n-wh* *ASAE* 3 (1902), 258; El-Khouli and Kanawati, *Quseir el-Amarna*, 34 (30).
3. *Idi* Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. XIII; Kanawati, *Hagarsa I*, 27, n. 60, 62.

The other interesting form is the title *ḥry-ḥb imy rnp.t* 'Lector Priest who is in the year', a title which points to a later date, since it does not appear before the end of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>1025</sup> The phrase following the priestly title no doubt refers to the period in which he served (his year of service). It is probably comparable to the Middle Kingdom title *imy 3bd* 'who is in (his) month (of service)'.<sup>1026</sup> It is worth noting that this phrase occurs during the Old

<sup>1025</sup> Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 35-41.

<sup>1026</sup> *Wb* I, 65.6. Note that the phrase here could also be descriptive of the monthly service rather than a rank of command.



Kingdom referring to the monthly service of the phyles in the temples and private tombs.<sup>1027</sup> Although the *hry-hb* priests were one of four class of temple functionaries,<sup>1028</sup> they do not seem to have been organised into the temple phyle system.<sup>1029</sup> However, the phrase *imy rnp.t* might suggest that this priesthood had its own rotation system which must have been much longer than the ten-month cycle used by the ordinary phyle members.<sup>1030</sup> This could mean that they were regular staff of the temple cult, as was the case during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1031</sup> One example known to come from South Saqqara which dates to the end of the Sixth Dynasty is that of *Šm3i* who is *hry-hb smsw imy-rnp.t*. 'Senior Lector Priest who is in the year (of service)'.<sup>1032</sup> Two examples appeared on monuments of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Teti Pyramid cemeteries, that of *Hnw* who was also 'Senior Lector Priest who is in the year',<sup>1033</sup> and that of *IpI-m-s3.f*.<sup>1034</sup> At least four officials holding this title appear on the south and north walls of the offering chapel of *Thy* of the early Twelfth Dynasty from the same site.<sup>1035</sup> These are:

<i>Hwy-wr</i>	<i>hry-hb hry tp smsw imy rnp.t</i> 'Senior Chief Lector Priest who is in the year of service'.
<i>Tti-m-s3.f-wr</i>	Ditto.
<i>Hti-ꜥnh</i>	<i>hry-hb smsw imy rnp.t</i> 'Senior Lector priest who is in the year'
<i>Tti-m-s3.f-šri</i>	Ditto

The four priests wear their ceremonial or official dress: the shoulder-length wig, knee-length kilt and sash tied around the waist and over the front shoulder.<sup>1036</sup>

<sup>1027</sup> See Steindorff, *Ti*, pl. 17.

<sup>1028</sup> A.M. Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1991), 77-84.

<sup>1029</sup> This view is reflected in the service tables II and III from Abusir papyri, see Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abusir Papyri*, pls. 3,4 (table II), pls 84c, 86a (table III); *ibid*, 583.

<sup>1030</sup> Roth, *op. cit.*, 8; see also, Kees, *Or* 17 (1948), 79-86.

<sup>1031</sup> See Blackman, in J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, X (New York, 1918), 30; *AEO* I, 56\*. See also the Kahun account, L. Borchardt, *ZAS* 40, 113-16; Kees, *Or* 17 (1948), 314-5.

<sup>1032</sup> Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, 39, fig. 26.

<sup>1033</sup> Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1906-1907*, 17, pl. IX (4) where 𓂏 is a typographical error for 𓂏.

<sup>1034</sup> He is senior lector priest who is in the year. Cf. Quibell, *ibid*, p. 16. Note the same typographic error.

<sup>1035</sup> *TPC* II, pl. 54.

<sup>1036</sup> See also of the other occurrences of this title in the Middle Kingdom, Ward, *Index*, 141: 1203, 1209b; *BMA* 29 (Nov. 1934), pt. 2, 26; CCG 20185; Fischer, *Titles*, 29-30, 78.

*smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty* 'Sole Companion' needs no explanation but it is also indicative of a close association with the court.<sup>1037</sup> AT the end of the Old Kingdom, the holders of this office seem to be lay-personnel in the royal court particularly carrying the tasks of royal envoys,<sup>1038</sup> indicating a level of delegated royal authority.<sup>1039</sup>

The title *hry sšt3 n pr-dw3.t* 'Privy to the Secret of the House of Morning':<sup>1040</sup> this title is evidently associated with that of *hry-hb*. Blackman in his study on the 'House of Morning' points out that such a link is frequently attested.<sup>1041</sup> Fischer provides an example which is particularly indicative of such link, one is 'Senior Lector Priest of the House of Morning'.<sup>1042</sup> Here is a list of officials who bore both titles 'Privy to the Secret of the House of Morning' and *hry-hb*. This list is not in a chronological order:

- |                                |                               |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>3ht-htp/hmi</i>          | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 627-9.  |
| 2. <i>Iy-nfr.t/š3nf</i>        | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 616.    |
| 3. <i>Iwn-minw</i>             | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 237.    |
| 4. <i>Iwn-r<sup>c</sup></i>    | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 234.    |
| 5. <i>Išfi/twtw</i>            | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 515.    |
| 6. <i>nh-mry-r<sup>c</sup></i> | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 621-2.  |
| 7. <i>W3š-ptḥ/Isi</i>          | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 456.    |
| 8. <i>B3-b3.f</i>              | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 155-7.  |
| 9. <i>Mrrw-k3.l/Mri</i>        | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 525-36. |
| 10. <i>Mry-Tti</i>             | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 536.    |
| 11. <i>Mrry</i>                | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 518-19. |
| 12. <i>Mḥw</i>                 | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 619-22. |
| 13. <i>Pṯḥ-špss</i>            | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 340-2.  |
| 14. <i>Ny-nh-r<sup>c</sup></i> | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 234-5.  |

<sup>1037</sup> See Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 111-5, 124-5.

<sup>1038</sup> Cf. Martin-Pardey, *SAK* 11 (1984), 233.

<sup>1039</sup> Eyre in, *The Unbroken Reed* (London, 1995), 110.

<sup>1040</sup> Graefe, *LÄ* IV, 205.

<sup>1041</sup> Blackman, *JEA* 5, 155; see also Junker who came to the same conclusion, *Giza* VII, 233; Idem, *ASAE* 49, 208.

<sup>1042</sup> *TPC* II, pl. 78 (1); Fischer, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 25.



- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| 15. <i>Ḥnti-k3.Ḳḥi</i> | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 508-11.   |
| 16. <i>Šš</i>          | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 689.  |
| 17. <i>Stw</i>         | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 577.  |
| 18. <i>Šm-k3-r</i>     | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 125.  |
| 19. <i>Šm-nfr</i> III  | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 153-4.  |
| 20. <i>K3.i</i>        | CCG 57048; Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 144.                                      |
| 21. <i>K3.i-nfr</i>    | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 893; Ziegler, <i>RdE</i> 31 (1971), 120-34.                       |
| 22. <i>Tp-m-ḥ</i>      | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 483.  |
| 23. <i>Ti</i>          | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 468-78.   |
| 24. <i>Sḥw-Pth</i>     | CCG 37; <i>Statuen</i> I, 36.   |
| 25. <i>Ttw</i>         | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 537.  |
| 26. <i>Wrnw</i>        | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 519; <i>ASAE</i> 43, 496.   |
| 27. <i>Ḥwi</i>         | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 519; <i>ASAE</i> 43, 502.   |
| 28. <i>Ppl-snb</i>     | PM III <sup>2</sup> , 520.  |
| 29. <i>Dbḥ.n.i</i>     | LD, II, 36; Hassan, <i>Giza</i> , IV, 164, figs. 115, 122, 128.                         |
| 30. <i>Ḥmmnw</i>       | LD, II, 54g.  |
| 31. <i>ḥt-ḥtp</i>      | Ziegler, <i>Le mastaba d'Akhetetep</i> (Paris, 1993), 100; PM III <sup>2</sup> , 634-7. |
| 32. <i>Nb-k3w-ḥr</i>   | Hassan, <i>Saqqara</i> I, 2-3.  |
| 33. <i>Ny-ḥ-Ppl</i>    | Idem, <i>Saqqara</i> II, 22, pl. XXII(c).   |
| 34. <i>Ny-k3-nswt</i>  | Junker, <i>Giza</i> , II, 159.  |
| 35. ....               | Kaplony, <i>RAR</i> IIA, 367-9.   |

From this list it is possible to draw some conclusions. The officials who were 'Privy to the Secret of the House of Morning' were normally lector priest, naturally in order to recite the proper spells during different process of ornamentation, and dressing of the King.<sup>1043</sup> However, there are some exceptions where officials held the title *ḥry sšt3 n pr-dw3.t*, without pursuing a

<sup>1043</sup> The act not the context might be compared with the special spells or verses said during the daily toilet in Muslim religion.

career as lector priest, but in these cases the tombs of the officials are not complete and the title of *hry-hb* may well have been once attested, but now lost. These are:

<i>Wp-m-nfr</i>	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> , II, 179.
<i>K3.i-m-nfr</i>	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> , II, 112, fig. 14 (B).
<i>Ms-s3</i>	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> , V, 291, fig. 152 (lintel).
<i>Htp-k3.i</i>	Martin, <i>The Tomb of Hetepka</i> (London, 1979), 6. (incomplete falsedoor).
<i>Tsi-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>BMHT</i> I, pl. 24 (No. 1383).
<i>Hnm-htp</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 578; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 311-2
<i>R<sup>c</sup>-wr</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 265.
<i>Sfw</i>	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> , V, fig. 116; PM III <sup>2</sup> , 253.
<i>Niwtj</i>	<i>LD</i> II, 89 a.
<i>H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 277. Note that he was a royal hair-dresser.
<i>Šdi-ptḥ/Šdw</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 545; Strudwick, <i>JEA</i> 71 (1985), 44-5, pl. III (2).
<i>Gm.n.i</i>	<i>TPC</i> I, 198 incomplete false door.

Being a court function the office 'Privy to the Secret of the House of Morning' is rarely attested for provincial officials: at Dendera the title is attested for *Mrry-ikr*.<sup>1044</sup> In the 2nd Upper Egyptian Nome, the title is held by *Mry-r<sup>c</sup>-nfr/Q3r*,<sup>1045</sup> and the title is also held by *Ppi-<sup>c</sup>nh-hry-ib* of the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome,<sup>1046</sup> and possibly is held by *T3wtj* of the 7th Upper Egyptian Nome.<sup>1047</sup> All of them held the title *hry-hb* which possibly qualified them to assist the king in his daily toilet in the house of morning. The appearance of such rank in the titulary of provincial officials might indicate that they resided at the capital for a period early in their career.<sup>1048</sup>

<sup>1044</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 136-53.


<sup>1045</sup> Daressy, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 132.

<sup>1046</sup> Blackman, *Meir* IV, pls. 4, 4a.

<sup>1047</sup> Montet, *Kêmi* 6 (1936), 103.



<sup>1048</sup> Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 261.



*wr id.t*<sup>1049</sup> Gunn translated this title as 'Great One of Lustration'.<sup>1050</sup> Drioton pointed out the association of this title with that of *hry-hb* and translated the two together as 'Cérémonaire fumigateur'.<sup>1051</sup> Both James and Fischer translate the title as 'Great of Incense (or Censing)'.<sup>1052</sup> On the other hand Kaplony links the title with water rituals as he translates it as 'Grosser der Wasserspende'.<sup>1053</sup> The etymology of the word *id.t*<sup>1054</sup> *id.t* represent a hand letting fall drops.<sup>1055</sup> These drops usually appear in a granular shape, perhaps granular seeds of an aromatic plant (e.g. incense), or sprinkled water drops. However the word *id.t* appears in association with what are possibly aromatic oils, perhaps to give the meaning of the fragrance or aroma of those oils,<sup>1056</sup> or alternatively it might indicate that such oils were made of compressed aromatic grains, such incense.<sup>1057</sup> The word *id.t* and its verb *idi* appear frequently in the Pyramid Texts,<sup>1058</sup> from which two spells leave no doubt that *id.t* was associated with fragrance, sweet scent, and incense.<sup>1059</sup> *Pyr.* 365b: 'he ascends on the smoke of the great *id.t*', and *Pyr.* 456c: 'thy nose smells the *idw.t* of the land of *šsmṯ*'.<sup>1060</sup> *id.t* is also represented as a palm with a jar letting water fall ,<sup>1061</sup> possibly iconography and the Middle Kingdom

<sup>1049</sup> Note the late Old Kingdom title *hry id.t pr-ḥ*. 'Director of Censing (fumigation) of the Great House' see, Maspero, *Mémoire publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* I, 205-7 (9); in *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 672, here Malek translates the title as 'Director of Washing of the Hands of the Great House'.

<sup>1050</sup> *TPC* I, 133 (30).

<sup>1051</sup> Drioton, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 496. See also H. Junker, 'Zu den Titlen des  ', *ASAE* 49 (1949), 207-8.

<sup>1052</sup> See James, *Khentika*, pl. XXIV (157); see also, Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 38-9.

<sup>1053</sup> P. Kaplony, 'Wasser', in *LÄ* VII, 18-19, 24.

<sup>1054</sup> *Wb* I, 152:6-12.

<sup>1055</sup> Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, D 46.

<sup>1056</sup> Cf. *tpi hst id.t* 'the best fragrant-oil', *Wb* V, 290 (19). Note also that *id.t* appears in the oil-list during the Old Kingdom, see Altenmüller and Moussa, *Nianchchnum*, 107, Nr. 32; Altenmüller, *SAK* 4 (1976), 25. A relief fragment of the Herakleopolitan Period from Matariya (Abd el-Gelil, *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 150, fig. 2 a.) shows an official censing in front of the tomb owner's statue followed by the caption 'Bringing of incense and the best chosen *id.t* (fragrant-oil)'.

<sup>1057</sup> See P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit*, I (Wiesbaden, 1963), 305. Note that Kaplony translates *id.t* as 'Tau' meaning 'dew'.

<sup>1058</sup> E.g. *Pyr.* 1204e; 276a; 295a-b; 1390c.

<sup>1059</sup> Note the Middle Kingdom title *imr-r ḥnwty n id.t* 'Overseer of the Storeroom of *id.t* (fragrant oil or aromatic grain e.g. incense granule)', cf. Ward, *Index*, 74: 76; cf. *Ägyptische Inschriften* I, 180.

<sup>1060</sup> For the land of *šsmṯ* see Erman, *ZÄS* 20 (1882), 204; Newberry, in *Studies Presented to F.Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), 321-23; Nibbi, *JEA* 62 (1976), 45-56; Staehelin, *LÄ* V, 586-7; Schmitz, *LÄ* V, 587-90.

<sup>1061</sup> Cf. the writing of *id.t* in the titles of the Fifth Dynasty official *Ti* (personal examination).

confusion with the word *l3d.t*,<sup>1062</sup> led Kaplony to associate the title *wr ldt* with water giving or distributing.<sup>1063</sup>

The other criterion which can help in explaining this title is its association with other known professions. Drioton noted the link of this title with that of *hry-hb*,<sup>1064</sup> as did Junker.<sup>1065</sup> It is worth looking at the holders of the office of *wr ldt* during the Old Kingdom, to verify such a conclusion.<sup>1066</sup> These holders are arranged here in chronological order as follows:

Names	Bibl	Titles	Date
<i>Htp-rdi.f</i>	CCG I; L. Borchardt, <i>Statuen</i> I, 1-2, Bl. 1; PM III <sup>2</sup> , 864.	<i>wr ldt (n) pr dšr</i>	II-III Dynasties.
<i>Dw3-n-r<sup>c</sup></i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 148; Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 162 (161)	<i>imy-ls iry-p<sup>c</sup>t ʿ-dw3w ʿd</i> <i>mr imw wr ldt</i>	Mid Dyn. IV.
<i>B3-b3.f</i>	Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 82	<i>imy-ls iry-p<sup>c</sup>t ʿ-dw3w ʿd</i> <i>mr dw3 Hr hnty-pt wr ldt</i> He also held the title <i>hry-hb hry tp hry sšt3 n pr dw3t</i>	Early Dyn. V.
<i>Šhm-k3.i</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 127; LD, II, 89c; <i>Ägyptische Inschriften</i> I, 8-9	<i>hry-hb hry sšt3 wr ldt</i>	Mid Dyn. V.

<sup>1062</sup> *Wb* I, 152: 36.  
<sup>1063</sup> Kaplony, *LÄ*, VII, 18-19.  
<sup>1064</sup> Drioton, *ASAE* 43, 496.  
<sup>1065</sup> Junker, *Giza* VII, 233; idem, *ASAE* 49, 208.  
<sup>1066</sup> For a different treatment see Fischer, *JNES* 19 (1960), 267 (x).



<i>W3š-ptḥ</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 456; M. Mogensen, <i>Inscriptions hiéoglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague</i> (Copenhagen, 1918), 9 (V).	<i>ḥry-ḥb ḥry tp ḥry sšt3 n mdw-nṯr smr wꜥty wr idt</i>	Mid Dyn. V.
<i>Ny-k3w-nswt</i>	CCG 1307; <i>Denkmäler des alten Reiches</i> , Bl.1	<i>ḥry-ḥb sš mḏ3t wr idt</i>	Mid Dyn. V.
<i>Rꜥ-wr</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 242; Hassan, <i>Giza V</i> , 296, fig. 158.	<i>ḥry-ḥb wr idt</i>	Late Dyn. V. <sup>1067</sup>
<i>Ti</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 468-78; Wild, <i>Le tombeau de Ti</i> , I-II (Cairo, 1939-53), pls. XLV, LVII, CIII, CIV.	<i>ḥry sšt3 n pr dw3t wr idt</i>	Late Dyn. V.
<i>K3.i-m-rꜥ</i>	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 179; PM III <sup>2</sup> , 487.	<i>ḥry ḥb ḥry tp sš mḏ3t nṯr smsw snwt ꜥ-dw3w wr idt</i>	Late Dyn. V.
<i>Mrrw-k3.i/Mri</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 525-35; Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> , II, pl. 217 (A).	<i>i3m-ꜥ smr wꜥty ḥry ḥb wr idt</i>	Early Dyn. VI
<i>Ḥnti-k3.i/Thḥi</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 508-11; James, <i>Khentika</i> , pl. XXIV (157).	<i>wr idt ḥry-ḥb ḥry tp</i>	Pepy I.
<i>Wrnw</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 519; <i>ASAE</i> 43,	<i>ḥry-ḥb wr idt ḥry sšt3 n pr</i>	Mid Dyn. VI.

<sup>1067</sup> Two rather different dates have been suggested for this tomb. Reisner, for reasons which are not clear, dated it to the late Fourth Dynasty or early Fifth Dynasty (*Giza I*, 152 (5)), while Baer prefers the Sixth Dynasty, quoting the painted decoration in the burial chamber, the alignment of this chamber and its sloping shaft, cf. *Rank and Title*, 98 (299).

	496; Davies et al., <i>Saqqara Tombs I</i> , pls. 26-9.	<i>dw3t</i>	
<i>Hwy</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 519; <i>ASAE</i> 43, 502; Lloyd et al., <i>Saqqara Tombs II</i> , pl. 21.	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty hry-ḥb smsw db3t wr idt</i>	Mid to Late Dyn VI.
<i>ḥnh-Tti</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 519-20; <i>ASAE</i> 43, 504; Kanawati, <i>Saqqara I</i> , pl. 19. <sup>1068</sup>	<i>hry-ḥb, wr id.t</i>	Mid to Late Dyn. VI.
<i>Ny-ḥnh-Minw</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 520; <i>ASAE</i> 43, 505.	<i>hry-ḥb, wr idt</i>	Ditto
<i>Mmi</i>	Kanawati, <i>Saqqara I</i> , pl. 12.	<i>hry-ḥb wr idtsmsw hry sšt3 n mdw ntr sš md3t ntr</i>	L. OK.
<i>Irrty-ḥnh Tti/Hti</i>	Quibell, <i>Saqqara</i> 1905/06, pl XI	<i>hry ḥb smsw wr idt</i>	L. OK or Herakleopolitan Period. <sup>1069</sup>

The above list evidently verifies that the title *wr id.t* is associated with that of *hry-ḥb*,<sup>1070</sup> a fact which might indicate the ritual and ceremonial function of the *wr id.t*. It is interesting to

<sup>1068</sup> Kanawati assigns the title to the elder son of *Ttww*, named *Int.f*. On the other hand Drioton assigned both titles to *ḥnh-Tti*, an association which might be supported by the ceremonial dress worn by the younger son.

<sup>1069</sup> *wr id.t* also occurred frequently during the Middle Kingdom. See *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 17; *Ägyptische Inschriften I*, 170; *BMHT IV*, pl. 3 (line 4); M. Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, MÄS 26 (Berlin, 1972), Taf. 3.; see also Ward, *Index*, no. 716; Fischer, *Titles*, 62. It is worth noting that the Middle Kingdom title *wr id.t m pr nswt* 'great one of fumigation in the King's palace', associates *wr id.t* with the king's palace, a link which recalls the late Old Kingdom title of *Sḥnw-Pth* as *hrp id.t pr-3*. cf. Maspero, in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire I*, 205-7 (9).

<sup>1070</sup> The title also appears on a cylinder seal from Giza: Reisner, *Giza Necropolis II*, 53, fig. 54; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 192; Kaplony, *RAR IIA*, 250. The seal is safely dated to the reign of King Niuserre. The seal owner holds the ranks of *hry-ḥb.t*, and *hry sšt3*.



mention that this title is also in one case held by a woman: in the early Sixth Dynasty the title in question was held by the Queen Iput,<sup>1071</sup> who was *wr.t id.t m pr...* 'Great of Incense (or Censing in the [royal] palace'.<sup>1072</sup>

As 'Privy to the Secret of the House of Morning',<sup>1073</sup> one who was in charge of assisting the King in his daily toilet, it was important that he had knowledge of the words spoken and ability to recite the proper spells when ornamenting and dressing the King. Also, as a director of rituals and recitation, the lector priest needed to be the one who controlled,<sup>1074</sup> handled, and even possibly sprinkled the aromatic incense grain into the censer, to create the great aromatic *id.t* mentioned in the Pyramid Text, together with his recitation of the proper spells of the daily rituals.<sup>1075</sup>

*iry nfr-ḥ3t m sškr nbw.f* 'Keeper of the Head-dress in Ornamenting his Lords'. *nfr ḥ3t* literally means 'beautiful of brow'.<sup>1076</sup> Fischer, on the basis of this title's association with that of 'King's hairdresser', suggests that *nfr ḥ3t* refers to a wig.<sup>1077</sup> Looking at the etymology of the word in question provides no support for this conclusion. The word *nfr-ḥ3t* never occurs, as far as I know, with the hair determinative, a fact which makes Fischer's argument difficult to accept. A later text from the New Kingdom might shed more light on the nature of such head-dress, as a priest says: 'My fingers are established (steady), affixing the *nfr ḥ3t* and ornamenting the god'.<sup>1078</sup> The phrase *ts nfr ḥ3t* may show that the word in question is referred to a sort of head dress, perhaps a band ornamented with jewels and placed around the head. This meaning

<sup>1071</sup> TPC, 90; II, pl. 57 nos. 7, 11. The title is found in her funerary temple, which was probably decorated and completed when her son Pepi I held the throne of Egypt.

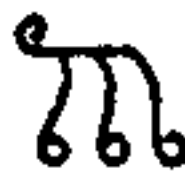
<sup>1072</sup> Probably it is *pr [nswt]*, like the Middle Kingdom version of the same title, see Ward, *Index*, no. 716; Fischer, *Titles*, 62.

<sup>1073</sup> The apartment or group of apartments in the royal palace where in the pharaoh was assisted at his daily toilet.


<sup>1074</sup> Representations of the *lry-ḥb* priest burning incense in Old Kingdom tomb reliefs are rather infrequent; see for example, James, *Khentika*, pl. XXI where a *smr wʿty lry-ḥb* official is burning incense; Kanawati, El-Khouli, *Qusier el-Amarna*, pl. 40, where the son who is *lry-ḥb* priest is burning incense, and scenting the offering in front of his father. However the burning of incense, although it might be controlled and directed by the lector priest, was frequently the job of *ḥm-k3* priests, see for instances; Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 7; von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pl. XXX; P. Duell, *Mereruka*, I, pl. 30; H. Wild, *Ti*, pls XIV, XXXIX.

<sup>1075</sup> Fischer, *ZAS* 86, 25;

<sup>1076</sup> *Wb* II, 256:16.

<sup>1077</sup> There are different names for the wig in the Egyptian vocabulary e.g. *Wb* I, 11, *3rt*; *Wb* I, 455:13, *bbw.t*; *Wb* II, 243:12 *nb3*. They all are indicated by the hair  determinative.

<sup>1078</sup> Louvre A 66; P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre*, I (Paris, 1874), 1-4.

is further confirmed by the determinative of the verb *ts* indicating the knot for a head band  and not a wig. In a New Kingdom hymn to the double crown: 'You may bring yourself your two eyes, the black, the white and the green together. Put on your *nfr h3t*':<sup>1079</sup> here definitely the *nfr-h3t* does not imply a wig. Apparently this later evidence suggests a sort of headband which was probably embellished with jewels.<sup>1080</sup> It was possibly used as head dress on its own, or placed around the crown.<sup>1081</sup> This conclusion might explain the association of the keeper of the *nfr-h3t* with the *pr-dw3.t*, where the king was usually adorned. If the meaning of a 'headband' or head-dress' is accepted for *nfr h3t* that would explain the association with the title of the king's hairdresser, who was not only dressing the king's hair, but also in some cases responsible for ornamenting the hair or the wigs of the king. As may be seen from Blackman's conclusion,<sup>1082</sup> several of those officials who are 'Privy to the Secret of the House of Morning' are also keepers of the *nfr h3t*. The later function is also specifically associated with the title of the King's Hairdresser. Here is a list of officials who held the title *iry nfr-h3t*, with special reference to the associated titles *hry-hb*, *hry s3t3 n pr dw3.t*, and the king's hairdresser during the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period:

1. *K3-m-nfr.t* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 208; LD I, 87; Junker, *Giza*, III, 48. He is also *hrp iri-s3ny n nswt*. Dyn. V.
2. *Hnm-nfr* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 217; Junker, *Giza*, X, 110-11. He is also, *shd iri-s3ny n nswt*. Dyn. V.
3. *Sfw* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 253; Hassan, *Giza*, V, fig. 116. He is also *iri-s3ny n pr 3* and *hry s3t3 n pr dw3.t*. Dyn. V.
4. *Ny-k3w-nswt* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 274; Hassan, *Giza*, II, figs. 86, 89. He is also *hrp iri-s3ny n nswt*. Dyn. V.

<sup>1079</sup> A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen* (Berlin, 1911), 41, 11.4; A. Barucq et F. Daumas, *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte Ancienne* (Paris, 1980), 64.

<sup>1080</sup> For the diadem in the Old Kingdom, see Ebba E. Kerm, 'The development of the ornamental "boatman's fillet" in the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom', *Act. Or.* 24 (1959), 161-88.

<sup>1081</sup> A title such as *iry-h3t nfr-h3t* 'Custodian of the affairs of the *nfr-h3t*', i.e. the one who perform ceremonies and manage the affairs of the royal head-dress, would nicely fit such a conclusion, cf. Mariette, *Mastabas*, 322; TPC I, 157, n. 5; Leprohon, *JARCE* 31 (1994), 46.

<sup>1082</sup> Blackman, *JEA* 5 (1918), 149ff.



5. *H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 277; de Rougé, *Inscr. hiéro.* pl. LX (upper). He is also *hrp iri-šny n nswt*. Dyn. V-VI.
6. *3ht-htp/Hmi* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 627-9. He also holds the titles of *hry-hb*, and *hry sšt3 n pr dw3.t*. He is dated to the reign of Unas.
7. *Sd3w-k3.i* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 243; Hassan, *Giza*, VI/3, 187-95. He is *hnti iry-hkrw n lb3w* 'Foremost of the Keepers of the Ornaments of the Dancers'. Dyn. V.<sup>1083</sup>
8. *H<sup>c</sup>-b3w-Pth* Mariette, *Mastabas*, 294. He is also, *imy-r irw-šny n nswt*. Dyn. V.
9. *Nht-s3.s* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 689; Mariette *Mastabas*, 366. He is also *imy-r h<sup>c</sup>qw n pr 3*. Dyn V.<sup>1084</sup>
10. *Ny-m3<sup>c</sup>t-ptḥ* Mariette, *Mastabas*, 250; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 466. He is *shd iri-šny n pr 3*, *iri-šny n nswt*, *m33 nfr.w Tssi m pr-3*. Dyn. V.
11. *Hnm-htp* Mariette, *Mastabas*, 311-2; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 578. He is also *hry sšt3 n pr dw3.t* Dyn. V.
12. *M33-nfr* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 575-7; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 446; Berlin 1108, cf. *Ägyptische Inschriften* I, 110. Holding also the titles *hrp iri-šny n nswt*, *shd iri-šny pr 3*. Dyn. V.
13. *R<sup>c</sup>-wr* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 265. He is *iri-šny n nswt* and *hry sšt3 n pr dw3.t*. Dyn. V.
14. *Dbḥ.n.i* Hassan, *Giza* IV, figs. 115, 122, 128. He is also *hry-hb hry tpy hry sšt3 n pr dw3.t*. Dyn. V.
15. *Htp-k3.i* Martin, *Hetepka*, pl. 14 (15). He is also *shd iri-šny n nswt* and *hry sšt3 n pr dw3.t* Dyn. V.
16. *W3š-ptḥ/isi* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 456; He is also *hry hb.t*, and *hry sšt3 n pr dw3.t*. mid Dyn. V.

<sup>1083</sup> Note that he was 'the Keeper of the Head-dress in the apartment of the King', *iry nfr ḥ3t m st nt nswt*.

<sup>1084</sup> CCG 1440.



17. *Ty* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 468-78. He holds the titles *hry-hb*, *hry sst3 n pr dw3.t*, and *shd iri-sny n nswt*. mid to late Dyn. V.
18. *Pth-sps* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 340-2. He is also, *hry hb*, *hry sst3 n pr dw3.t*. mid to late Dyn. V.
19. *Nfr-irt-pt* Mariette, *Mastabas*, 322. He is also *hry-sst3*, *iry-ht n hkr Hr*. late Dyn. V.
20. *Nfr-hr-n-pt* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 637-8; Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 1-16. He is *imy-r ir-sni pr-3*. late Dyn. V.
21. *K3.i-gmi. n.i* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 521-5. He is a vizier, and also *hry-hb*, *hry-tpy hry-hb*. early Dyn. VI.
22. *Pth-sps* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 518, also held *hry-hb* title. Temp. Pepy I
23. *Mhw* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 619-22. He is also, *hry-hb*, *hry sst3 n pr dw3.t*. mid Dyn. VI.
24. *Nfr-sšm-Pth/Ssi* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 515-6. He is also *hry-hb*. Temp. Pepy I.
25. *S3bw/Tty* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 463; CCG 1756. He is 'Greatest of Directors of Craftsmen in the Two Houses on the day of festival'.<sup>1085</sup> early-mid Dyn. VI.
26. *nh-mry-r* *Sotheby's Catalogue* December 2, 1988. N. 132, 133. He is *shd irw-sni pr 3*, *hry-hb*. mid to late Dyn. VI.
27. *H-b3w hnmw/Biw* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 684. also has the title of *hry-hb*. Temp. Pepy II.
28. *Hnm-htp* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 684; Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, II, pl. 57. Temp. Pepy II.
29. *Snhw-pt* Jéquier, *ibid*, pl. 70. Temp. Pepy II.
30. *Rdi-hnm* *Ibid*, pl. 72. Temp. Pepy II.
31. ... *Issi* *Ibid*, p. 60. Temp. Pepy II.
32. *nh-Ppi* *Ibid*, pl. 59. Temp. Pepy II.
33. *Irry* *Ibid*, pl. 59. Temp. Pepy II.
34. *Iri-n-Ppi* *Ibid*, pl. 59. Temp. Pepy II.

<sup>1085</sup> Note the other priestly titles he held in the temple of Ptah.






35. *Sšm-nfr* Ibid, pl. 57. Temp. Pepy II.
36. *‘nh-htl* Ibid, pl. 57. Temp. Pepy II.
37. *‘nhl* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 306. *shd iri-šny n nswt*. late Old Kingdom.
38. *Nb-k3w-Hr* Hassan, *Saqqara I*, 2-3. He is also *hry-hb*, *hry sšt3 n pr-dw3.t*. late Dyn. VI.
39. *Tbi* Kanawati and Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara I*, 31-33, pl. 12 (a-b). Also *imy-r ipt-nswt hry-hb*. Late Dyn. VI.<sup>1086</sup>
40. *Grf* Ibid, 70, pl. 35, 65. He is also *imy-r i‘w-r nb nswt ddw pt qm3w t3 imy-r sqbbwl pr-‘3 hry sšt3 n nswt m st.f nbt*. Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1087</sup>
41. *Pth-m-h3t* TPC II, pl. 80; He is also *shd iri-šny n nswt*. Herakleopolitan Period.

This preliminary list of the holders of the title *iry nfr h3t* during the Old Kingdom<sup>1088</sup> and the Herakleopolitan Period shows that the title *iry-nfr h3t* is associated with that of *hry-hb*. Of the thirty-nine officials listed above, fourteen held the title *hry-hb*. Eight officials including some *hry-hb*, are also ‘Privy to the Secret of the House of Morning’. The keepers of the Head-dress are particularly associated with the title of King’s Hairdresser, as fifteen officials listed above are royal hair-dresser. At least three of them retain the title *hry-hb* in their titulary (*Ty*, *‘nh-mry-r‘* and *Pth-m-h3t*). At least four held the rank of *hry sšt3 n pr dw3.t* (*R‘-wr*, *H‘f-r‘-‘nh*, *Sfw* and *Ty*). The titulary of *Ty* who held all three ranks, shows such a association. The title is held by

<sup>1086</sup> The inscribed supplementary frame suggests a date not earlier than the reign of Pepy II, however, the occurrence of the full writing of *inpw*   on the smaller stela (Kanawati and Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, pl. 12 (b)) suggests an even later date than the end of the Old Kingdom.

<sup>1087</sup> Kanawati (*The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara I*, 71) assigns the stela to the reign of Pepy I on the basis of its proximity to other tombs dated to the reign of this king. Although the style of the stela is conventional Sixth Dynasty, the occurrence of the filiation phrase *irt n* indicates a date in the Herakleopolitan Period,

see Obsomer, *Mélanges Théodoridès*, 163-200. Also the the writing of *im3hy*    on the left outer jamb of this stela is significant of a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period, cf. Schenkel, *FMAS* § 16 b; Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 20. For probably slightly earlier example, see Fischer, ‘Note on some texts of the Old Kingdom and later’, in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson I*, 270, fig. 1.

<sup>1088</sup> See also *Nfr-ir.t-Pth* who was *iry-ht nfr h3t* ‘Concerned with the affairs of *nfr h3t*’, and note that he also was ‘Inspector of King’s Ornament of the Great House, Overseer of *mrh.t*-oil’. He probably dates to mid-late Vth. Dynasty, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 582.

the 'Overseer of the Royal Barbers' named *Nḥt-s3.s* (no. 9), *Swḏ3-k3.i* who was 'Foremost of the Keepers of the Ornaments of the Dancers', and *Nfr-irt-ptḥ* who was 'Custodian of the Affair of Ornamenting Horus (the King)'. Perhaps such officials claimed the office of *iry nfr-ḥ3t*, as a result of working the royal toiletry department and royal wardrobe.

The title *iry-nfr ḥ3t* is exclusively a court title, and is rarely attested outside the Memphite capital. It was held by a few provincial officials, all of whom are dated to the reign of Pepy II, and whose early career probably started at the capital. These are *K3.i-ḥb/Tty* of Akhmim in the 9th Upper Egyptian Nome,<sup>1089</sup> *Ppl-ḥnh-ḥry-lb* at Meir in the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome,<sup>1090</sup> the vizier *Dꜥw*,<sup>1091</sup> and *Ny-Ppl* of Abydos in the 8th Upper Egyptian Nome,<sup>1092</sup> as well as *Ip* of El-Saff.<sup>1093</sup>

This court title is usually associated with the reigning king as indicated by the phrase following the title in question *m sškr nb.w.f* 'in ornamenting his lords'. Analogous phrases can be found in the titles of *Dbḥ.n.i* from Giza: *šḥkr Hr* 'who adorns Horus (the King)', *M33-nfr* from Saqqara: *šḥkr ḥ3t ntr.f* 'who adorns the brow of his god', *Nḥt-s3.s* from Saqqara: *šḥkr ḥ3t ntr.f* 'who adorns the brow of his god', *Nfr-irt-ptḥ* from Saqqara: *iry-ḥt n ḥkr Hr* 'Custodian of the affairs of ornamenting Horus'. *ntr.f* and *Hr* are metaphoric expressions referring to the king whom these officials served.<sup>1094</sup>

*iry-nfr ḥ3t* is rarely associated with deities. I know of two examples from Memphis, that of *S3bw/Tty* who was the High Priest of Ptah, and held the title *iry-nfr ḥ3t m šḥkr Ptḥ* 'Keeper of the Head-dress in Ornamenting Ptah',<sup>1095</sup> *Ny-ḥnh-Mry-Rꜥ* who was 'Inspector of *smw* priests, Overseer of the Temple' and also held the titles *iry nfr-ḥ3t m sškr inpw* and *iry nfr-ḥ3t m sškr ḥrp* 'Keeper of the Head-dress in Ornamenting Anubis, Keeper of the Head-dress in Ornamentation the *ḥrp*'.<sup>1096</sup> At least four officials known to me held this title in

<sup>1089</sup> Kanawati, *Hawawish*, III, fig. 8.

<sup>1090</sup> Blackman, *Meir*, IV, pls. 4, 4a. Note that he was also *ḥry-ḥb* and *ḥry sšt3 n pr dw3.t*.

<sup>1091</sup> CCG 1431; Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* I, 111-2, pl. 24. Note the title *ḥry-ḥb* is attested for *Dꜥw*, but not for his native *Ny-Ppy*.

<sup>1092</sup> CCG 1579; Borchardt, *ibid*, II, 60, pl. 76.

<sup>1093</sup> Fischer, *The Tomb of Ip at el Saff*, 21-22.

<sup>1094</sup> This phrase is also attested with the title *iry-nfr ḥ3t* during the Middle Kingdom, see Ward, *Index*, 64 nos. 521-2; Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 39.

<sup>1095</sup> CCG 1756; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 463.

<sup>1096</sup> cf. B. Piotrovsky (ed.) *Egyptian Antiquities in the Hermitage* (Leningrad, 1974), no. 17.



association with their local gods in Upper Egypt: *Mrw/Iy* from Naga ed-Deir, was 'Overseer of Priests, *iry-nfr ḥ3t m db3 nb.f ntr.f niwt* 'Keeper of the Head-dress in attiring his Lord (namely) his God of (his) Town';<sup>1097</sup> *K3.l-ḥb/Ttl* (H 26), and *Špsi-pw-mnw/Hnl* were both 'Overseer of Priests of Min', and subsequently both of them held the title *iry-nfr ḥ3t m shkṛ Mnw* 'Keeper of the Head-dress in Ornamenting Min';<sup>1098</sup> the Vizier *Tdl* at Abydos was *iry nfr ḥ3t m shkṛ ntr* 'Keeper of the Head-dress in Ornamenting the God'.<sup>1099</sup> These examples show that the association of this title with gods is a later development, which is not known before the second half of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>1100</sup> Another later development also occurs in the way the title is constructed: the Fifth Dynasty examples used the active participle in constructing the title,<sup>1101</sup> while in the Sixth Dynasty and after the title used the preposition *m* + infinitive.<sup>1102</sup>

*m33 nfr.w nb.w.f* 'one who sees the beauty of his lords' is a descriptive epithet which can be explained in similar terms to that just discussed. Since *Ttl* was the one who adjusted the Head-dress on the royal brow, he was consequently 'one who sees the beauty of his lords'. This epithet occurs rarely, as Fischer has remarked.<sup>1103</sup> To the four examples collected by Fischer,<sup>1104</sup> another two can be added.<sup>1105</sup> Both appear on cylinder seals, one in the British Museum (No. 51083)<sup>1106</sup> and the other in Berlin Museum (No. 16279).<sup>1107</sup> Significantly, the epithet does not appear, accompanied by any title demonstrably connected with personal service to the King.<sup>1108</sup> One would compare the epithet in question with that *m33 nfr.w* + NN (King's name), which is known at least since the mid Fourth Dynasty.<sup>1109</sup>

<sup>1097</sup> N. 3737; Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs*, 109-110, pl. 12; Fischer, *JARCE* 3, 27.

<sup>1098</sup> Kanawati, *Hawawish* I, fig. 18; *Hawawish* II, figs. 9, 23. respectively.

<sup>1099</sup> *CCG* 1577.

<sup>1100</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 136-137; Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 224-225.

<sup>1101</sup> For *shkṛ* as title see Kaplony, *RAR* II A, 259; cf. also M.A. Speidel, *Die Friseure des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Kostanz, 1990), 107-14; 129-30.

<sup>1102</sup> For the last grammatical construction see, Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 162,10, see also §§ 304, 2; 331. One wonders if *m* here has a predictive meaning 'as' or 'namely' followed by active participle.

<sup>1103</sup> Fischer, *ZAS* 90 (1963), 39, n.3. The phrase *m33 nfr.w* + god's name is attested frequently in the praying formula on Middle Kingdom stelae: see for example, *CCG* 20359; 20397; 20410; 20473; 20451.

<sup>1104</sup> See note above; cf. also *JEA* 60 (1974), 99, fig. 3.

<sup>1105</sup> Malek, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 8 (1977), 122-3.

<sup>1106</sup> Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs* (London, 1913), 30; H. Goedicke, *MDAIK* 17 (1961), 75-6, Taf. XVI (5).

<sup>1107</sup> Kaplony, *RAR* IIA, 253.

<sup>1108</sup> Malek, *OLP* 8 (1977), 122-123.

<sup>1109</sup> Cf. *m33 nfr.w Hr-nwb* (Berlin 22778 = Kaplony, *RAR* IIA, 108), safely dated to the reign of Menkaure; *m33 nfr.w nswt-bity* (Berlin 20381 = *RAR* IIA, 221), dated to the time of Neferirkare; *m33 nfr.w Ny-wsr-R* (Berlin



*iwn dšr.t* 'pillar of *dšr.t*'. The lack of a determinative after the word *dšr.t* makes it difficult to clarify the meaning. I know of only one other occurrence of this title during the Old Kingdom, that of *Hw-n-wh* of Quseir el-Amarna who was *hry-hb, iwn dšr.t*. In this case one is inclined to consider the possibility that *dšr.t*<sup>1110</sup> refers to the red crown in view of the occurrence of the title *hm ntr dšr.t* 'Priest of the Red Crown'.<sup>1111</sup> This official also held the title *hry-hb smsw n db3.t* 'Senior Lector Priest of the Wardrobe',<sup>1112</sup> which probably relates him to the royal toilet and wardrobe departments, where crowns and other attire were stored. This consideration can be supported by the fact that the red crown occasionally appears to have its own priesthood during the Old Kingdom. For instances, *7pt* of the mid Fifth Dynasty was *hm ntr dšr.t* 'Priest of the Red Crown',<sup>1113</sup> as was *Hw-n-wh* of Quseir el-Amarna.<sup>1114</sup>


This suggestion can be supported by the fact that *7ti*'s titles relate him to the clothing and attiring of his kings (lords).<sup>1115</sup> On the other hand, Fischer, on the basis that titles and epithets introduced by the word *iwn* characteristically refer to the support of people and localities rather than objects, offers an alternative explanation for the title, suggesting that *dšr.t* might here refer to the red land, an explanation which strikes a disturbingly foreign note among *7ti*'s other functions.<sup>1116</sup>

*hm ntr mnw nb ipw* 'Priest of Min, Lord of *7pw*'. The title's interest lies in its reference to the local cult of Akhmim<sup>1117</sup> in the ninth Nome of Upper Egypt, and so its possible implication for assigning the town of birth of *7ti*. According to Fischer, until the Twelfth

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16536 = *RAR* IIA, 256), dated to the reign of Niuserre; *m33 nfr.w Issi m pr-3* (Berlin 20385 = *RAR* IIA, 325-6), reign of Iseki. Note that the seal owner was also *iri-šn pr-3*; *m33 nfr.w Issi m pr-3* (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 466). Perhaps he is the same as the owner of the above mentioned seal (Berlin 20385), since this epithet and the title *iri-šn pr-3* appear on both monuments; *m33 nfr.w Nfr-ir-k3-R* (CCC 1569), dated to mid Fifth Dynasty: he was also *hry-hb.t* and *iry-nfr h3t*.

<sup>1110</sup> *Wb* V, 493: 12-17; 494: 1-3. Note that *dšr.t* sometimes appears without determinative.

<sup>1111</sup> Note that the word *dšr.t* here is indicated by the red crown sign , Kanawati and El-Khouli, *Quseir el-Amarna*, pl. 32, 24, 36.

<sup>1112</sup> *Ibid*, 18.

<sup>1113</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 451; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 96; Fischer, *MMJ* 10 (1975), 16 n. 48, figs. 12-14

<sup>1114</sup> Blackman, 'The Pharaoh's placenta and the Moon-God Khons' *JEA* 3 (1916), 243; Quibell, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 258; see also note 86 above.

<sup>1115</sup> See Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 39-40; see also for Middle Kingdom titles associated with the crowns e.g. Ward, *Index*, 108: 895; *HTBM* II, pl. 8; *TPC*, 273.

<sup>1116</sup> See Fischer, *ZÄS* 90, 40 nn.2-7.

<sup>1117</sup> Karig, 'Akhmim', in *LÄ* I, 54-5; *AEO* II, 41\*



Dynasty the capital city of the ninth Nome of Upper Egypt was apparently known as *ṭpw*. This name appears in texts of the Sixth Dynasty. At least six occurrences are to be found in the rock-cut tombs of Akhmim;<sup>1118</sup> two more examples occur on stelae dated to the Herakleopolitan Period from the same locality.<sup>1119</sup> Also from the late Old Kingdom *ṭpw*, is mentioned twice in a text on an offering table: once in the personal name *Nb.(i)-m-ṭpw*, the second time in a more ambivalent context.<sup>1120</sup> In these examples cited above, the phrase *Mnw nb ṭpw* is not mentioned in the context of priestly titles of this particular cult. Although *ṭti*'s title is unusual in this respect, this is not the case for the priesthood of Min as a whole, which is well attested at Akhmim.<sup>1121</sup> The other interesting point is the fact that this apparent native of Akhmim was buried at the residence, presumably because of pursuing a career which associated him with the king's palace at the residence. Perhaps he is comparable to *ṭri* the governor of the ninth Nome of Upper Egypt who lived at an earlier time, and was also buried in the capital.<sup>1122</sup> *ṭti*, and other Akhmim natives who were buried in the capital led Fischer to assume a special link between the Panopolite Nome and the Memphite residence like that which linked the neighbouring Thinite Nome to the residence.<sup>1123</sup> This suggestion is seen by Kanawati as inconclusive, preferring to treat the three cases individually.<sup>1124</sup> Whatever, the implication, *ṭti* was one of a number of officials who held the priesthood of provincial cults but who were buried at the residence.<sup>1125</sup>

#### Dating:

The panel of *ṭti*'s false door provides us with new architectural development in the false door construction in the Memphite necropolis during the early Herakleopolitan Period. The panel is designed with no aperture on its side. Instead it is filled entirely by the offering scene.<sup>1126</sup> This

<sup>1118</sup> Newberry, *LAAA* 4 (1911), 101, 106, 108, 111, 119; see also one more examples in Kanawati, *Hawawish*, III, pl. 7.

<sup>1119</sup> Cf. Cairo Jd'É 88010; cf. Kanawati, *Hawawish* IX, pl. 5; CCG 1580, cf. idem, *Hawawish* VI, 59, fig. 27a.

<sup>1120</sup> Jéquier, *Le monument de funéraire de Pepi II*, III, 38 (4), fig. 24.

<sup>1121</sup> Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 226-38.

<sup>1122</sup> Jéquier, *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire*, 39-43, fig. 30; Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 83-84.

<sup>1123</sup> Fischer, 'Four provincial administrators at the Memphite Cemeteries' in *JAOS* 74 (1954), 26-34.

<sup>1124</sup> Kanawati, *Akhmim*, 83-9

<sup>1125</sup> For a detailed list of examples see Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 122-3. Possibly a requirement of their career which ended with them at the capital.

<sup>1126</sup> See similar cases of *Nfr-iw* and *ṭ-iḥw* (MMA 12.183.8; JE 38551).

convention occurs relatively late in monolithic false doors with cavetto cornice.<sup>1127</sup> It is worth noting that this new development occurs at Dendera in the false doors of *Mrrt*, *Sn-ndsw.t* and *Rhwy*.<sup>1128</sup> Such post-Sixth Dynasty false doors appear at Hagarsa,<sup>1129</sup> Naqada,<sup>1130</sup> Khozam<sup>1131</sup> and Naga-ed Deir,<sup>1132</sup> as well as at Mendes in the Delta.<sup>1133</sup> Here in the Memphite necropolis, however, it seems clear that this convention does not occur before the reign of Merykare.<sup>1134</sup>

The composition of the offering table loaded with the conventional bread slices, which is surmounted with a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck is hardly ever found before the Herakleopolitan Period. It is consistently associated with false doors of that period, not only from the Memphite necropolis,<sup>1135</sup> but also, for instance, at Herakleopolis,<sup>1136</sup> Dendera,<sup>1137</sup> and Mendes.<sup>1138</sup>

The inscriptions of the false door provide very little evidence in terms of dating: the use of the pustule determinative in the epithet *imy-wt*,<sup>1139</sup> the writing of *pryt hrw*, and the degenerated town determinative are all indicative of late Old Kingdom. The occurrence of the phrase *qrs.tl.f nfr* also points to a date later in the Old Kingdom.

Titles like *hry-hb smsw* and *hry-hb smsw m rnp.t* are indicative of a similar conclusion. The most telling indication of a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom is the identification of *Iti* as an Osiris, a feature which does not occur on stelae or superstructure inscriptions before the Herakleopolitan Period. The similarity of *Iti*'s false door to those of *Tw.f-n-mwt.f*

<sup>1127</sup> Ruch, *ZAS* 58, 118.

<sup>1128</sup> Petrie, *Dendera*, pls. I, 8A, 9, IIc.

<sup>1129</sup> Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 11.

<sup>1130</sup> Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pl. 21.

<sup>1131</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 13-14.

<sup>1132</sup> *Decorated Tombs*, pl. 12; Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 74.

<sup>1133</sup> Cf. the false door of *Nni*, on which panel the man and his wife are seen sharing the funerary meal, see Hansen, *JARCE* 4 (1965), pl. XIX, fig. 7.

<sup>1134</sup> Contrary to Strudwick who dates this feature to the early Middle Kingdom, cf. *Administration*, 19.

<sup>1135</sup> E.g., *TPC* II, pls. 67 (2), 68, 69, 70 (2), 71 (1-2), 72 (1-2), 74 (2), 21 (A), 27 (the last one belong to an official who served in the cult temple of king Merykare); also see, Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-06*, pls. XII, XIII, XV, XVI (right), XVII (2), XIX (2), XX (1) (note that pls. XIII and XV, are of officials who held offices in the cult temple of Merykare); Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-7*, pls. VI (1-2), IX (2), X (2-3) (Note also that *Htp* (pl. VI (2)) had been associated with the cult-temple of Merykare); see also, Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45; Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), fig. 2, pls. XIX (3), XX (1,3), XXI (1,3), XXII (1,3), XXIII (1,3).

<sup>1136</sup> Cf. Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1976), pls. XX-XXIII.

<sup>1137</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, pls. XXIV-XXV.

<sup>1138</sup> Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 10-11, figs. 3-4.

<sup>1139</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 84 (15).



and *S3t-7y-tnw* is noted by Fischer. This would seem to suggest that the three are close in date. If true, the mention of an otherwise unknown king in the theophoric name of the woman is perhaps the most telling indication. The name of this king is not identified with any of those mentioned in Abydos king list. Fischer, however, find it plausible to place him in this period (the Manethonian Seventh and Eighth Dynasties).<sup>1140</sup> *7tl* and *7w.f-n-mwt.f* each refers to 'his lords' *nb.w.f*, in case of *7tl* s false door *nb.w.f* is determined with the falcon sign of kingship, which leaves no doubt that several kings are involved and not a single royal master.<sup>1141</sup> That would seem to fit well into either the time when the Memphite regime passed through many ephemeral rulers (Eighth Dynasty) or probably the *nb.w.f* refers to a number of Herakleopolitan kings whom *7tl* and *7w.f-n-mwt.f* served during their careers. A Herakleopolitan date, probably not earlier than the reign of Merykare may, be preferred here for these stelae as one would judge from style, particularly the full type panel, and the identification of the deceased as an Osiris.

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<sup>1140</sup> Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 36 n. 2; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 60, n. 12; Gauthier, *RT* 40 (1923), 198.

<sup>1141</sup> Fischer, *ZÄS* 90, 36 n. 4; The divine determinative can also indicate divinities. Since *7tl* 's title can also be held in temples, so it might also be suggested that *nb.w* indicates gods.

#### 4.4.2. The Stela of *S3t-7-tnw* (Plate XLVIII)

Bibl: Cairo J. 59158; Gauthier, 'Quelques additions au "Livre des rois d'Égypte" (Ancien et Moyen Empire)' *RT* 40 (1923), 198 (21); Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 36-7, pl. VI.

The stela or false door of *S3t-7-tnw* is mentioned by Gauthier possibly not long after its discovery by Firth, sometime after seasons 1920-22. This limestone false door measures 175 cm in height and 77 cm. in width. The door displays the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding. The stela is broken at the bottom half into three pieces, but nothing significant is missing apart from the bottom right corner and some chipped surfaces where crack occurs: on the right and left outer jambs, on the cross-bar, and on the panel. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the table scene on the panel is in a raised relief. It is worth noting here that, on the panel,

some signs are carved in raised relief:  at the end of the deceased's name, and  of *hss.t*. Each of the outer jambs has a standing portrait for the deceased, facing towards the central niche. The figures are mirror images, representing the deceased standing with legs apart in a striding attitude, wearing a long wig with a lappet falling over her back shoulder and her chest, a broad collar, bracelets, and a long tight-fitting dress.<sup>1142</sup> She holds a lotus blossom to her nose with one hand,<sup>1143</sup> while the other hand is extended open at her side. The panel has short recess at either side, and displays the usual table scene: the deceased sits facing right on a low back chair with lion shaped legs, with the back leg of the chair overlapping the side of the chair. *S3t-7-tnw* is shown wearing a long wig with lappets, a broad collar, bracelets, and a long tight-fitting garment with shoulder straps that widen towards the top in a typical Herakleopolitan fashion.<sup>1144</sup> She holds a lotus blossom to her nose with her left hand, and extends her right hand towards an offering table.

The offering table is of a conventional type, surmounted by tall sliced bread. To the right of the table is an ewer and basin resting on a rectangular stand similar to that of *Iti*.<sup>1145</sup> Next to that stand two tall *hs* jars rest directly on the floor. Above them are unidentified

<sup>1142</sup> See E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Tracht*, 166-70; G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing* (Leiden, 1993), 101-106.

<sup>1143</sup> For this motif see Harpur, *Decoration*, 134-6.

<sup>1144</sup> Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, fig. 6.

<sup>1145</sup> See the stela of *Iti* (4.4.1).



offerings, probably representing bread and fruits, and a calf's head. Above these items are ribs of beef, a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck overlapping each other. There is no ground-line underneath these offering items, so they appear as if floating.

Transliteration:

1. (A) *htp di nswt inpw tpy dw.f lmy wt nb t3 dsr* 2. (B) *prtt hrw n.s m ls.s n hrt-ntr hkrat nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt S3t I-tnw* 3. (C) *im3ht hr Ht-hr nb(t) nht rsyt hkrat nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt hm(t)-ntr Ht-hr S3t I-tnw* 4. (F) *hkrat nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt hm(t)-ntr Ht-hr S3t I-tnw* 5. (G) *im3hwt hkrat nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt hm(t)-ntr Ht-hr S3t I-tnw* 6. (E) *im3ht hkrat nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt hm(t)-ntr Ht-hr S3t I-tnw* On the drum 7. *prtt hrw n hkrat nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt* 8. (D) *im3hwt hkrat nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt S3t I-tnw* 9. *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 ss h3 mnht* 10. *n wsir S3t-I-tnw hsst Ht-hr.*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, he who is upon his mountain, he who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, 2. a voice offering to her in her tomb of the necropolis, Sole Ornament of the King, *S3t-I-tnw*. 3. She who is revered by Hathor, mistress of the southern sycamore, the Sole Ornament of the King, prophetess of Hathor, *S3t-I-tnw*. 4. The Sole Ornament of the King, Prophetess of Hathor, *S3t-I-tnw*. 5. She who is honoured, the Sole Ornament of the King, Priestess of Hathor, *S3t-I-tnw*. 6. She who is revered, the Sole Ornament of the King, Priestess of Hathor, *S3t-I-tnw*. 7. A voice offering to the Sole Ornament of the King. 8. The honoured one, Sole Ornament of the King *S3t-I-tnw*. 9. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing 10. to the Osiris *S3t-I-tnw*, praised of Hathor.

Comment:

*hkrat nswt w<sup>c</sup>t.t* 'Sole Ornament of the King': an exclusively female designation, associated with the palace.<sup>1146</sup> The title is applied occasionally to women of high rank from the Fifth and early

<sup>1146</sup> In the relief of Queen *Wdpt.n* women with the rank of *hkr.t-nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt* are seen in the company of the queen, in a scene which might show some of the tasks of which such women were in charge. Cf. Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, fig. 9.

Sixth Dynasty, but did not become frequent until the end of the Old Kingdom and during the Herakleopolitan Period. In the provinces the title is usually held by high class women probably members of the nomarchs' families.<sup>1147</sup> The addition of *w<sup>c</sup>.t.t* to the existing title *hkr.t nswt* is rather unclear.<sup>1148</sup> It was probably added to the title to distinguish a rather high social status, rather than a rank of command. The following is a table of women who held this title in the Memphite necropolis during the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period, arranged in chronological order:

1. <i>Hknw-nbty</i>	CCG 1396; V Dyn.
2. <i>Ttiti</i>	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, fig. 50; PM III <sup>2</sup> , 271; V Dyn.
3. <i>Hm(t)-r<sup>c</sup></i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 450; CCG 1380; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 137-42; V-VI Dyn.
4. <i>Nfr.s-rsi</i>	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, figs. 226-28; PM III <sup>2</sup> , 281; V-VI Dyn.
5. <i>Hwit</i>	CCG 1448; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 450; V-VI Dyn.
6. <i>nh.n.s</i>	CCG 1357; V-VI Dyn.
7. <i>Bhnw</i>	<i>BMHT</i> I <sup>2</sup> , pl. 37; Pepy I or later.
8. <i>Mrit</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 674; Mid. VI Dyn.
9. <i>Biti</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 674; VI Dyn.
10. <i>Tti/Hnt-k3w.s</i>	PM III <sup>2</sup> , 674; late VI Dyn.
11. <i>Sbwtt</i>	CCG 1687; late VI Dyn.
12. <i>nh-n.s-Ppy</i>	CCG 1522; late VI Dyn or later.
13. <i>Nt</i>	Jéquier, <i>Tombeaux de particuliers</i> , 75; late O.K or Herakleopolitan Period.
14. <i>Sm<sup>c</sup>t</i>	Ibid, 76, pl. 11; late O.K. or Herakleopolitan Period.
15. <i>St-ib</i>	Ibid, 56; Herakleopolitan Period.
16. <i>Mrt-it.s</i>	Quibell, <i>Saqqara 1906-07</i> , pl. 9 (1); Herakleopolitan Period.


<sup>1147</sup> Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 78, 101; Seipel, 'Chekeret-nesut', *LÄ* I, 914-15; Martin-Pardcy, *Provincialverwaltung*, 109 n. 4.

<sup>1148</sup> The earliest occurrence of the title *hkr.t nswt* might be shown in Junker, *Giza*, II, figs. 7-10, dated probably to early Fifth Dynasty. For the meaning of this title see, Del Nord 'Hkr.t Njswt = King's concubine?' *Serapis* 2 (1970), 12; R. Drenkhahn, 'Bemerkungen zu dem title *hkr.t nswt*' *SAK* 4 (1976), 59, see also W. Seipel, *LÄ* I, 915-6; see also Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 16, nn. 137-44.



17. *Qiswt* TPC I, 196 (28); Herakleopolitan Period.
18. *Hbyt* JEA 79 (1993), 247, fig. 3; Herakleopolitan Period.
19. *Isti* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 676; Herakleopolitan Period.
20. *Sni* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 676; Herakleopolitan Period.
21. *Hnwt* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 677; Herakleopolitan Period.
22. *Nsti* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 681; Herakleopolitan Period.
23. *Snti* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 681; Herakleopolitan Period.
24. *Tti* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 686; Herakleopolitan Period.
25. *Iwiw* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 686; Herakleopolitan Period.
26. *Mrit* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 687; Herakleopolitan Period.
27. *Mri.s-<sup>c</sup>nh* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 688; Herakleopolitan Period.
28. *Bbi* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 688; Herakleopolitan Period.
29. *<sup>c</sup>nh.s-n.i* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 741; Herakleopolitan Period.
30. *Hnw-hti* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 511; Herakleopolitan Period.
31. *S3t-Ini-Tti* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 539; Herakleopolitan Period.
32. *Hnwt.i* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544; Herakleopolitan Period.
33. *Mst-n.i* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563; Herakleopolitan Period.
34. *Sni* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 568; Herakleopolitan Period.
35. *Snt-It.s* PM III<sup>2</sup>, 568; Herakleopolitan Period.
36. *Sdh.i* ASAE 55, pl. XX (b); Herakleopolitan Period.
37. *Stt* Ibid, pl. XX (c); Herakleopolitan Period.
38. *Hnš.t* Teti Pyramid Cemetery (7.1.15); Herakleopolitan Period.
39. *Impy-<sup>c</sup>nh* Kom el-Fakhry, (5.1.2); Herakleopolitan Period.
40. *Nst-ptḥ* Kom el-Fakhry, (5.4.7); Herakleopolitan Period.
41. *S3t-tt* Kom el-Fakhry, (5.4.9); Herakleopolitan Period.
42. *Špst* Tombeaux de particuliers, fig. 54; Herakleopolitan Period.
43. *Mr.s-<sup>c</sup>nh* Mastabat faraoun, fig. 27; Herakleopolitan Period.
44. *Df3t.s* Tombeaux de particuliers, fig. 97; Herakleopolitan Period.
45. *Hnwt* Ibid, 91, fig. 102; Herakleopolitan Period.

*hmt-ntr Ht-hr* 'Priestess of Hathor', a title which is fairly frequent in the Old Kingdom and thereafter,<sup>1149</sup> and known throughout Egypt.<sup>1150</sup> This title seems to be dominant in the Memphite area, as Galvin states that up to 25% of nearly 400 examples have been collected are known to come from the Memphite necropolis.<sup>1151</sup> The widespread use of the title might suggest that it was honorific. In fact there is no reason to believe this, since a number of associated titles and scenes show that the priestess of Hathor actively participated in the temple and funerary rituals of the Hathoric cult.<sup>1152</sup> Galvin has also demonstrated that the title was not hereditary but was acquired by each individual who pursued a career in the priesthood.<sup>1153</sup> No doubt such a post was a desirable one, not only for the commodities that came with it, but also for its social status.<sup>1154</sup> Hence one can assume that *S3t-7-tnw* had fairly high social standing in her community and she actively participated in the temple service of Hathor at Memphis.

Two epithets appear on the stela of *S3t-7-tnw* deserve comment: the first is concerned with the cult of Hathor, *im3hwt hr Ht-hr nbt nht rsyt*. Contrary to Allam,<sup>1155</sup> the cult of Hathor, Mistress of the Southern Sycamore, is known as early as the reign of Pepy I and perhaps even slightly earlier. It occurs in the titles of *Nbt* the wife of *Mry-Tti* the eldest son of Mereruka.<sup>1156</sup> The second is for *S3t-7-tnw* herself. On the panel, her name is introduced by the epithet 'Osiris'. The epithet is chipped off, but the occurrence of the sign  can only suggest that it is the last

<sup>1149</sup> See Allam, *Hathorkult*; Fischer, *Dendera*, 23-32; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 73-8; M. Galvin, *The Priestess of Hathor in the Old Kingdom and 1st Intermediate Period* (Brandeis University Diss., 1982); R.G. Gillam, *Topographical Prosopographical, and Historical Studies in the 14<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian Nome* (University of Toronto Diss. 1990), ch. 2 and ch. 3.

<sup>1150</sup> A list of the cult places of Hathor has been drawn up by Allam, op. cit., 3-98; see also Fischer, in *MMJ* 11 (1976), 21 (j).

<sup>1151</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 927 (nos. 703-14).

<sup>1152</sup> See Fischer, *Egyptian Women*, 12, n. 105-108; see also Galvin, op.cit. ch. 4, and conclusion, 285-87; Gillam, op. cit., 188, 252.



<sup>1153</sup> Galvin, *JEA* 70 (1984), 42-49.

<sup>1154</sup> Galvin, op. cit., 45-6; Gillam, op. cit., 230.

<sup>1155</sup> Allam, op. cit., 5, 22; *Wb* II, 28:15. Both state that this cult was only known from the New Kingdom and onwards.

<sup>1156</sup> Daressy, *Mera*, 563. It is even possible that the cult existed well before that, on the basis of the occurrence of the title *imy-r3 nht rsyt* on an offering table which dates to the mid Fifth Dynasty cf. Moussa and Altenmüller, *SAK* 9 (1981), 288-94, (d).



half of the name  .<sup>1157</sup> As in the case of *Tti*, the deceased here is identified with Osiris as a recipient of offering.<sup>1158</sup>

#### Dating:

The apertures on either side of the panel do not clearly limit the inscribed area above it, a feature which occurs in false doors as early as the Eighth Dynasty.<sup>1159</sup> The width of the enlarged central niche is a feature which was reapplied to the false door design at the end of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>1160</sup>

The overlapping of the back leg on the side of the chair, which appears on the panel is also indicative of later date. This realistic furniture design<sup>1161</sup> first occurs around the mid Sixth Dynasty, the earliest known instance being that of *Q3r* at Giza.<sup>1162</sup> Other later examples, can be seen on the false doors of *Wsr* from Giza,<sup>1163</sup> and *Ttw*,<sup>1164</sup> and *Ipi*,<sup>1165</sup> both from Saqqara. The chairs of *Htp* and *Hwt*<sup>1166</sup> show the same feature: the first of these two officials is known to hold office in the cult temple of Merykare. This feature appears frequently in provincial reliefs, particularly from the Coptite Nome,<sup>1167</sup> Akhmim,<sup>1168</sup> and Dendera.<sup>1169</sup>

<sup>1157</sup> It is clear from the photograph that surface immediately in front of this sign is chipped out, as is the case in the line above, cf. Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 37.

<sup>1158</sup> See the comment on this feature below; see also the stelae of *Tti* (4.4.1), *Tw.f-n-mwt.f* (4.4.3), *Msy* (4.2.1). See also the stela of *T3w*, 'the Sole Ornament of the King, Priestess of Hathor', who was also identified with Osiris as an offering recipient, see Lopez, in *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1975), 70, fig. 9.

<sup>1159</sup> See Habachi, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 170-72; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 38; Habachi, *SAK* 10 (1983), 206-13. *Nb.t* is mentioned in two Eighth Dynasty decrees from the temple of Min at Coptos, cf. *Urk* I, 298:3-4; 303:3. She was the 'King's Eldest Daughter, and the Sole Ornament of the King' in addition to other titles which are preserved on her false door; see also *TPC*, pl. 73 (1). Note the further reduction of the recess on the provincial false door from Busirite Nome, cf. Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 9-13, figs. 3-4.

<sup>1160</sup> Vandier, *Manuel*, II, 411-12.

<sup>1161</sup> The detail in question evidently has a basis in reality; see for example Emery's drawing, *Great Tombs* I, fig. 28. For more discussion of this feature as characteristic of the period in question, see Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 53-4, fig. 6.

<sup>1162</sup> *BMFA* 23 (1925), 26; W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu G 7101 and G 7102* (Boston, 1976), pl. VIII, figs, e.g. 16-17, 20, 23, 25.

<sup>1163</sup> *West. Cem.*, fig 52.

<sup>1164</sup> *TPC* II, pl. 38, 61.

<sup>1165</sup> *CCG* 1536, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, pl. 50.

<sup>1166</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-06*, pl. XIV; idem, *Saqqara 1906-07*, pl VI (2) respectively.




<sup>1167</sup> *Coptite Nome*, e.g. nos. 10, 14, 18, 23, 26, 28, 29, 33.

<sup>1168</sup> See the stela of *Bnd.t* *CCG* 1667, cf. Kanawati, *Hawawish* VIII, 61, pl. 13a, fig., 33b; It also appears on the stela of *3tt-k3*. (i) Turin 1263 = idem, *Hawawish* VI, pl. 13b, fig., 29b.

<sup>1169</sup> Cf. the stela of *Nfr-iw* MMA 12.183.8, Fischer, *Dendera*, pl. XXV; *b-ihw* Cairo JÉ. 38551, cf. ibid, pl. XXIV; *Snni* Edinburgh 1910-96, cf. ibid, pl. XXVI; and the stela of *Idi* Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm 11420,



Another characteristic feature appears in the style of the dress worn by the deceased on the panel scene: the long tight-fitting dress with shoulder straps which have a carved inner edge is a fashionable style of long dress with shoulder straps during the Herakleopolitan Period. The paucity of examples in the Memphite necropolis during this period might hint at provincial influences: this style of dress consistently occurs in the Coptite Nome,<sup>1170</sup> Hagarsa,<sup>1171</sup> Naga ed-Deir,<sup>1172</sup> Thebes,<sup>1173</sup> and Aswan.<sup>1174</sup>

The formation of the name of *S3t* + NN is not known before the very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1175</sup> The mention of the otherwise unknown king's name *7-tnw*  is highly important in term of dating, probably being one of the many ephemeral rulers of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1176</sup> The name is itself a compound containing, apparently, two names *7y*  and *Tnw* , both of which are individually attested for non-royal persons in the Old Kingdom.<sup>1177</sup> The name inside the cartouche might belong to one of the ephemeral rulers who took over the throne during the critical era at the end of the Old Kingdom.

Palaeographic features which appear here also point to a date not before the very end of the Old Kingdom: the phonetic writing of *Tnpw* is a later development which derives from the circumlocutions that were designed to eliminate the figures of men and animals in the inscriptions adjacent to the burial chamber.<sup>1178</sup> It seems that such writings did not begin to appear in the inscriptions of the offering chapel before the very end of the Old Kingdom,<sup>1179</sup>

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ibid, pl. XXVIII. For another example, from the same place, see Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 11B; here only the front leg rises above the side edge of the seat.

<sup>1170</sup> *Coptite Nome*, e.g. nos. 17, 18, 19, 21, 25, 26, 28, 30, 32, 33-6, and 41.

<sup>1171</sup> Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 7.

<sup>1172</sup> Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 78, 83; and CCG 1627.

<sup>1173</sup> Petrie, *Qurneh*, pl. 7.

<sup>1174</sup> *Coptite Nome*, 53, n. 2, fig. 5 (e). In the tomb of *St-k3.l* on the east-wall, south end.

<sup>1175</sup> *PN* II, 233; cf. Fischer, *JAOS* 76 (1956), 104-105.

<sup>1176</sup> Note that he is usually included with the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties kings, cf. von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 60, n. 12; Gauthier, *RT* 40 (1923), 198.


<sup>1177</sup> For *Tnw* see, *PN* I, 391:22; and cf. also *Tnmw*, Fischer, *Kush* 9 (1961), 61. For *7y*, contrary to Munro who suggests that it is only known as early as the VIII Dynasty (cf. *SAK* 10 (1983), 293, n. 43), was already known for both men, and women (cf. *PN* I, 391: 22; Hassan, *Giza* I, 102-3, fig. 72, pl. 66; Fischer, *ZAS* 105 (1978), 58-9, fig. 5; Lutz, *Stele*, no. 17). For other occurrences of compound names see Fischer, *OMRO* 41 (1960), 10, n. 37; *PN* II, 8; Scott, *MMA Bulletin* N.S. (1948), 96, 100.

<sup>1178</sup> See, for instances, *TPC*, 172-4, see also, Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, e.g. figs. 11, 42, 41, 46, 47, 54, 55, 85, 90, 118, 139; cf. Junker, *Giza* VIII, abb. 70, 74.

<sup>1179</sup> See, for instances, Junker, *Giza* VII, Abb. 104; XI, Abb. 40; Kanawati, *Saqqara* I, pl. 29. For contemporary provincial examples see Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 7, 7a. For the date of this stela see Fischer, *Dendera*, 113-15. This





and became frequent thereafter.<sup>1180</sup> The degenerated city determinative,<sup>1181</sup> the arrangement of *pr̥t hrw*,<sup>1182</sup> the *is* sign,<sup>1183</sup> all are indicative of a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom. The

*hs* sign with the distinctive cap  is a common writing during the Herakleopolitan period,<sup>1184</sup>

as is its occurrence with a spout  in offering table iconography.<sup>1185</sup> Five different writings of

the name of *Ht-hr* appear: on the panel, the cross-bar, inner jambs, and on the right outer jamb.

The writing of *hwt* sign, with small square at the top behind the head of the falcon, starts to appear from the end of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>1186</sup> This writing becomes frequent from at least the

mid-Sixth Dynasty and was the standard writing during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1187</sup>   : this writing appeared as early as the end of the Old Kingdom on coffins at Akhmim,<sup>1188</sup> as well as in Memphis.<sup>1189</sup> It is not before the very end of the Old Kingdom that this writing appears on stelae,<sup>1190</sup> and became gradually more common thereafter.<sup>1191</sup>

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writing also occurs on a late Old Kingdom false door niche of *St-nt-Ppy* at Mendes, see C. Soghar, *JARCE* 6 (1967), fig. 9. At Naga ed-Deir there is at least one example from the very end of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty) with this writing, see C. Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs*, pl. 11.

<sup>1180</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII, XVI; idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (1-2). For similar examples at Naga ed-Deir, see Peck, op. cit., pl. 15; cf. also Kanawati, *Hawawish I*, figs. 7, 16a; *Hawawish II*, figs., 4, 6, 7, 23.

<sup>1181</sup> See Fischer, *MMJ* 11, 22; idem, *Dendera*, 78-9, n. 83.

<sup>1182</sup> Brovarski, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant I*, 102; El-Fikey, *The Mastaba of the Vizier Re<sup>c</sup>-wer*, pl. 5; see also, Simpson, *Qar and Idou*, figs. 33, 36; Capart, *Rue de Tombeaux*, pls. XI, XII; cf. also, Hassan, *Saqqara II*, fig. 3, pl. III; idem, *Saqqara III*, pl. LVII (a); Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 38, 52, 60, 80; *TPC II*, pls. 71 (2), 72 (2), 73 (1-2).

<sup>1183</sup> See Fischer, *Dendera*, 133 (9), fig. 23.

<sup>1184</sup> Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 219-222.

<sup>1185</sup> Ibid, 220-222.

<sup>1186</sup> Cf. Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 230, pl. LXXX; see also, Galvin, in *JAOS* 103 (1983), 427. Fischer suggests a mid Sixth Dynasty date for the occurrence of this writing, *JAOS* 76 (1956), 100.


<sup>1187</sup> Fischer, *JAOS* 76, 100, n. 5.

<sup>1188</sup> Cf. Brovarski, in *Mélanges Gamal-eddin Mokhtar*, 129; Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, 245-6.

<sup>1189</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 38, 85, 90; see also, Galvin, *JAOS* 103 (1983), 425-30.

<sup>1190</sup> The earliest example of such writing, occurs on the false door of *Mry*'s wife in Hagarsa see Kanawati, *Hagarsa I*, pls. 36, 44-5; see also Habachi, *SAK* 10 (1983), 211, fig. 3 (Eighth Dynasty). See Fischer, *Dendera*, 90 (16).

<sup>1191</sup> *Deir el-Bahari III*, pl. 3; see for more discussion, Galvin, *JAOS* 103 (1983), 425-30, tbs. A-G.

The orthography of *w<sup>c</sup>t.t* is frequently found outside the Memphite necropolis from the late Sixth Dynasty and probably became a characteristic spelling thereafter.<sup>1192</sup> The left-wards orientation of the ideogram , regardless the direction of the sign, is another common feature during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1193</sup> The abbreviated writing of the epithet *im3ht* is not known in the Memphite necropolis before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1194</sup> The writing of *h3* sign, it is frequently written like that on other contemporary stelae from the Memphite necropolis.<sup>1195</sup> The *mnht* sign in the short offering list is unusual.<sup>1196</sup> The other telling indication of a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period is the identification of the deceased as Osiris.

On these grounds one would assign this stela to a date close to that of *7ti*, not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 4.4.3. Stela of *Tw.f-n-mwt.f* (Plate XLIX)

Bibl: *TPC* I, 182; II, pl. 69; Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), pl. VIIa. For other inscriptions of the same man see p. 210 (15).

The false door of *Tw.f-n-mwt.f* was possibly found during the season 1921-22. According to the excavator it was in very good condition and excellent preservation when it was found. This small limestone false door measures 84 x 53 x 9 cm. It is crowned by a cavetto cornice on which the palm-leaf decoration is painted in red. The false door is also framed by a torus moulding with lashing on top, the lashing only being executed in paint. Outside the torus moulding is the usual recessed bordering frame. The central niche is decorated in paint showing the representation of a two-leaved wooden door: a vertical red line down the centre of the

<sup>1192</sup> Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, e.g. nos. 3, 4, 25; at Naga ed-Deir, cf. Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 4, 10, 23, 55, 57. At Dendera, see Fischer, *Dendera*, figs. 31 (top left), 33 (b).

<sup>1193</sup> See Fischer, *JAOS* 76 (1956), 101, nn. 8-10; idem, *Coptite Nome*, 55.

<sup>1194</sup> See Fischer, *Dendera*, 131, n. 578; idem, *Varia*, 51-3.

<sup>1195</sup> Cf. *TPC* II, pls. 67 (1-2), 69, 70 (2), 72 (2); Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pls. XIII, XVII (2); idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl VI (2).

<sup>1196</sup> For a variation of this sign, see Fischer, *Dendera*, 137, n. 593, 131, 199.



niche represents the division between the leaves of the door, each of which is painted with yellow back-ground, and decorated with a pattern of red lines forming small squares. Texts are incised, while figures on the outer jambs and the panel are in raised relief.<sup>1197</sup> Each of the outer jambs has a figure of the deceased standing, facing the central niche.

On the right jamb, the deceased is represented wearing a shoulder length wig which leaves his ear exposed, a broad collar, bracelets and a pointed kilt. He extends his right hand open at his side, while his left hand is at his side holding a folded cloth. The left jamb shows *Tw.f-n-mwt.f* with short hair wearing bracelets, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt, and holding the usual long staff and baton.

The panel is of the type that fills the entire space between the door jambs, displaying the usual table scene. The deceased sits on the right facing left, on a low-back chair, wearing a shoulder length wig, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar, and a knee length kilt. He holds his left hand to his chest grasping a folded cloth,<sup>1198</sup> and extends his right hand towards an offering table. The offering table is loaded with the usual rectangular-like bread slices shape, above which are a foreleg of beef, and a trussed duck. Underneath the table, to the left of the table pedestal, is a large nested ewer and basin, resting directly on the floor which is represented by a horizontal black line running beneath the whole scene.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy ḡw.f imy-wt nb t3 ḡsr* 2. (B) *pr̄it-h̄rw n im3h̄ Tw.f-n-mwt.f* 3. (C) *im3h̄ hr wsir Tw.f-n-mwt.f* 4. (F) *im3h̄ hr nbw.f Tw.f-n-mwt.f* 5. (G) *smr w̄ty Tw.f-n-mwt.f* 6. (D) *h̄3 t h̄3 hnqt h̄3 k3w h̄3 3pdw h̄3 šs h̄3 mnht n wsir Tw.f-n-mwt.f*

#### Translation:


1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, 2. a voice offering to the revered, *Tw.f-n-mwt.f*. 3. He who is revered by Osiris *Tw.f-n-mwt.f*. 4. He who is honoured by his lords, *Tw.f-n-mwt.f*. 5. Sole Companion,

<sup>1197</sup> See Malek, in *LÄ* V, 409.


<sup>1198</sup> Fischer, *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Mus. J.* vol. 1-11, 143-55.


*Tw.f-n-mwt.f.* 6. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand of alabaster, and thousand of cloth for Osiris *Tw.f-n-mwt.f.*

Comment:

The name of the stela's owner presents an interesting problem.<sup>1199</sup> First, the name is written in three different versions: two appear on the false door, and the third occurs on a limestone lintel from the same chapel. It is the orthography of the first word that creates the problem. 

was written thus during the Old Kingdom and most of the Herakleopolitan Period for *iw.f* meaning 'he is'.<sup>1200</sup> The same writing expressed words like 'meat', or 'flesh'.<sup>1201</sup> It is clear that

there a homophony between the words led to *iw.f* 'he is' borrowing the determinative  of *iw.f* 'meat, flesh'.<sup>1202</sup> Context, is the only tool that can be used to differentiate between these two words. For instance the word *iw.f* for 'meat' or 'flesh' occurred frequently in the offering list, butchery scene, and other contexts.<sup>1203</sup> The same writing is frequently used during the Old

Kingdom for what the Middle Kingdom scribes wrote as  to express the meaning of 'he is'.<sup>1204</sup> This leaves us with not only two possible translations for the name of the stela's owner, but also two different grammatical constructions. The first translation 'the flesh of his mother' can be explained grammatically as a noun and indirect genitive.<sup>1205</sup> The second translation 'he is of (belonging to) his mother', can be explained as a nominal phrase constructed of the auxiliary *iw* + suffix pronoun 3rd person + adverbial predicate: a grammatical formulation which expresses the meaning of possession.<sup>1206</sup> However the second translation is more likely, since similar names are known from the same period<sup>1207</sup> and

<sup>1199</sup> The name does not appear anywhere else, cf. *PN I*, 14: 15. However similarly constructed names are known especially from the Middle Kingdom cf. *PN I*, 13-15.

<sup>1200</sup> *Wb I*, 42:12.

<sup>1201</sup> *Wb I*, 51: 14-17.

<sup>1202</sup> Gardiner, *AEO II*, 237\*, 238\*.

<sup>1203</sup> *Pyr.* 84, 566, 725, 1008; Mariette, *Mastabas.*, e.g. D 1, D 38-40; see also, Barta, *Opferliste*, e.g. 49, 61, 74, 75; cf. also, Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungbrauche im Alten Ägypten und ihre Wiedergabe im Flachbild bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches* (München, 1973).

<sup>1204</sup> *Pyr.* 301, 363, 959, 1141; *Urk I*, 122:16; 300: 16-18; Wild, *Ti*, pl. 138.

<sup>1205</sup> Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 88; Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, § 325. see for comparison *PN I*, 277: 19; 289: 23.

<sup>1206</sup> Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 37, 117; see also, Edel, op. cit., § 919.

<sup>1207</sup> See for instance *PN I*, 15: 7, 12; *TPC*, 199 (32).




thereafter.<sup>1208</sup> It is likely, however that the unusual writing is orthographic pun and a deliberately ambiguous writing.

In *nb.wf* 'his masters', the lack of a determinative after the word *nbw* might present a problem of identification. It is likely that the term refers to royal masters, as in the titulary of *Tti*.<sup>1209</sup> This however does not rule out a possibility of *nbw* referring to either private or divine mastery.

### Dating:

The panel type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs is indicative of a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare. The painted wooden door displayed on the central niche, is indicative of a later date.<sup>1210</sup> The composition of the offering table is a common feature during this period.

The inscriptional features are classic late Old Kingdom, however the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*  on the inner right jamb assigns the stela to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The other significant dating criterion is the identification with Osiris, a feature which does not occur on stelae before the Herakleopolitan Period. The resemblance between this stela and the false door of *Tti* would also suggest a date very close to that of *Tti*.

### Inscribed lintel and two door jambs of *Iw.f-n-mwt.f*.

According to Gunn, the lintel measures, 23 x 106 x 42 cm. Each of the two jambs measures 87 x 22 x 44 cm. Texts on both the lintel and the side-pieces are incised. On the lintel is a horizontal line of hieroglyphs running from right to left. Each of the jambs has a single column of inscription.

### Transliteration:

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<sup>1208</sup> *PNI*, 13-15.

<sup>1209</sup> Fischer, *ZAS* 90, 37.


<sup>1210</sup> *TPC*, pl. 67 (2); cf. also Kanawati, *Saqqara I*, pls. 5-6; cf. Kanawati, *Hagarsa I*, pl. 14. (b), and 45.

(lintel) 1. *pr̥t-ḥrw n im3ḥw ḥr wsir nb imnty Tw.f-n-mwt. f* (right jamb) 2. *ḥtp di nswt Wsir nb imnty qrs.t.f nfr Tw.f-n -mwt.f* (left jamb) 3. *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy ḏw.f ḥpi.f ḥr w3.wt nfr Tw.f-n-mwt.f*

Translation:

1. A voice offering to he who is revered by Osiris lord of the west, *Tw.f-n-mwt.f*. 2. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of the west, that he be beautifully buried, *Tw.f-n-mwt.f*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, that he may walk upon the beautiful roads, *Tw.f-n-mwt.f*.

Comment:

The appearance of  at the end of the name on the lintel is no more than a substitute for the hieroglyph representing the human form, a practice probably related to the substitution and mutilation of signs in funerary texts which lay nearest to the body. The abbreviated west ideogram,<sup>1211</sup> and its reversal,<sup>1212</sup> the forked tail of the *w3* sign,<sup>1213</sup> all frequently occur during the Herakleopolitan Period.

<sup>1211</sup> See Brovarski, *JNES* 32 (1973), 464, nn. 31-2. This writing appeared at least as early as the late Sixth Dynasty cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, e.g. pls. XII, XIV, XVI; see also Kanawati, *Hagarsa I*, pl. 44.

<sup>1212</sup> For the reversal of writing in general, see Fischer, *Orientation* (New York, 1977).

<sup>1213</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 86. This writing is also known from the late Sixth Dynasty tombs at South Saqqara, see, Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, pls. III, VI, VII.



#### 4.5. The occurrence of the epithet 'Osiris', its dating and religious implications.

##### Conclusions:

The offering scene on the panel of this false door displays an interesting phenomenon. The name of *Tti* is introduced by that of Osiris. It is well established that the epithet first occurred in the pyramid of Unas, last king of the Fifth Dynasty,<sup>1214</sup> and was then regarded as a royal prerogative.<sup>1215</sup> Probably as a result of the political change and decline of the Memphite regime, this royal concession became open to anyone with adequate means to have his tomb or stela inscribed, bringing to light what has been called the 'democratisation' of religion.<sup>1216</sup> The epithet was perhaps discreetly used in the burial chamber at the very end of the Old Kingdom. It was then used frequently during the Herakleopolitan Period and thereafter, either on the coffins or in the burial chamber inscriptions. However the use of this epithet in the tomb-

<sup>1214</sup> A. Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unas: Texts* (Princeton, 1968).

<sup>1215</sup> See J.G. Griffith, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1980), 44, 218-19.

<sup>1216</sup> J.P. Sorenson, 'Divine access: the so-called democratization of Egyptian funerary literature as a socio-cultural process', in G. Englund (ed.), *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians: Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions* (Uppsala, 1989), 109-25; See also Kemp in B.G. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 115-6. The point is so well known that hardly any one has felt a necessity to cite specific examples or investigate them, see Silverman, 'The nature of Egyptian kingship', in D. O'Connor and D.P. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden, 1995), 80-2; Drioton and Vandier, *L'Égypte*<sup>3</sup>, 101; Erman and Ranke, *Ägypten*, 347; see also, Bourriau, 'Patterns of changes in burial customs during the Middle Kingdom', in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 4.

superstructure or on a stela is rather rare. Perhaps the public display of such an epithet would still be considered provocative.

Four occurrences of this epithet on private stelae are known to me from Saqqara: *Tw.f-n-mwt.f*,<sup>1217</sup> *S3t-Iy-tnw*,<sup>1218</sup> *Tti*,<sup>1219</sup> and *Msy*.<sup>1220</sup> Another example is from Herakleopolis, that of *T3w*.<sup>1221</sup> This convention, which was common in the Coffin Texts, remains surprisingly infrequent during the succeeding period of the Middle Kingdom,<sup>1222</sup> so far as inscriptions outside the burial chamber are concerned. The Middle Kingdom statue base of *Sbk-htp*<sup>1223</sup> and at Meir two of the Twelfth Dynasty nomarchs named *Wh-htp* have their names introduced by this epithet.<sup>1224</sup> At Saqqara it appears on two Middle Kingdom stelae, of *Pth-htp*<sup>1225</sup> and *Nfr-hr*.<sup>1226</sup> According to Fischer this phenomenon is not evidenced at all in the Middle Kingdom tomb chapels at Beni Hasan and Bersha. The epithet only occurs on three Middle Kingdom stelae published in the Cairo Museum's *Catalogue Général*.<sup>1227</sup>

As noted by Fischer, in the Memphite stelae as well as the Middle Kingdom examples, the epithet 'Osiris' before the deceased's name is applied in connection with the presentation of offerings. This means that the epithet of Osiris was applied here when the deceased is recognised as a recipient of the offerings, taking over the role of kings whose pyramid texts invariably identified them with Osiris in the same context. This calls to mind the use of this epithet in the late Old Kingdom burial chambers from South Saqqara; in some of these chambers each individual item of an extensive offering list is addressed to Osiris NN.<sup>1228</sup> A less

<sup>1217</sup> TPC I, 182, 210; II, pl. 69; Fischer, ZÄS 90, pl. VIIa.

<sup>1218</sup> Cairo JE 59158; Fischer, *ibid*, 36 n. 2.

<sup>1219</sup> Fischer, ZÄS 90 (1963), 35-41, pl. V.

<sup>1220</sup> Kanawati, *Saqqara II*, pl. 20.

<sup>1221</sup> Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1975), fig. 9.

<sup>1222</sup> No doubt this feature was a local tradition in the Saqqara necropolis, and made its first appearance in the tombs which were built near the pyramids of Pepy II. However, this convention found its way to the provinces, see, Fischer, ZÄS, 90, 37; see also *Mni* from Dendera and his usurpation of the pyramid text and his identification with Osiris, cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 88 (7), for the date of *Mni*, see *ibid*, 85-91.

<sup>1223</sup> Fischer, in *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal Volumes I-11*, 126-30, figs. 24-28.

<sup>1224</sup> Blackman, *Meir*, II, pls. 8, 12; III, 4, 13, 21.

<sup>1225</sup> Jéquier, *Le mastabat faraun*, 31, pl. 12.

<sup>1226</sup> *Idem*, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, fig. 29.

<sup>1227</sup> CCG 20151 (*nh-rn-snb*); 20249 (*Hmw.s*); 20516 (*Int.f*).

<sup>1228</sup> Fischer, ZÄS 90 (1963), 37, pl. VIIb; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 14-15 (Osiris *Idi*), fig. 48 (Osiris *Pnw*), pl. 3 (Osiris *Sni*); *idem*, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, pl. 52 (Osiris *Tbw*); see also Capart, *Chambres funéraires*, pls. 1-2 (Osiris *Mrw/bbi*).



frequent use has the entire offering list complemented by a statement addressing the offering to the deceased in the guise of Osiris.<sup>1229</sup> These examples, together with later stelae indicate, as noted by Fischer, that the use of the Osiris epithet originated in Memphis, and was probably a local tradition at Saqqara.<sup>1230</sup>

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<sup>1229</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, pl. 3; idem, *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire*, 40.

<sup>1230</sup> Fischer, *ZÄS* 90, 37.

## 4.6. Unas Cemetery.

### 4.6.1. stela of *Hnw* (Plate L)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 625-5; Michalowski, *Piramidy i mastaby*, pl. 75.

A limestone stela of typical Sixth Dynasty style, with the usual cavetto cornice, torus moulding and panel with narrow aperture on each side. Texts and figures are incised: only the offering table and the offering on the panel are made in raised relief. The stela has six jambs, three on each side, each jamb with a single column of inscription, and at the end is a portrait of the deceased, representing him standing, and facing the central niche. The six figures are identical, depicting the deceased with shoulder length wig, wearing what is probably a broad collar, and pointed kilt. He holds the usual long staff and baton. The scene on the panel displays the usual table scene, with deceased sitting on the left facing right; before him is an offering table with tall bread slices. Next to this on the right is an ewer and basin on a small low stand, beside which is another rectangular stand loaded with tall *hs* jars. To the right are more offering items arranged on the top of each other. At the end of the inscriptions on the lintel is a small-scale representation of the deceased sitting on a low-back chair, holding his long staff.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *im3hw hr nswt bity wnis Hnw* 2. (B') *htp di nswt htp di inpw qrst.f m is.f n hrt-ntr hnty-š Nfr-iswt-wnis Hnw* 3. (C') same as col. (2) 4. (A) *hnty-š Nfr-iswt-wnis Hnw* 5. (B) *htp di nswt di wsir prit hrw n.f m hb nb nfr r<sup>c</sup> nb n im3hw Hnw* 6. (C) same as col. (5) 7. (F) *htp di nswt htp di inpw sm3.f t3 m htp r imnty nfrt im3hw Hnw* 8. (G) same as col. (7).
9. (E) *im3hw Hnw* 10. (D) *im3hw hr ntr-<sup>c</sup>3 Hnw*

#### Translation:

1. He who is honoured by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Wnis,<sup>1231</sup> *Hnw* 2. An offering which the King gives and an offering which Anubis gives, may he be buried in his tomb of the necropolis, Tenant of *Nfr-iswt-Wnis Hnw*. 3. An offering which the King gives and an offering which Anubis gives, may he be buried in his tomb of the necropolis,

<sup>1231</sup> For the implication of this and similar phrases, see Altenmüller, *SAK* 1 (1974), 1-18.



Tenant of *Nfr-lswt-Wnls Hnw*. 4. Tenant of *Nfr-lswt-Wnls Hnw*. 5. An offering which the King gives and that Osiris gives, a voice offering to him in every beautiful feast and every day, to the honoured *Hnw*. 6. An offering which the King gives and that Osiris gives, a voice offering to him in every beautiful feast and every day, to the honoured *Hnw*. 7. An offering which the King gives and offering which Anubis gives, may he join the land in peace to the beautiful west, the honoured *Hnw*. 8. An offering which the King gives and offering which Anubis gives, may he join the land in peace to the beautiful west, the honoured *Hnw*. 9. The honoured *Hnw*. 10. He who is honoured by the great god, *Hnw*.

### Dating:

Neither style nor iconography provide clues for the stela's dating.<sup>1232</sup> The inscriptions of his chapel are however more helpful.<sup>1233</sup> The mastaba of *Hnw* is dated by Munro to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>1234</sup> In an attempt to verify his suggestion Munro questioned the date of some of the adjacent mastabas, *Wnls-h3-lst.f*,<sup>1235</sup> *Pth-špss/imp*,<sup>1236</sup> and *Ny-ḥh-Ppy*.<sup>1237</sup> A Middle Kingdom date was suggested for the first on the stylistic grounds, which he himself admits are questionable: the mastaba relief and inscriptions show no Middle Kingdom features.<sup>1238</sup> On the contrary, the decoration shows an overall conformity to late Old Kingdom style: a style of drawing and carving which is very like the

<sup>1232</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 18, 21-22.

<sup>1233</sup> The mastaba of *Hnw* has yet to be published by the German expedition.


<sup>1234</sup> Munro, *SAK* 10 (1978), 283-95; idem, *GM* 63 (1983), 85-105.

<sup>1235</sup> Cf. Saad, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 686, fig. 74; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 615-16; P. Munro, *GM* 59 (1982), 77-93; idem, *SAK* 3 (1975), 121-123; idem, *SAK* 10 (1983), 283-95; idem, *GM* 63 (1983), 81-3.

<sup>1236</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 626-7.

<sup>1237</sup> Cf. Hassan, *Saqqara* II, 1-23; Fischer, *JEA* 65 (1979), 179.

<sup>1238</sup> Note that the reliefs of the mastabas of both *Thy* and *Htp*, located to the north of Teti's pyramid, which Munro attempts to compare with that of *Wnls-h3-lst.f* display characteristic features of the Middle Kingdom in both their relief and inscriptions. They both, for instance write the offering formula in a fashion typical of the Middle Kingdom, *di.f prit hrw* (cf. Bennett, *JEA* 27 (1941), 77-8; see also, G. Rosati, *OrAnt* 19 (1980), 269-278; C. Obsomer, in *Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès* (Brussels, 1993), 163-200; R.J. Leprohon, *JEA* 76 (1990), 163-164). Palaeographic features appear in these two mastabas which are evidently not known before the end of the Herakleopolitan Period and Middle Kingdom: for instance the writing of *ntr-ḥ3* with the ḥ3 sign written

horizontally  (cf. Schenkel, *FMAS*, § 4, pp. 30-31; Fischer, *Ancient Egypt in the MMJ*, 161, n. 33; G. Lapp, *Typologie*, § 459-462) as well as the writing of the papyrus roll sign with two loops (*Typologie*, § 2, pp. 27-8; see also, Spanel, *Or* 58 (1989), 309-310, n. 40; idem, in P. Der Manuelian, *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson II* (Boston, 1996), 767, n. 12 and references there).



bold relief of the late Sixth Dynasty, which shows carefully drawn details.<sup>1239</sup> The type of wig worn by the deceased signifies a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1240</sup> One other feature which probably associates *Wnls-ḥ3-lst.f* with the very end of the Old Kingdom or very early Herakleopolitan Period, is the similarity of his burial chamber decoration with those which are found around the cemetery of Pepy II, as well as the identification of the deceased with Osiris in the context of the offering list in the inscriptions adjacent to the sarcophagus.<sup>1241</sup>

In the mastaba of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy*, Munro questions the date of the statues of the deceased<sup>1242</sup> found in the burial chamber. This type of statue is not very common before the very end of the Old Kingdom. In particular, their low back seats are suggestive of Middle Kingdom date.<sup>1243</sup> However, this shape probably exemplifies the ultimate degeneration of the royal throne, which is seen in the royal statuary of the Sixth Dynasty, as convincingly suggested by Fischer.<sup>1244</sup> Moreover, as noted by Brovarski,<sup>1245</sup> the style of the sarcophagus of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy* is typical of late Old Kingdom and not later. Fischer also notes that the beams of the wooden bedstead of *Ny-ḥnh-Ppy* are inscribed with a brief series of funerary texts which are otherwise not known in non-royal tombs during the Old Kingdom,<sup>1246</sup> a phenomenon which is evidenced at the very end of the Old Kingdom, perhaps the Eighth Dynasty.<sup>1247</sup> In these texts the first person singular pronoun is written

, and the first person independent pronoun is , neither of these is attested

<sup>1239</sup> S. Schott, 'Zu Krönungstitulatur der Pyramidenzeit' in *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1956, Taf. 3; Fischer, *Varia*, 82, fig. 1; Saad, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 686, fig. 74.

<sup>1240</sup> Fischer, *JARCE* 1 (1963), 17, n. 80; idem, *JNES* 18 (1959), 239, n. 16; cf. also. Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 186, n. 89.

<sup>1241</sup> Cf. Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 37, pl. VII (b); cf. also, Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers.*, figs. 14-15, 48, pl. 3; idem, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, pl. 52; Capart, *Chambre funéraires*, pls. 1-2; Jéquier, *Deux pyramides*, 40.

<sup>1242</sup> Hassan, *Saqqara II*, 17-19, pls. 6-11.

<sup>1243</sup> Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, § 345. He suggests that this fashion might have originated from the throne shape of the royal statues of the Sixth Dynasty, cf. Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 56 (A).



<sup>1244</sup> For similar late Old Kingdom statues see, Hassan, *Saqqara III*, 12, 16; A. Shoukhry, *Die Privatgrabstatue im alten Reich* (Cairo, 1957), 220; see also Fischer, *JEA* 65 (1979), 179.

<sup>1245</sup> Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 187.

<sup>1246</sup> Hassan, *Saqqara II*, 21-22, pls XIX-XX

<sup>1247</sup> Cf. Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 37; idem, *Dendera*, 88 (7); cf. also, M. Valloggia, *Balat I: Le mastaba de Medou-Nefer (=IFAO XXXI/1)* (Cairo, 1986), 74-6; cf. also, J. Osing, *MDAIK* 43 (1987), 207ff



before the reign of King *Tbl* of the Eighth Dynasty.<sup>1248</sup> Given the above-mentioned criteria, one can probably assign *Ny-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy* to a date not earlier than the very end of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty). Contrary to Munro, a comparison of *Hnw*'s mastaba with that of *Ny-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy*, would place *Hnw* at the very end of the Old Kingdom too.<sup>1249</sup> The mastaba of *Hnw* displays, however, some later features which frequently occur at the very end of the Old Kingdom: for instance the elongation of hieroglyphic signs in headings,<sup>1250</sup> the occurrence of the first person singular suffix pronoun , the deification of King Unas,<sup>1251</sup> and the gesture , which appears in the representation of *Hnw*,<sup>1252</sup> all point to a date not earlier than very end of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty), or early in the Herakleopolitan Period. He was possibly contemporary of both *Ny-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy* and *Wnls-<sup>h</sup>3-išt.f*.

#### 4.6.2. Stela of *Nwb-htp/bbi* (Plate LI)

Bibl: Z.Y. Saad, *ASAE* 40 (1940), fig. 72; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 652.


A limestone false door, found together with 27 false door stelae by Saad in the area east of the Unas mortuary temple, north of the causeway. The stela has the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding. The panel takes the shape of an inverted T-shape.<sup>1253</sup> Texts and figures on the jambs and the panel are incised. The stela has four jambs, two on each side, each with a single column of inscription, and at the end of each is a portrait of

<sup>1248</sup> Fischer, *JEA* 65 (1979), 179; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* §160, 173; Schenkel, *FMÄS*, § 13 (b).

<sup>1249</sup> See Altenmüller, *SAK* 1 (1974), 12-18.

<sup>1250</sup> Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy*, 39, fig. 3.

<sup>1251</sup> Probably *Mtiti* (Ziegler, *Stèle*, p. 136) is to be dated also to the very end of the Old Kingdom. Notably, he was *im3hw hr wnls* 'one who is revered by Unas'. On the dating of this official see, Munro *GM* 59 (1982), 98; idem, *GM* 74 (1984), 72, n. 24; Moussa and Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 36 (1980), 346, n. 13; see also, Baer, *Rank and Title*, 44-45, 83; E. Russmann, 'A second style in Egyptian art of the Old Kingdom', *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 274-279; see also a recent treatment by Munro who suggests a date in the Eleventh Dynasty, P. Munro, 'Bemerkungen zur Datierung *Mtiti* zu seinen statuen Brooklyn 51.1/Kansas City 51-1 und zu verwandten rundbildern', in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* I, 245-277

<sup>1252</sup> Cf. L. Klebs, *Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, 177; Peck, *Some Decorated tombs at Naga ed-Dêr*, 100, n. 2; Goedicke, *ASAE* 55 (1955), 48-9; see also Fischer, 'The ideographic use of  in a group of Old Kingdom names', *JEA* 60 (1974), 247, n. 3.

<sup>1253</sup> Cf. Wiebach, *Die Ägyptische Scheintür*, 10, n. 32; CCG 1400, 1462.

the deceased, depicting her standing facing the central niche. The four figures are identically produced, representing the deceased with long wig, probably with only one lappet falling behind the back shoulder. She wears a broad collar, and long tight fitting dress. She holds a lotus blossom to her nose in one hand, while the other hand is hanging along her side, open. On the panel the deceased sits on a backless chair, on the left facing right. Before her is an offering table, and above the offering scene are two lines of inscription, followed by a short ideographic offering list. Next to the table on the right are the usual ewer and basin, heaps of offerings, and a rectangular stand, above which are wine jars. The space created by the panel shape is decorated with ointment jars, which are arranged symmetrically.

#### Transliteration:

1. (left outer jamb) *rht nswt hm(t)-ntr Ht-hr m Mrt-Wnls im3hwt hr ntr-3 Bbi* 2. (right outer jamb) *htp di nswt htp di wsir hpi.s hr w3wt nfrwt nt imnty Bbi.* 3. (inner left jamb) *htp di nswt htp di inpw pri n.s prit hrw n im3hwt Nwb-htp* 4. (right inner jamb) *htp di nswt htp di wsir qrs.tw.s nfr m hrt-ntr Nwb-htp* 5. (left of the door drum) *hswt rmtt* 6. (right of the door drum) *im3hwt hr wsir mrt h3.s Bbi* 7. (D, panel) *irt in spss nswt Hnw* 8. *n hmt.f Nwb-htp rn.s nfr Bbi* 9. *h3 t h3 p3t h3 hnqt h3 ss h3 mnht*

#### Translation:

1. Royal Acquaintance, Priestess of Hathor in the *Mrt*-temple of Unis, she who is honoured by the great god, *Bbi* 2. An offering which the King gives and offering which Osiris gives, may she travel upon the beautiful roads of the west, *Bbi*. 3. An offering which the King gives and an offering which Anubis gives, a voice offering comes forth to her, to the honoured *Nwb-htp* 4. An offering which the King gives and an offering which Osiris gives, may she be buried well in the necropolis, *Nwb-htp*. 5. Praised by the people 6. She who is honoured by Osiris, beloved of her husband, *Bbi*. 7. (It is) made by the Nobleman of the King *Hnw* 8. for his wife *Nwb-htp*, whose good name is *Bbi* 9. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand pieces of cake, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing.

#### Comments:



The *Mrt* temple is probably a chapel attached to the pyramids' mortuary temples. *Mrt-Snfr-wi* is probably the earliest known example of such a building.<sup>1254</sup> It is part of the temple devoted to Hathor. During the Fifth Dynasty, kings were enthusiastic in their devotion to this goddess, as one can see from the evidence of the established priesthood of Hathor in the *Mrt* temple of the Fifth Dynasty kings and their successors in the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>1255</sup>

The dedication text on the panel shows that the stela was made by the husband for his wife, a fact which might indicate that he outlived her. The name of the husband and his title perhaps would identify him with *Hnw* the owner of a limestone mastaba located just to the east of the cult temple of King Unas.<sup>1256</sup>

#### Dating:

The style and inscriptions bear no specific clues to dating, but generally indicate a date in the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>1257</sup> However, the stela bears a striking similarity to that of *Hnw* the dedicator, particularly in the format of the inscriptions, the opening offering formula, and palaeographic similarities. Since *Hnw* can not be earlier than the Eighth Dynasty,<sup>1258</sup> the stela of *Bbi* his wife can be assigned the same date.

#### 4.6.3. Stela of *Trty* (Plate LII)

Bibl: Saad, *ASAE* 40 (1940), fig. 73; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 622.

<sup>1254</sup> Cf. *Urk* I, 247:15-16. It is mentioned in the account of King Neferirkare of the Fifth Dynasty on the Palermo Stone, 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt (*Nfr-ir-k3-r*), he made it as his monument to fashion and perform the opening of the mouth (to) the electrum statue of *Thy*, to present it to Hathor of the Sycamore (in) the *Mrt-Snfr-wi*'.

<sup>1255</sup> Cf. W. Barta, *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 99-100; Bear, *Rank and Title*, 256 (tb. IV); Helck, in K. Ziegler (ed.), *Realencyclopädie* 46/2 (Stuttgart, 1959), 2262-2263; see also *Urk* I, 180:14; *ASAE* 43 (1943), 506; Mariette, *Mastabas*, E 16; Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, 58, fig. 36. For the location of the *Mrt* temple, see Helck, op. cit, 2263. On the relation of Hathor and the kingship see recently, R.A. Gillam, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 211-234.

<sup>1256</sup> For the stela of this official, his titles and his date (4.6.1).

<sup>1257</sup> Note the addition of the adjective *nfr* to the phrase *qrs.tw*. The addition of the adjective appears in the late Sixth Dynasty texts and becomes more frequent after the Old Kingdom, cf. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 28, n. 114.

<sup>1258</sup> See (4.6.1).

A limestone stela similarly designed to that of *Hnw*.<sup>1259</sup> Texts and figures are both incised. The style of the stela is of the classical Sixth Dynasty type. The door though small has six jambs, three on each side of the central niche. Each of the jambs has a single column of inscriptions, at the end of which is a portrait of the deceased. The six figures are identical, depicting the deceased standing, facing the central niche. The deceased is seen wearing a shoulder length wig, and pointed kilt. He holds a long staff in one hand and a baton in the other. The classical type panel with long narrow apertures displays the usual funerary meal scene.

Transliteration:

1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt ḥtp di inpw ḥnty sh-ntr prit ḥrw n im3ḥw ḥr ntr ʿ3* 2. *ḥtp di nswt ḥtp di wsir qrs.tw smr wʿty imy-r ḥnty-š pr-ʿ3* 3. *špss-nswt ʾ3rty*. 4. (B') *ḥtp di nswt ḥtp di inpw prit ḥrw n im3ḥw ḥr wsir nb Ddw ʾ3rty*. 5. (C') *ḥtp di nswt ḥtp di inpw prit ḥrw n im3ḥw ḥr wsir nb Ddw ʾ3rty*. 6. (B) *im3ḥw m3ʿ ḥrw ḥr ntr-ʿ3 nb imnty špss-nswt ʾ3rty* 7. (C) same as col. (6) 8. (F) *shd ḥmw-ntr Nfr-lswt-Wnls smr wʿty ḥry-ḥb ʾ3rty* 9. (G) *imy-ḥt ḥmw-ntr Nfr-lswt-Wnls smr wʿty ḥry-ḥb ʾ3rty*. 10. (E) *im3ḥw ḥr wnls shd pr-ʿ3 ʾ3rty*. 11. (D) *ḥtp di nswt ḥpp.f ḥr w3wt nfrwt nt ḥrt-ntr ʾ3rty* 12. *ḥtp dit nswt n.f t wʿb n im3ḥ ʾ3rty* 13. *dbḥt ḥtp ḥ3 t ḥ3 p3t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 sr ḥ3 r3 ḥ3 mnḥt ḥ3 šs*.

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and an offering which Anubis gives, foremost of the divine booth, a voice offering to the one honoured by the great god. 2. An offering which the King gives and an offering which Osiris gives, may the Sole Companion, Overseer of the Tenants of the Great Palace may be buried, 3. Noble man of the King *ʾ3rty*. 4. An offering which the King gives and an offering which Anubis gives, a voice offering to the honoured by Osiris, lord of Busiris *ʾ3rty*. 5. An offering which the King gives and an offering which Anubis gives, a voice offering to the honoured by Osiris, lord of Busiris *ʾ3rty*. 6. He who is honoured, justified,<sup>1260</sup> by the great god lord, of the west, nobleman of the King, *ʾ3rty*. 7. He who is honoured, justified by the great god lord, of the west,

<sup>1259</sup> See above under (4.6.1).

<sup>1260</sup> See Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, § 347 (7); See for the meaning of *m3ʿ ḥrw*, R. Anthes, 'The original meaning of *m3ʿ-ḥrw*', *JNES* 13 (1954), 21-51.



nobleman of the King, *ṭṣrty*. 8. Inspector of Priests of the *Nfr-ṭswt-Wnls*, Sole Companion, Lector Priest, *ṭṣrty*. 9. Superintendent of Priests<sup>1261</sup> of the *Nfr-ṭswt-Wnls*, Sole Companion, Lector Priest, *ṭṣrty*. 11. An offering which the King gives, may he walk upon the beautiful roads of the necropolis, *ṭṣrty*. 12. An offering which the King gives, to him, pure bread<sup>1262</sup> to the honoured *ṭṣrty*. 13. The requirements of the offering table, a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand pieces of cake, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of *sr* geese, a thousand of *rṣ* geese, a thousand of clothing, and a thousand of alabaster.

### Dating:

This stela, on the grounds of its style, iconography and palaeography can hardly date much later than the Sixth Dynasty. However, the occurrence of the phrase *mṣꜥ ḥrw ḥr nṯr-ṣ* is probably indicative of a time when some of the royal prerogatives were being adopted by private individuals.<sup>1263</sup> The other indicative feature of a later date is probably the occurrence of the phrase *lmṣḥw ḥr Wnls* which indicates the deification of King Unas.<sup>1264</sup> *ṭṣrty*<sup>1265</sup> is identified as a son of *Ṭy*, in whose tomb probably the owner of this stela is depicted, bearing the title *ṣpss-nswt*, which also appears on his false door.<sup>1266</sup> If this identification is correct, and the relationship of son/father of *Ṭy* and *Ny-ṣnh-Ppy*, is established, one can regard *ṭṣrty* as a contemporary of *Ny-ṣnh-Ppy* or slightly later<sup>1267</sup> Therefore, *Ṭy* might just have outlived the last years of the end of the Old Kingdom, probably witnessing the early years of the new regime.

<sup>1261</sup> For the meaning of *lmy-ḥt* in titles, see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 17-18.

<sup>1262</sup> For discussion for this phrase and similar phrases see, Lüddeckens, *MDAIK* 11 (1943), 20ff; Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 19-20 (g); idem, *GM* 107 (1989), 71-73; Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, § 190.

<sup>1263</sup> Cf. *Pyr.* 354 a, 356 c, 357 c, 361 c, 929 a, 935 a; see also Munro, *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, I, 251. The phrase is known to me to occur on another false door probably of a similar date, that of *ṣnhl*, see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pl. 44.

<sup>1264</sup> Altenmüller, *SAK* 1 (1974), 1-18; See also, Munro in, *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, I, 250-252.

<sup>1265</sup> For the meaning of the name see, Edel, 'Altägyptische Personennamen', *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 79.

<sup>1266</sup> This identification is suggested by Altenmüller, Cf. *SAK* 1 (1974), 12-18; Cf. Baer, *Rank and Title*, no. 320 and no. 18 for *Ṭy*.

<sup>1267</sup> For the date of *Ny-ṣnh-Ppy* see under (4.6.1).

If this is correct *Ṛty* can not be earlier than the Eighth Dynasty or early Herakleopolitan Period.

*Ny-ḥ-Ppy* VI-VIII Dyn. (Father).

*Ṛy* VIII Dyn. (Son).

*Ṛty* VIII-early Herak. Period (Grandson).



## 4.7. South Saqqara

### 4.7.1. False doors.

#### 4.7.1.1. Stela of *Tti* (Plate LIII)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 686; Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, 26, fig. 33.

A small limestone stela with cavetto cornice, and torus moulding. The panel starts directly under the upper torus moulding, a design which leaves no space for the usual lintel. The panel fills the entire space between the outer jambs, and displays the usual table scene. The central niche is wider than usual, in the middle of which is a vertical incised line indicating a wooden door with two leaves. In the middle of this line there is a representation of two bolts. Texts and figures are incised. Each of the four jambs has a single column of inscription, and at the end of each is a figure of the deceased, represented, standing, facing the central niche. The four figures are identical. They show the deceased with short hair, wearing a long-tight, v-neck garment with shoulder straps. She holds a long staff with spear-head shape in one hand, while the other hand hangs open at her side.

#### Transliteration:

1. (B) *ḥkrt nswt wʿtt lm3ḥwt Tti* 2. (C) *ḥkrt nswt wʿtt lm3ḥwt Tti* 3. (F) *špst*<sup>1268</sup> *nswt Tti* 4. (G) *ḥkrt nswt Tti*. 5. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w 3pdw ḥ3 šs mnḥt n ḥkrt nswt Tti*

#### Translation:

1. Sole Ornament of the King, she who is honoured *Tti*. 2. Sole Ornament of the King, she who is honoured *Tti*. 3. Noblewoman of the King, *Tti*. 4. Ornament of the King, *Tti*. 5. A thousand loaves of bread, jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, fowl, a thousand of alabaster and clothing to the Royal Ornament *Tti*.

#### Dating:

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<sup>1268</sup> Note that the signs here might also read *s3(t).s* . It was suggested by Jéquier, that this writing is a variant of *špst nswt* see, Jéquier, *La pyramide d' Oudjebten*, 26, n. 1.

The style of the stela and its design indicates a date probably later than the end of the Old Kingdom, particularly the panel type. Here the panel appears with no aperture at its sides and fills the entire space between the outer jambs. This type of panel is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period. The other feature significant of dating is the representation of the deceased holding a spear-head like staff, this iconographic feature did not appear before the very end of the Old Kingdom, probably first evidenced in royal reliefs of the queens of the Pepy II.<sup>1269</sup> However, this feature seems to become frequent thereafter.<sup>1270</sup> The fact that the stela was found in the vicinity of Queen Oudjebten's pyramid, inevitably suggests a date at very end of the Old Kingdom, but, the stylistic and iconographic features may suggest a slightly later date.

#### 4.7.1.2. False door of *Iri* (Plate LIV)

Bibl: Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 86, fig. 97; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 676.

This stela was reused as construction material. It is of a small format, its upper part is missing, and the torus moulding is erased, probably for re-use as a flat building stone. The panel is of the type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs. Texts and figures are incised, and the scene on the panel shows the deceased sitting on the left facing right. He wears a shoulder length wig, a broad collar, and knee length kilt. He extends his right hand towards an offering table before him, while the left hand is raised open in a gesture of invocation. The table appears with rectangular-like bread slices shape. Above the table and the deceased are two lines of inscription. Each of the four jambs has a single column of inscription, and at the end of the columns on the outer jambs, there is a standing portrait of the deceased, showing him facing towards the central niche. The figures are identical, depicting the deceased with a shoulder length wig, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt, holding a long staff and baton.

<sup>1269</sup> Cf. *ibid*, fig. 3; see also Harpur, *Decoration*, 135, tb. 6.12.

<sup>1270</sup> Such staves which go back to the very end of the Old Kingdom, continue to be represented down to the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty. For these staves and their origin see, Fischer, *MMJ* 6 (1972), 151-156; Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im pharaonischen Ägypten*, *MÄS* 33 (Munich, 1976), 197, n. 9; see also, Fischer, *Or* 61 (1992), 144-5; *idem*, *Varia Nova*, 211, n. 265, figs 19-20.



Transliteration:

1. (B) *im3hw hr ntr-3 nb pt Trl* 2. (C) *im3hw hr ntr-3 Trl* 3. (F) *im3hw hr ntr-3 Trl* 4. (G) *im3hw hr ntr-3 Trl* 5. (D) *im3hw hr ntr-3 Trl* 6. *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 mnht*

Translation:

1. He who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven, *Trl*. 2. He who is honoured by the great god *Trl*. 3. He who is honoured by the great god *Trl*. 4. He who is honoured by the great god *Trl*. 5. He who is honoured by the great god *Trl*. 6. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jar of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl and a thousand of clothing.

Dating:

The date of this stela is only be indicated by its panel type, which fills the entire space between the outer jambs. This type is indicative of a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom, therefore, the stela might be assigned to the Herakleopolitan Period.

4.7.1.3. Stela of *Sdhi* (Plate LIV)

Bibl: Jéquier, *Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, 37-38, fig. 22; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 687.

A small limestone stela measuring 58 x 37 cm. Although the stela is small, it has eight jambs, four on each side of the central niche. The innermost are blank. There is a cavetto cornice, but no torus moulding. The panel takes the shape of a window shutter, on which the deceased is represented sitting on a backless chair, holding an ointment jar to his nose. There are no traces of an offering table before him. Above him is a single line of a short ideographic offering list, which may continue on the cross bar. Each of the inscribed jambs has a single column of inscription. Each of the outer jambs shows a figure of the deceased at the end of their inscriptions. these figures are identical, representing the deceased standing, facing the central niche. He is depicted with a short hair, and wears a pointed kilt; both of his hands hang open at his side.


Transliteration:

1. (A'') *htp di nswt inpw tpy dw.f imy-wt* 2. (B'') *nb [t3-dsr] ... .. Sdhl* 3. (C'') *prît hrw*  
*[n]t imy-r sšrw Sdhl* 4. (A') *htp di inpw tpy dw.f prît hrw* 5. (B') *nt im3hw imy-r sšrw Sdhl*  
 6. (C') *im3hw hr wsir Sdhl* 7. (A) *htp di nswt wsir prît hrw nt* 8. (B) *im3hw hr ntr-3 Sdhl*  
 9. (C) *im3hw hr pth Sdhl* 10. (D) *h3 t hnqt k3w 3pdw* 11. (E) *n im3h Sdhl*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the  
*wt*, 2. lord of (the sacred land), ... .., *Sdhl*. 3. A voice offering of the Overseer of Linen,  
*Sdhl*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, a voice  
 offering 5. of the honoured, Overseer of Linen, *Sdhl*. 6. He who is honoured by Osiris,  
*Sdhl* 7. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, a voice offering of 8. the one who is  
 honoured by the great god, *Sdhl*. 9. He who is honoured by Ptah, *Sdhl*. 10. A thousand  
 loaves of bread, jar of beer, oxen, and fowl 11. to the honoured *Sdhl*.

#### Comments:

The name *Sdhl* occurs here with the determinative .<sup>1271</sup> It is also worth mentioning that  
 the name in question was used by both males and females.<sup>1272</sup>

The title held by the deceased is a lower class office which frequently appears at the very  
 end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1273</sup> Although it is one of the treasury offices, it is rarely claimed  
 by Viziers.<sup>1274</sup>

#### Dating:

The style of the stela points to a date at very end of the Old Kingdom or later. The  
 substantive use of *prît-hrw nt* probably points to a date at the very end of the Old

<sup>1271</sup> It is probable here that the determinative is suggested by the meaning of the name, cf. Fischer, *MMJ*  
 8 (1973), 81-84. Note that Ranke cites only a Middle Kingdom example of this name, *PN I*, 323: 16

<sup>1272</sup> Cf. Drioton and Lauer, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 229-30, pl. XX (b-c).

<sup>1273</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 290; see also Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 2-3, n. 14.

<sup>1274</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *op.cit.*, 290.



Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty).<sup>1275</sup> The writing of the epithet *lmy wt* with the addition of the prothetic *l* is a indicative feature of the stela of the Herakleopolitan period.<sup>1276</sup>

#### 4.7. 2. Stèle-maison (House-stela).

##### 4.7.2.1. Stela of Hw-b3w (Plate LV)

Bibl: Cairo, JE 49805; Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, fig. 34; idem, *ASAE* 26 (1926), 55, pl. 6; Fischer, *JAOS* 74 (1954), 30-33; idem, *WZKM* 57 (1961), 77, fig. 2; Maspero, *Trois années*, 194, 199, figs.2-3, 8; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 685.

This is a miniature limestone 'House-stela' measuring 53 x 28 x 46 cm. Its eastern face is decorated with a niche in the middle, in which a false door with cavetto cornice and torus moulding was carved. The stela is of the usual late Old Kingdom stela type, which has a cavetto cornice and torus moulding. Its panel is of the shutter type. The false door is of small format type and left blank with no inscriptions. Above the false door niche is a single line of incised inscription running from right to left. On the left of the niche is a representation of the deceased standing and facing right. He is depicted wearing a shoulder length wig which leaves the ear exposed, a broad collar, a pointed kilt, and holds a long staff and baton. Above the figure are written his title and name. On the right of the false door niche, the deceased is depicted sitting on a backless chair, facing left, and wearing a shoulder length wig, a broad collar and knee length kilt. He extends his left hand towards an offering table before him, and holds his right hand to his chest. Above the deceased and the offering table are three short lines of inscription. Before the table and

<sup>1275</sup> Cf. *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 42 (fig. 46), 86, 93, 105, 115, 121 (fig. 138); CGG 1400; *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, 30, fig. 37; cf. also. Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, § 160, § 68. See also Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie*, *UGAÄ* 11 (Leipzig, 1929), § 79 e; Spanel, in *Studies Simpson*, II, 768, n. 11.

<sup>1276</sup> For comment on this palaeographic feature see above. Note that this writing is known to occur in tombs contemporary to the reign of King Pepy II in the inscriptions adjacent to the burial chamber, but did not appear on the stela before the Herakleopolitan Period.

facing the deceased is a man, standing and holding a censer in front of the deceased. Before him, his name and title are written: *hm-k3.f T3-wry* 'his *k3*-priest,<sup>1277</sup> *T3-wry*'.<sup>1278</sup>

Transliteration:

1. (above the false door niche) *htp di nswt lnpw tpy dw.f lmy wt nb t3 dsr prlt hrw n h3ty-<sup>c</sup> sd3wty-bity* 2. (left of the false door niche) *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty Hw-b3w* 3. (right of the false door niche) *h3ty-<sup>c</sup> hry-tpy 3 T3-wr Hw-b3w* 4. *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 sr h3 r3 h3 trp h3 s3 h3 mnwt h3 k3w h3 šs mnht* 5. *n h3ty-3 Hw-b3w*.

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, a voice offering to the Count, Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt 2. Sole Companion *Hw-b3w*. 3. Count, Great Overlord of the Thinite Nome *Hw-b3w*. 4. A thousand loaves of bread a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of *sr* geese, a thousand of *r3* geese, a thousand of *trp* geese, a thousand of *s3* geese, a thousand of *mnwt* geese, a thousand of oxen and a thousand of alabaster and clothing 5. to the Count *Hw-b3w*.

Comments:

The deceased's name is written here as *Hw-b3wy*, as in the burial chamber inscriptions, and on a limestone jar.<sup>1279</sup> The name is written *Hw-b3w* on the two obelisks found in front of the mastaba,<sup>1280</sup> probably the last writing is the full version of the name.<sup>1281</sup>

*Hw-b3w* held other offices such as *šd hm-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy* 'Inspector of Priests of *Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Ppy*', *imy-r hmw-ntr* 'Overseer of Priests', and *imy-r pr šn<sup>c</sup>* 'Overseer of the Department of Stores',<sup>1282</sup> showing that he combined both civil and temple authority in the

<sup>1277</sup> For the clumsy form of hieroglyphs of *hm-k3*, see, *TPC* II, pl. 76; see also Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), fig. 2 (c).

<sup>1278</sup> For similarly constructed personal names see Fischer, *WZKM* 57 (1961), 77, nn. 39-40 and references there.

<sup>1279</sup> For this jar see, G. Legrain, *Collection H. Hoffmann 'Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes'* (Paris, 1894), 20-21 (52).

<sup>1280</sup> Jéquier, *La pyramide d' Oudjebten*, fig. 35.

<sup>1281</sup> Cf. Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 135, n. 81; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 46, n. 1.

<sup>1282</sup> Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles*, 199; Fischer, *JAOS* 74 (1954), 31-32.



Thinite Nome, and notably, he also headed the department of stores like the nomarch of the 7th Upper Egyptian nome, *D3ty*.<sup>1283</sup>

#### Dating:

Fischer<sup>1284</sup> and Peck,<sup>1285</sup> both date *Hw-b3w* to the very end of the reign of Pepy II or slightly later, and place his term of governorship in the Thinite Nome after that of *Tbl*'s family, which governed both the 8th and 12th Upper Egyptian nomes. Kanawati at first agreed and gave this official a similar date.<sup>1286</sup> Recently, however, he has reconsidered this date and argues for assigning *Hw-b3w* to a rather earlier period.<sup>1287</sup> A date at the very end of the Old Kingdom is highly likely, on the grounds of stela style, iconography and palaeography. The house-stela 'stèle-maison' is a design likely to have been invented at the very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1288</sup> It is probable that such house-stela were developed at the same time as the miniature mud-brick mastabas which adopted the same shape of the house-stela, with a limestone stela embedded in its eastern face. This mastaba design is found at South Saqqara scattered around the pyramids of the kings of the Sixth and Eighth Dynasties.<sup>1289</sup> Other features on the stela of *Hw-b3w* support a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom rather than earlier, particularly the type of wig worn by the deceased. This shoulder length wig, of which the lower and rear parts are covered with an overlapping pattern of locks, leaves straight lines of longer locks on the crown of the head. This style of wig is not known before the very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1290</sup> The phonetic writing of

<sup>1283</sup> Berlin 7765; Fischer *JARCE* 1 (1962), 16-17.

<sup>1284</sup> *JAOS* 74 (1954), 30, 33.

<sup>1285</sup> Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs*, 87 n. 2.

<sup>1286</sup> Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 91-92.

<sup>1287</sup> *idem*, *Akhmim*, 85-6. Kanawati suggests that this type of stela was a short-lived type, invented during the period of decline in wealth at the end of the reign of Pepy I, and the beginning of Pepy II.

<sup>1288</sup> Jéquier, *Douze ans de fouilles dans la nécropole memphite, 1924-1936*, *Mémoires de l'Université de Neuchâtel*, t. 15 (Neuchâtel, 1940), 15 (20), fig. 33; *idem*, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, pl. VI bis; P. Lacau, 'Le tableau central de la stèle-porte égyptienne', *RdE* 19 (1967), 48 (28), fig. 3; see also below.

<sup>1289</sup> See similar miniature mastabas made in mud-brick during the Herakleopolitan Period in the cemetery of Zakaria Ghoneim (4.8.). A recent excavation made by the Antiquities Service south of the Mastabat el-Faraon produced also similar miniature mud-brick mastabas (personnel communication)

<sup>1290</sup> Fischer, *JARCE* 1 (1963), 17, n. 80. similar type of wigs appears on the contemporary stela of *Hb3i* (Louvre 14185 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 32.); *Ny-hrd* (Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 129, pl. XV); *Tti* (*ibid*, fig. 108); *Dr-snd* (*ibid*, fig. 124); *B3w* (*ibid*, fig. 97); see also CCG 1615, 1550; Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 239, n. 16; Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 138, n. 88. Although none of these examples is clearly dated, the patterning of the wig is never attested on monuments prior to the end of the reign of Pepy II.



*lnpw* is also indicative of a later date in the Old Kingdom. These criteria, in addition to those provided by Fischer, Peck,<sup>1291</sup> and Brovarski probably assign the stela to a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty).

#### 4.7.2.2. Stela of *Tw-lw* (Plate LVI)

Bibl: Cairo JE 49804; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 686; Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, 30, fig. 37.

A limestone house-stela measuring 64 x 34 x 42 cm. It is decorated on the east side as well as the north and south sides. Texts and figures are incised. The east face of the stela is decorated in the middle with a niche in which a false door was carved. The door is typical of the later part of the Old Kingdom, with usual cavetto cornice, torus moulding, and a panel of the so called shutter type. Only its lintel, outer jambs and panel are decorated, while the cross bar and the inner jambs are unfinished. The panel displays the conventional table scene. Above the door niche are the remains of a single line of inscription, which runs from left to right. On either side of the niche is a representation of the deceased, depicting her standing, facing the central door niche. On the left the deceased is seen with a short wig bound with a fillet. She wears a broad collar and long tight fitting dress, and holds a spear-head like staff in her left hand, while the right hand (now missing) was extended at her side, probably open. Before her is a short vertical column of inscription. On the opposite side, at the right of the door niche, the deceased is seen, probably in similar attire, in front of a heap of offerings. On the south face of the stela the deceased is depicted wearing similar attire to that on the eastern face: she sits on the left facing right, on a low-back chair. She holds her left hand to her chest, and extends her right hand towards an offering table. The table is loaded with a rectangular-like bread slices shape. Next to the table, on the right, is a rectangular stand above which are ewer

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<sup>1291</sup> Fischer notes that the combination of civil and temple authority is significant in the transitional period between the end of Sixth and Eighth Dynasties (*Dendera*, 114), when the governors of this period unlike their predecessors, were 'Great Overlords and Overseer priests'. Applying the same rules to the Thinite Nome would mean that both *Ggl* and *Hw-b3w* were the heir of the *Ibi*'s family, who governed the 8th and 12th Upper Egyptian nomes and they were only 'Great Overlords'. Note however, that such was not a general reform, but an internal reform which applied to particular nomes. For instance such process at Akhmim was different: all the known nomarchs there also headed the priesthood of *Mnw*. (cf. Kanawati, *Akhmim*, 49 passim; McFarlane, *The God Min to the End of the Old Kingdom*, 7-127 passim)



and basin and three tall *hs* jars. Above the table scene are two lines of inscription. On the north side of the stela, the deceased is also represented sitting before an offering table. Under the table, between the deceased and the pedestal, are ewer and basin. To the left of the pedestal is a rectangular stand above which are three tall *hs* jars, next to which are different offering items arranged on top of each other. This heap includes wine jars, bread loaves and cuts of meat. Above the scene is a single line of inscription running from left to right.


Transliteration:

(false door) 1. (A) *h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy ḡw.f prit hrw nt h̄krt nswt wʿtt* 2. (B) *im3hwt Tw-iw* 3. (C) *im3ht Tw-iw* 4. (D) *h̄krt nswt Tw-iw*. 5. (Above the door niche) *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb Ddw prit hrw nt h̄krt nswt Tw-iw* 6. [*h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy ḡw.f*] *lmy-wt nb t3 ḡsr prit hrw nt h̄krt nswt [wʿtt Tw-iw]*. 7. (Col. on the left side of the door niche) *h̄krt nswt wʿtt im3ht Tw-iw*. 8. (south face) [*h̄tp di nswt*] *inpw tpy ḡw.f prit hrw nt h̄krt nswt* 9. [*h3 t*] *h3 hnqt h3 k3w [h3 3pdw] h3 šs h3 mnht n h̄krt nswt wʿtt Tw-iw*. 10. (north face) *h̄tp di [nswt] inpw h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs mnht n h̄krt nswt Tw-iw*.

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, a voice offering of the Sole Ornament of the King, 2. she who is honoured *Tw-iw*. 3. The honoured *Tw-iw*. 4. Ornament of the King, *Tw-iw*. 5. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, a voice offering of the Ornament of the King, *Tw-iw*. 6. (An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain), who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, a voice offering of the Ornament of the King, [*Tw-iw*]. 7. Sole Ornament of the King, the honoured, *Tw-iw*. 8. [An offering which the King gives] and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, a voice offering of the Ornament of the King, 9. [a thousand loaves of bread], a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, [a thousand of fowl], a thousand of alabaster to the Sole Ornament of the King, *Tw-iw*. 10. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, fowl, and a thousand of alabaster and clothing to the Ornament of the King, *Tw-iw*.

### Dating:

The style of this stela apparently points to a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom. The representation of the deceased holding a papyriform staff with spear-like head is first evidenced in the royal reliefs of the queens of the Sixth Dynasty. It is probably shown held by private females around the same time or slightly later, but did not become frequent before the very end of the Old Kingdom and during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1292</sup> The rectangular shape of the slices of bread, although known occasionally from as early as the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, did not become frequent before the very end of the Old Kingdom and through the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1293</sup> If the restoration of Jéquier is correct, the arrangement of  is evidenced in superstructure inscriptions as early as the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of the *t3*-sign with two pellets below the land sign, although known in inscriptions from as early as the second half of the Sixth Dynasty, is better known from a great many inscriptions that are later than the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1294</sup> The occurrence of the substantive use of *pr̥t-hrw nt NN* is indicative of a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom. Therefore, the stela of *Tw-iw* may be assigned to a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty).

#### 4.7.2.3. Stela of *Hnw* (Plate LVII)

<sup>1292</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 135, tb. 6.12; cf. also Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, fig. 136. See also comments above n. 3.

<sup>1293</sup> It is probable that the earliest occurrence of this shape is that of Queen Ipout, wife of Teti, cf. *TPC II*, pl. 55 (1).

<sup>1294</sup> This writing appears at Dendera in the inscriptions of *Mrr̥i* and *Sn-ndsw.i* (cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, pl. XVI (b), and fig. 33 (a)); at Thebes (cf. Clère and Vandier, *TPPI*, §§ 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24); At Memphis (see above *passim*). This writing was perhaps influenced by its hieratic counterpart which is first known in the Abusir Papyri of the late Fifth Dynasty (cf. Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 7 (6)). Yet after only a few decades this writing is found in hieroglyphic texts, from about the mid Sixth Dynasty and thereafter, that one starts to find this writing e.g. at Abydos (*Urk I*, 102-104); Deir el Gebrawi (Davies, *Deir el Gebrāwi II*, pls. 11, 12); Sheikh Said (Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pls. 19, 25). It also appears on the Memphite necropolis where it may have originated around the same time: at Giza (cf. Junker, *Giza VIII*, figs. 41, 43, 66, 70; Hassan, *Giza VI/3*, fig. 9; Simpson, *Western Cemetery*, I, figs. 16, 18), and Saqqara (cf. CCG 1434; Kanawati et al., *Excavations at Saqqara I*, pl. 29; Jéquier, *Neit et Apouit*, pls. 7 (col. 34), 13 (col. 346), 30 (cols. 767-68); idem, *Pyramid d'Aba* (Cairo, 1935), pl. 29 (c). It is also known from the pyramid texts of King Ibi of the Eighth Dynasty (ibid, pls. 5 (cols. 160-162), 11 (col. 526), 12 (cols. 608, 634), 13 (col. 779), 16 (Z); *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, pl. XI (frag. 54). See also Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 26.



Bibl: Brussels Mus. Roy. E 6303; Limme, *Stèles égyptiennes* (Bruxelles, 1979), 17; Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, fig. 36; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 686.

A limestone house stela, decorated on its eastern face. In the middle is a false door niche. The small false door appears with the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding, the design of the small false door is unusual: it has no lintel and only its outer jambs are inscribed. Above the central door niche are the remains of a single line of inscription, which runs from right to left. On the left of the door niche is a representation of the deceased, standing, and facing left towards the niche. He wears a pointed kilt and has both hands hanging open at his side. In front of him is a short vertical column of inscription. On the right of the niche the deceased is depicted sitting on the right facing left, before him is an offering table. In front of the scene is a short vertical column of inscription, and above the deceased is a short ideographic offering list.


Transliteration:

(false door) 1. (B) *lmy-r st pr-ꜣ Hnw* 2. (C) *im3hw hr ntr-ꜣ Hnw* (above the door niche)  
3. ... .. [smr] *pr lmy-r st pr-ꜣ* ... .. (left of the door niche) 4. *lmy-r st pr-ꜣ im3hw Hnw*  
(right of the door niche) 5. *smr pr lmy-r st pr-ꜣ Hnw* 6. *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 r3 h3 sr h3 k3w h3 šs*  
*h3 mnht h3 ... n im3hw*

Translation:

1. Overseer of the Storeroom of the Great Palace, *Hnw*. 2. he who is honoured by the great god, *Hnw*. 3. ... .. [Companion of] the House, Overseer of the Storeroom of the Great House, ... .. 4. Overseer of the Storeroom of the Great Palace, *Hnw*. 5. Companion of the House, Overseer of the Storeroom, *Hnw*. 6. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer a thousand of *r3* geese, a thousand of *sr* geese, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothing, and a thousand of ... to the honoured.

Comment:

*imy-r st pr-ʿ3* is well attested during the Old Kingdom.<sup>1295</sup> The title is translated by Junker as ‘Hofmeister’, stating that the title is unclear.<sup>1296</sup> Malek in the Topographical Bibliography, suggests ‘Overseer of the Department of the Great Palace’.<sup>1297</sup> The meaning of *st* in the context of this title is rather vague. *st* is translated by the *Wörterbuch* as ‘Sitz, Wohnsitz, Platz’.<sup>1298</sup> Meeks gives similar translations, and suggests additional meanings such as ‘throne, siège’.<sup>1299</sup> Fischer, with uncertainty, accepts Erman’s translation ‘kitchen’ for the word *st*.<sup>1300</sup>  can be used as a general term for a variety of buildings.<sup>1301</sup> and can also refer to service workshops that supply the necessities of the royal household.<sup>1302</sup> *st* also refers to administrative bureau of undefined governmental tasks.<sup>1303</sup> The first two options probably would fit well in the context of the title in question,<sup>1304</sup> particularly since the meaning of storehouse and provision workshops are well attested.<sup>1305</sup>

<sup>1295</sup> Cf. Junker, *Giza V*, 187; Hassan, *Giza IX*, 75; Gunn MSS XVII. 65 (photo); *Tombeaux de particuliers* 9-21.

<sup>1296</sup> Junker, op. cit., 187.


<sup>1297</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 104, 116, 176, 260, 287, 652, 680, 686. For the title of *imy-r st* in the Middle Kingdom see Ward, *Index*, no. 313, see also nos. 314-326, in which an administrative bureau responsible for running different storage area could be suggested.

<sup>1298</sup> *Wb V*, 1-2, 2: 11-16

<sup>1299</sup> Cf. Meeks, *Année Lex I*, no. 77.3302; III, no. 79.2371; see also, Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 23-7, cf. also p. 103-104. It is highly unlikely that the word refer in this title to the ‘throne’.

<sup>1300</sup> A. Erman, *Ägypten*, 264; Fischer, *Varia* 120 (82, fig. 1). The association of the word *st* with provisions may just justify such translation, cf. the title *imy-r sty dʿʿw* ‘Overseer of the Two Places of Provisions’, cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 282; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 60; in (*Beni Hasan I*, pls. 17, 18, 35), an *imy-r st* assists in slaughtering of bulls), or bringing offerings (*Beni Hasan I*, pl. 19), cf. also Gardiner, *ZAS* 47 (1910), 95 (p).

<sup>1301</sup> Helck, *Materialien III*, 339, 344; Janssen-Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), 158. With the specific meaning

‘storehouse’ in the title , cf. *Bersheh II*, 11 (7); *Beni Hasan I*, 7, 9. This meaning is also suggested by other occurrences of the title *imy-r st* with provisions and food supplies, Cf. Ward, *Index*, nos. 314-318, 3123, 326; see also Ward, *CdE* 58 (1982), 199-200.

<sup>1302</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 89, 110, 255-259; see also R.A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), 578-9 (Index); K.P. Kruchten, *Le décret d'Horemheb* (Bruxelles, 1981), 42-4, 70; see also, S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, 88, 96.

<sup>1303</sup> Cf. Goedicke, *Königl. Dok.*, 60 (14) van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier*, 70, n. 81.

<sup>1304</sup> Two officials who held this office seems to be associated with storage and food supply, cf. Junker, *Giza V*, 187 Abb. 56; *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 9-21. Cf. also the title *imy-r st nbt nt hnw*, held by the Overseer of the Treasury, *Urk I*, 59 (11). For the association of provision storehouses with the treasury see Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 60. Note that Strudwick associates such offices with the department of the granaries, cf. *Administration*, 282.

<sup>1305</sup> Cf. the meaning of *st* in the phrase *st nbt nt hnw* ‘all the provision storehouses of the residence’, cf. *Urk I*, 177: 14-16 ‘An offering which the King gives and Anubis, a funerary offering may come forth to him from the two granaries, from the two treasuries, from the two departments of the royal ornament, from the *shpt*-storehouse, from *bʿht*-storehouse, and from all the stores of the residence, from which the



### Dating :

Only the style and over all design points to a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom close in date to that of *Hw-b3w* and *Tw-lw* just discussed above.

#### 4.7.2.4. Stela of *Hb3l* (Plate LVII)

Bibl: Jéquier, Louvre 14185; Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 32; *Tombeaux des particuliers*, fig. 128; Drioton, *Bulletin des Musées de France*, 4<sup>e</sup> année, no. 2, février, 1932, 17; Vandier, *Manuel*, II/1, 435, n. 6, 436, n. 1; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 678.

A limestone stèle-maison measuring 38 x 52 x 29 cm. Only its eastern face is decorated. Both figures and texts are incised. In the middle of the eastern face is a false door niche. The door displays the usual cavetto cornice, and torus moulding. Its panel is of the type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs. Only the cross bar and inner jambs are left blank, while the rest are inscribed. Each of the outer jambs has a single column of inscription, at the end of which is a portrait of the deceased, which are identical. They depict the deceased standing facing the central niche, with short hair, wearing a pointed kilt, and both hands hanging open at his side. On the panel the deceased is represented, standing on the left facing right, wearing a short wig and knee length kilt. He holds a long staff in his left hand, and his right hand is extended open at his side. Before him his name is written.<sup>1306</sup> Above the door niche are two horizontal lines of inscription, of which the top one has almost disappeared. On the left of the door niche the deceased's son is shown, standing facing the false door niche. He is wears a shoulder length wig, a broad collar, and knee length kilt, and before him is a vertical column of inscription. On the right hand side of the door niche, the stela's owner is depicted, standing facing inwards, with short hair, and wearing a broad collar, and a knee length kilt. Before him is a single column of inscription.

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funerary offering will come forth'. Also, *Urk* I, 184:3, mentioning 'funerary offering from all the stores of the residence'. see also Junker, *Giza* XI, 87, Abb. 47.

<sup>1306</sup> For similar panels depicting the deceased standing, cf. e.g. H. Schäfer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten orientes* (Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte, 3rd ed.) (Berlin, 1925), 222; Hassan, *Giza* I, pl. 44 (I); II, 201, fig. 222; VI/3, figs. 70, 76; IX, fig. 40; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 399; Junker, *Giza* V, 175-6, Abb. 38.

Transliteration:

(false door) 1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir prit ḥrw n* 2. (B) *im3ḥw Ḥb3l* 3. (C) *šḏ ḥmw-k3 Ḥb3l*  
 4. (D) *Ḥb3l* [above the door niche] 5. [missing] 6. *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy ḏw.f lmy wt nb t3*  
*ḏsr prit ḥrw n im3ḥw lmy-r sšrw Ḥb3l* [left of the door niche] 7. *s3.f mry.f irr ḥst lt.f lmy-r*  
*lsw Tnnl.* [right of the door niche] 8. *lmy-r sšrw šḏ ḥmw-k3 irr ḥst nb.f Ḥb3l*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, a voice offering to 2. the one who is honoured, *Ḥb3l*. 3. Inspector of the *k3*-priests, *Ḥb3l*. 4. *Ḥb3l*. 5. [missing] 6. An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, a voice offering to the honoured Overseer of Linen *Ḥb3l*. 7. His son, his beloved, who does what his father praises, Overseer of Gangs<sup>1307</sup> *Tnnl.* 8. Overseer of Linen,<sup>1308</sup> Inspector of the *k3*-priests who does what his lord praises *Ḥb3l*.

Dating:

The style of the stèle-maison points to a late date in the Old Kingdom. This date is supported by the type of wig worn by the deceased, which did not appear prior to the very end of the reign of Pepy II.<sup>1309</sup> It is probable that this stela should be assigned to the very end of the Old Kingdom, probably close in time to that of *Ḥw-b3w*.

4.7.2.5. Stela of Wnnl (Plate LVIII)

Bibl: Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 114, fig. 129; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 679; it is now in Storeroom Number 6, next to the Saqqara Inspectorate offices.

A limestone stela measures 48 x 80x 23 cm. Its decorated eastern face shows at the top, a single line of inscription, which runs from right to left:<sup>1310</sup> *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy ḏw.f prit ḥrw n im3ḥw ḥr nṯr-ʿ3* 'An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon

<sup>1307</sup> For this office see CCG 1531; LD II, 46; Junker, *Giza III*, 98; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 130.

<sup>1308</sup> Cf. Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 61, 66; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives*, II, 599; Junker, *Giza*, IX, 229.

<sup>1309</sup> For comment on this type of wig see (4.7.2.1).

<sup>1310</sup> Note here that the opposite side of this stela is decorated with two small unfinished false door niches, probably not more than artists' exercises.



his mountain, a voice offering to the one who is honoured by the great god'. Underneath this inscription are four figures standing and facing right. A short vertical column of inscription is written in front of each. The first figure is depicted with short hair, wearing a broad collar, bracelets and long skirt. He raises both hands in a gesture of adoration. Before him is written *hq3 hwt sd3wty bity smr w'ty Wnni* 'Estate Manager, Seal Bearer of the Lower Egyptian King, Sole Companion, *Wnni*'. Behind him stands his son, who is depicted, wearing a shoulder length wig which leaves the ear exposed, a broad collar, bracelets and pointed kilt. He also raises his hands like his father. Before him is written *s3.f hq3 hwt smr w'ty Ny-hrd* 'his son, Estate Manager, Sole Companion, *Ny-hrd*'. The third figure is a female, shown with short wig, wearing a broad collar, bracelets and a long tight fitting dress with shoulder straps. She has both her hands hanging open at her side, and in front of her is written *s3t.f hkrt nswt w'tt Ny-hrd* 'his daughter, Sole Ornament of the King, *Ny-hrd*'. The last figure depicted in an identical way to that of the second, is labelled by an inscriptions written before it *smr w'ty Ggi* 'Sole Companion *Ggi*'.

#### Comments:

*Ny-hrd*<sup>1311</sup> is probably the same as the owner of mastaba reliefs found by Jéquier probably close to where this stela was found.<sup>1312</sup> The reading of the name of the last person is suggested by Jéquier as *HHi*,<sup>1313</sup> but a personal investigation of the stela show that the broken signs are probably better reads as *Ggi*.<sup>1314</sup>

#### Dating:

Apart from the style of the stèle-maison, which is attributed to the very end of the Old Kingdom, the depiction of the deceased and his family in an adoration posture is also indicative of a date later in the Old Kingdom. The type of wig worn by the second and fourth figures is also a style which does not occur before the very end of the Old Kingdom. It is probable, therefore that *Wnni* lived during the very end of the Old

<sup>1311</sup> For this name see, Ranke, *PN I*, 277: 13, 15; II, 311: 16-18.

<sup>1312</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 109-117, figs. 129, 132, pl. XV; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 678. This reliefs although show a continuation of the later Sixth Dynasty tradition it has some significantly later features probably even later than the end of the Old Kingdom. such as the addition of the filling stroke in the writing of *imy-r sšrw*.

<sup>1313</sup> For similar names cf. Ranke *PN I*, 274: 5.

<sup>1314</sup> For similar names of see Ranke, *PN I* 352: 22; CCG 1455; cf. also, Borchardt, *S'a hu-re*, Bl. 57-58.

Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty), and that his family witnessed the transition between the end of the Memphite kingdom and the takeover of the Herakleopolitan Dynasty.



#### 4.8. Zakaria Ghoneim Cemetery. South Saqqara.<sup>1315</sup>

##### 4.8.1. The false door of *Rdi* (Plate LXI)

Bibl: Unpublished. Saqqara Entry book no. 8639/8633. It is currently stored in Storeroom Number 7, located opposite the Inspectorate offices.

A small limestone stela, measuring 62 x 43 x 8.5 cm. The stela displays the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding. Both its texts and figures are incised. The panel is of a square type flanked by tall narrow apertures. Both the false door lintel and outer jambs display a single line or column of inscription, while the inscriptions on the inner jambs are arranged horizontally, clearly for lack of space. The cross bar has a single line, while the inscriptions on the panel are arranged in short horizontal lines. The inscriptions on the lintel, outer jambs and inner jambs are terminated by a small figure of the deceased showing him sitting on a low-back chair, holding a long staff in one hand, while the other hand crosses his chest grasping a baton. On the panel the deceased is represented in the usual funerary meal scene. Both texts and figures are crudely cut, particularly on the panel and inner jambs.<sup>1316</sup>

##### Transliteration:

(A) 1. *h̄tp di nswt h̄tp di inpw pr̄it-h̄rw n h̄rp h̄3w Rdy* (B) 2. *im̄3h̄w h̄r pth̄ n̄tr-3̄ imy-r pr h̄ry-tp Rdy* (C) 3. *h̄tp di nswt h̄tp (di) wsir pr̄it-h̄rw n imy-r pr Rdy* (F) 4. *pr̄it-h̄rw n* 5. *imy-r pr Rdy* (G) 6. *h̄3 t h̄3 h̄nqt h̄3 p̄3t* 7. *h̄3 k̄3w h̄3 3pdw h̄3 šs h̄3 mn̄ht n* 8. *imy-r pr Rdy* (E) 9. *pr̄it-h̄rw n im̄3h̄w imy-r pr Rdy* (D) 10. *h̄3 t h̄3 h̄nqt h̄3 k̄3w h̄3 3pdw h̄3 šs h̄3 mn̄ht n Rdy*

##### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and an offering which Anubis gives, a voice offering to the Director of Corn-Measurers, *Rdy*. 2. He who is honoured by Ptah, and the great

<sup>1315</sup> For the location of this cemetery see, (1.3.3).

<sup>1316</sup> Note that the offering formula on the outer jamb is reversed, as is the short offering list on the right inner jamb, they are both directed to face the deceased, who is seen sitting on the outer right jamb. For similar features and further discussion see Fischer, *Orientation*, § 25, p. 63-4, fig. 65; and p. 65-70, figs. 66-71.

god, Overseer of the House, Attendant, *Rdy*.3. An offering which the King gives and an offering which Osiris gives, a voice offering to the Overseer of the House, *Rdy*. 4. A voice offering 5. to the Overseer of the House, *Rdy*. 6. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand pieces of cake, 7. a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster and a thousand of clothing to 8. the Overseer of the House, *Rdy*. 9. A voice offering to the Overseer of the House, *Rdy*. 10. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster and a thousand of clothing to *Rdy*.

#### Comments:

*hrp h3w* 'Director of Corn-Measurers',<sup>1317</sup> is an office of high command in a department concerned with corn and grain storage. The internal hierarchy of this department is usually headed by an overseer,<sup>1318</sup> who oversees the directors and inspectors in his department.<sup>1319</sup> These directors and inspectors in turn supervised the normal corn-measurers *h3i*.<sup>1320</sup> The last mentioned officials are frequently shown at work in tomb scenes.<sup>1321</sup> Old Kingdom mastaba scenes shows a man with the title of 'Director of the Corn-Measurers' standing supervising a group of corn-measurers, and behind him stands an overseer of the house, who probably was there to report on these activities to the estate owner or the tomb owner.<sup>1322</sup>

*hry-tp*, literally 'who is under the head', probably on its own means simply 'attendant'. Here it is early evidence of the Middle Kingdom epithet *hry-tp.f* 'his attendant',<sup>1323</sup> as well as the title 'attendant of the places of ...'.<sup>1324</sup>

<sup>1317</sup> Cf. Rowe and Lucas, *ASAE* 41 (1942), 348; H. Goedicke, *Die Privaten Rechtsinschriften* (Vienna, 1970), 182; N. Cherpion, *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 129, n. 4; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 205, n. 218.

<sup>1318</sup> Cf. Junker, *Giza* VI, 198-202.

<sup>1319</sup> Cf. von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, II, pl. IX, XII; Junker, *Giza* IX, 98-99.

<sup>1320</sup> For this office see, Junker, *Giza*, VI, 198-202; Cf. also Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives*, II, 388.

<sup>1321</sup> Cf. Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, Taf 23; see also, Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, 10-12, pl. 9 (a-b). For the association of these officials with the department of granaries see, Strudwick, *Administration*, 272; see also Junker, *Giza*, VI, 198-202; idem, *Giza* IX, 98-99.

<sup>1322</sup> Cf. von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, II, pl. IX, XII; see also A. Lucas and A. Rowe, *ASAE* 41 (1942), 348, fig. 73.

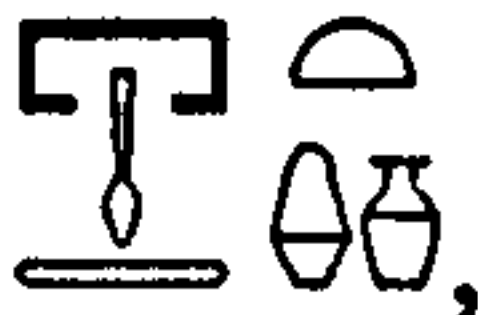



<sup>1323</sup> *Wb* III, 396:4; Westcar 7, 15.

<sup>1324</sup> Cf. *BMAA* 28 (Nov. 1933, pt. 2), 15; Fischer, *Titles*, 30-31. It is unlikely that this title is to be restored as *hry-tp nswt* with *nswt* omitted, for the latter title see, Strudwick, *Administration*, 308-9.



### Dating:

The style and overall design are typical of the classical style of the early to mid Sixth Dynasty, particularly the type of the panel with its narrow apertures. The other typical Old Kingdom feature is the opening of the offering formula.<sup>1325</sup> The writing of *pꜣrt-hrw* shows a writing typical of an early date in the Old Kingdom.<sup>1326</sup> However, although first impressions suggest an early date for the stela, a careful investigation reveals a much later date. The reversal of the offering formula, although known occasionally in the Old Kingdom, is a feature which was frequently adopted at the very end of the Old

Kingdom.<sup>1327</sup> The writings of *pꜣrt-hrw* , , and , are indicative of a date later in the Old Kingdom. The addition of the filling stroke in the writing of *hry-tp*  is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period inscriptions.<sup>1328</sup> In addition, if the title *hry-tp* is considered as an independent title or epithet, it would also suggest a later date, in which case it can probably be considered one of the earliest occurrences of this title.<sup>1329</sup> On these grounds one might suggest a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 4.8.2. Stela of *Hnt-r3w* (Plate LXII)

Bibl: Unpublished, excavated by Zakaria Ghoneim at South Saqqara in the early 1960's and now kept in Storeroom Number 7.

This double limestone false door measures 126 x 114 cm. Only the door on the right hand side is decorated, while the left hand door was blank. The incomplete door is narrower than the stela on the right. Each of the false doors is designed in a similar fashion to that of *Šndt*.<sup>1330</sup> Each stela is surrounded by a supplementary frame, but only the frame which surrounds the right hand stela is decorated. Both door panels are of the type that

<sup>1325</sup> Cf. Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, § 20-24.

<sup>1326</sup> Cf. e.g. CCG 1305, 1415, 1485, 1495; Lutz, *Stele*, pls. 6 (10), 8 (14).

<sup>1327</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Orientation*, 65-70, figs. 68-70; cf. also, Lutz, *Stele*, pl. 14 (47).

<sup>1328</sup> Cf. Schenkel, *FMAS*, 32-33, 38-9.

<sup>1329</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Titles*, 30-31 (1226 bis).

<sup>1330</sup> See under (4.8.5).

fills the entire space between the outer jambs. However, the decorated right hand stela also displays *wḏ3t*-eyes decoration on its cross-bar. The inscription is arranged in similar fashion to that of *Šndt*. The bottom of each column of inscription on the outer jambs shows a representation of the deceased, standing facing the central niche. He is depicted wearing a shoulder length wig on the left outer jamb, and a short wig on the opposite jamb. He wears a broad collar and a pointed kilt, holding a long staff in one hand, while the other hand is extended along his side grasping a folded cloth. On the panel is the usual table scene, which is set up with no ground line, giving the impression that both the deceased and the offerings are floating. The deceased sits on a low-back chair on the left facing right, wearing a shoulder length wig, a broad collar, and a knee-length kilt. He is depicted holding his left hand to his chest, while the right hand is extended towards an offering table before him. The rounded table tray, supported by a forked pedestal, is loaded with slices of bread, above which are a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck and a tray of grapes. Underneath the table on the right is a *ḥs*-jar, while on the left is what is probably a beer-jar.

#### Transliteration:

(Supplementary frame) 1. *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy ḏw.f imy-w(t)* 2. *im3ḥw ḥr pth-skr ḥr ntr-ꜣ nb pt ḥsy n nb.f m3ꜥ im3ḥw ḥr wsir nb<sup>sic</sup> Hnt-r3w* 3. *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw ḥnti-imntiw nb 3ḃḏw prit-ḥrw nt im3ḥw Hnt-r3w* (Stela) 4. (A) *priti-ḥrw nt im3ḥ* 5. (B) *m wpt rnpt w3g ḥb ḏwty ḥb n im3ḥ Hnt-(r)3w* 6. (C) *m mnḥt ḥb skr ḥb nt im3ḥw Hnt-r3w* 7. (F) *im3ḥw ḥr pth-skr Hnt-r3w* 8. (G) *im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ꜣ nb 3ḃḏw Hnt-r3w*

#### Translation:


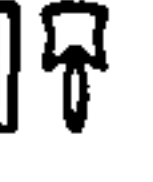



1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, 2. he who is revered by Ptah-Sokar and by the great god, lord of heaven, truly praised by his lord, he who is honoured by Osiris, lord of (life) *Hnt-r3w*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu, lord of Abydos, a voice offering of the honoured *Hnt-r3w*. 4. A voice offering of the honoured one, 5. in the opening of the year feast, *w3g* feast, *Dḥwty* feast for the honoured *Hnt-r3w*. 6. (A voice offering of the honoured) in the cloth feast, and the feast of *Skr*, of the honoured *Hnt-r3w*. 7. He who is



revered by Ptah-Sokar, *Hnt-r3w*. 8. He who is honoured by the great god, lord of Abydos, *Hnt-r3w*.

Comment:





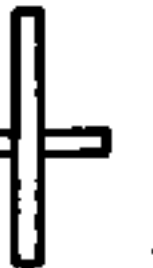






For the name *Hnt-r3w*, see *PN II*, 374, 225 (24).

Noticeable here is the reversal of the sign  on the outer right jamb, as well as *hb* on the outer left jamb. Notes also the reversal in the writing of *3b*  instead of the usual  and *ht*  instead of .

*mnh-hb* is a lunar feast which occurs in the second month of the civil calendar.<sup>1331</sup> On the left outer jamb the name of Osiris is followed by the epithet *nb*, which in turn is followed by a blank space; it is likely that either *‘nh* or *lmnty* filled the gap left by the draughtsman of the stela. Both these epithets are evidenced for Osiris in the Herakleopolitan Period, particularly on stelae from this site.

Dating:

The stela design, its panel type, and the decoration on the cross-bar all indicate a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. As evidenced throughout this thesis, both the full panel type and the *w3t*-eye decoration on the cross bar above the central niche are not known before the Herakleopolitan Period and probably not before the time of King Merykare.<sup>1332</sup> The palaeography and orthography of the stela support such a date: the

combined writing of Anubis i.e. phonetically and ideogramatically   , the addition of the prothetic *i* and the post complement *m* in the writing of the epithet *imy wt*   ,<sup>1333</sup> and the writing of *pri-t-hrw*      indicate a date not earlier

<sup>1331</sup> See Kees in von Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum III*, 52, nr. 440; S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, 84; Altenmüller, 'Feste', *LÄ II*, 175, 183 (E).

<sup>1332</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII; see also comment on these two features above passim.

<sup>1333</sup> It is probable that the earliest occurrence of the post-complement *m* in the writing of the epithet *imy* goes back to the very end of the Old Kingdom (cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 71, pl. X.) This feature is also known as early as Dynasty XI in Thebes (cf. Lutz, *Stele*, no. 74; Berlin 1197; CCG 20508; 20006; 200506; Florence 7594 = Bosticco, *Stele egiziane I*, no. 22; Turin 1513 = Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, Appendix D, Z). It is also known at Naga ed Deir around the same time (cf. Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 28, 610), at Aswan (cf. CCG 28127). and at Gebelein (cf. *CT II*, 151; V, 165). It is worth mentioning that the combination of the prothetic *i* and the post-complement *m* in the writing of this epithet is uncommon. It is known to me to occur on Herakleopolitan Period and Eleventh Dynasty coffins from Beni Hassan (cf.

than the Herakleopolitan Period, probably its later part,<sup>1334</sup> as does the writing of the ideogram  $\overline{\text{f}}$  instead of usual  $\text{3b}$  sign  $\overline{\text{f}}$ . The other significant feature is the occurrence of the epithet  $\text{ntr-}^{\text{3}} \text{nb } \text{3bdw}$ , an epithet which first occurs probably during the reign of King Merykare or slightly later.<sup>1335</sup> If the restoration of the text on the outer left jamb is correct, the epithet  $\text{nb } ^{\text{3}}\text{nh}$  would indicate a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1336</sup> One should date the stela not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period, probably its later part. However, a much later date is highly unlikely since there is nothing to support a later date in either the type of the stela or its textual features.<sup>1337</sup>

#### 4.8.3. Stela of *impy-lqr* (Plate LXIII)

Bibl: Unpublished, excavated by Zakaria Ghoneim at South Saqqara, now kept in Storeroom Number. 7.

A large format limestone stela, measuring 148 x 75 cm. It is surrounded by an undecorated supplementary frame. It has the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding. Both inscriptions and figures on the middle and outer jambs are incised, while the scene on the panel is cut in raised relief. Inscriptions are laid out in a conventional way; both lintels have a single line of inscription, while each of the jambs has a single column of inscription. Only at the end of the inscriptions on the outer and middle jambs are representations of the deceased carved; they show him standing facing towards the central niche. The four figures are identical, depicting the deceased wearing a shoulder length wig, a broad collar, and knee length kilt on the left jambs, and a pointed kilt on the right jambs. The deceased holds a long staff in one hand, while the other hand is extended at his side grasping a folded cloth. The panel is of unusual design, its narrow apertures are reduced from the top and bottom, and its upper part projects slightly, forming a sort of an architrave for the

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Cairo JE 37565 = *Burial Customs*, pl. VI, fig. 171, fig. 93; Lapp, *Typologie*, BH 18) and Asyut (Cf. *ASAE* 23 (1923), 22 (12).

<sup>1334</sup> See comment under (4.8.5).

<sup>1335</sup> See Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII; see also, Fischer, *GM* 128 (1992), 72-3, n. 2.

<sup>1336</sup> See comment under (4.8.5).

<sup>1337</sup> See recently, D.B. Spänel, in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, II, 765-772 and references there.



panel itself. The panel displays the usual table scene, which shows the deceased sitting on the left facing right. He wears a shoulder length wig, a broad collar, and knee length kilt. He holds his left hand fisted to his chest, while the right hand is extended towards an offering table before him. The table is fashioned in a conventional Herakleopolitan way: loaded with slices of bread, above which are a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck, and bunches of lettuce and onions. Underneath the table on the right, is a tall *hs*-jar, while on the left, is ewer and basin. Notably the scene is depicted with no ground line indicator. On the cross bar is decorated in incised relief with a pair of *wd3t*-eyes.










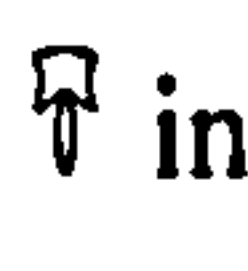
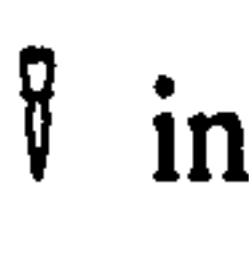

Transliteration:

(A') 1. *htp di nswt inpw tpy dw.f lmy* (B') 2. *wt nb t3 dsr prit-hrw nt im3hw hr pth-skr hr ntr-3 nb pt Impy-lqr* (C') 3. *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddwt ntr-3 nb 3bdw prit-hrw nt im3hw hr pth Impy-lqr m3c hrw* (A) 4. *im3hw hr pth-skr hr* (B) 5. *ntr-3 nb pt lmy-r m3c hsy n nb.f im3h hr inpw Impy-lqr m3c hrw* (C) 6. *im3hw hr pth-skr hr ntr-3 nb pt mry it.f mry mwt.f hsy n niwt.f tm Impy-lqr* (F) 7. *im3hw hr inpw tpy dw.f Impy-lqr* (G) 8. *im3hw hr pth-skr hr ntr-3 Impy-lqr*.

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in 2. the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, a voice offering of the honoured by Ptah-Sokar, and by the great god, lord of heaven, *Impy-lqr*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, a voice offering of the honoured by Ptah, *Impy-lqr* true of voice. 4. He who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, by 5. and the great god, lord of Heaven, Overseer of the Expedition, one who is praised by his lord, honoured by Anubis, *Impy-lqr*, true of voice. 6. He who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, and by the great god, lord of heaven, one who is beloved of his father, beloved of his mother, and praised of his entire city, *Impy-lqr*. 7. He who is honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain, *Impy-lqr*. 8. He who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, and by the great god *Impy-lqr*.

Dating:

Both the supplementary frame<sup>1338</sup> and the type of the panel indicate a later date. This unusual design is rarely found before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1339</sup> The appearance of the *wd3t*-eyes on the cross bar above the central niche is also a later criterion, known as early as the reign of Merykare. The composition of the offering table with slices of bread surmounted by a foreleg of beef, trussed duck and vegetables also points to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The full writing of Anubis, the addition of the prothetic *i* in the writing of the epithet *imy-wt*, and the addition of the post-complement *r* in the writing of *dsr*   are expected during that period. The arrangement of *pri-t-hrw* with the addition of the alabaster and cloth sign even indicate a later date in the Herakleopolitan Period itself. The addition of the filling stroke after the *r* sign in the writing of title *imy-r*  , the use of the filling stroke in the writing of *Ddwt* , and *3bdwt*    , and the use of the unusual ideogram  instead of the usual  in the writing of *3bdw* are not found before the Herakleopolitan Period. However it is worth noting that such orthography is a characteristic feature of the stelae found in Zakaria Ghoneim's excavation, and also appears on contemporary false doors found at Kom el-Fakhry.<sup>1340</sup> The abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* , and the occurrence of the phrase *hsy n niwt tm* both indicate a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period.

Two more features appear on this stela which are of dating significance. First, the addition of the epithet *lqr* to the name of the deceased. The date of its first appearance is disputed by scholars. Fischer argues for a date not before the Herakleopolitan Period, suggesting that it then became frequent.<sup>1341</sup> This date was accepted by Spanel who noted that this would fit well with non-theophoric names, suggesting that theophoric names plus the old perfective *lqrw* is known slightly earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1342</sup> Recently, however, Kanawati has argued for an even earlier date, assigning this

<sup>1338</sup> For comment on this feature see above *passim*.

<sup>1339</sup> See similar type panel on the stela of *Tti-h3-l3t.f* (7.2.7).

<sup>1340</sup> See below (5.1).

<sup>1341</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 130-131, n. 576; *TPPI* §§ 18 (9), 33 (7).

<sup>1342</sup> Cf. Spanel, 'The date of Ankhtifi of Mo'alla' *GM* 78 (1984), 87, n. 7.



phenomenon to the end of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>1343</sup> However, according the archaeological data available, this feature seems not be known in the Memphite necropolis before the Herakleopolitan Period and early Eleventh Dynasty, and it is probable that this stela is one of the earliest with this feature in the Memphite necropolis.<sup>1344</sup> The second feature is the occurrence of the epithet *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*. It is probable that the earliest occurrence of this epithet is that of *nh.tl.fy* of Mo<sup>c</sup>alla.<sup>1345</sup> It is worth mentioning that the epithet in question is known in royal inscriptions as early as the reign of Pepy II, one of his statues being described as *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*.<sup>1346</sup> As an epithet following the name of the deceased, however, it is not known in the Memphite necropolis before the Herakleopolitan Period. Both the above mentioned epithets seem to be introduced to the Memphite necropolis as early as the Herakleopolitan Period, probably in its later part, and probably at the same time that they were introduced in Upper Egypt. On this basis, one would place this stela in the later part of the Herakleopolitan Period or early Eleventh Dynasty.

#### 4.8.4. The stela of *Pth-nht* (LXIV)

Bibl: Unpublished, current location is Saqqara Storeroom Number 7.

A large-format false door stela measuring 144 x 67 cm. Its design is identical to that of *Impy-iqr*.<sup>1347</sup> It is surrounded with an uninscribed supplementary frame; it seems that its location next to that of *Impy-iqr* made the designer of this stela decide not to add

<sup>1343</sup> See Kanawati, *Akhmim*, 132-3.

<sup>1344</sup> Cf. Schenkel, *FMAS*, § 28 (a);

<sup>1345</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 130-31, n. 576; Schenkel, *FMAS*, § 28 (a); Polotsky, *Inschriften*, 63-64; see also Lapp, *Typologie*, § 526; *TPPI*, § 18 (9), 27 (ε), (ξ), 33 (7). For the meaning of *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* see, R. Anthes, 'The original meaning of *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*', *JNES* 13 (1954), 21-51. It is clear here that the epithet *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* applies to the dead. The epithet is also known to apply to the living, particularly during the Middle and New Kingdom, cf. Fischer, *JNES* 16 (1957), 225, n. 12; see also Spalinger, *JNES* 38 (1979), 272, n. 6. A recent symposium held at Yale University (April, 1998), questioned whether *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* 'vindicated/true of verdict' can refer to both the living and the dead. It was decided that the epithet's context must be carefully considered in each attestation. Simpson, Allen, and Murnane cited various stelae and temple inscriptions

where *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* must clearly refer to a living king, while Quirke and Collier pointed out that in the Lahun Papyri it seems generally to refer to deceased individuals.

<sup>1346</sup> *Urk* I, 293:16; also the compound adjective/noun appears on at least two stelae which date to the Eighth Dynasty in the phrase *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw hr ntr-3*, cf. 4.1.3 above, see also, Fischer, *Varia Nova*, pl. 44.

<sup>1347</sup> See above (4.8.3).

the right hand jamb of the frame, using the left hand frame of *Impy-lqr* stela as his right hand jamb. The texts are arranged in a similar way. Figures of the deceased are only represented on the middle and outer jambs. The four figures of the deceased are identical, showing him standing facing towards the central niche. He is depicted wearing a shoulder length wig, a broad collar and either a knee-length kilt on the outer left jamb and middle right jamb, or a pointed kilt on the middle left jamb and outer right jamb. Both texts and figures on the jamb are incised, while the table scene on the panel is made in raised relief. The panel type is identical to that of *Impy-lqr*. On the panel is the usual scene of the deceased sitting before an offering table. Above the funerary meal scene a single line of inscription runs from right to left. On the cross bar is a pair of *wḏ3t*-eyes.

#### Transliteration:

(A') 1. *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy ḏw.f imy wt* (B') 2. *nb t3 ḏsr prit ḥrw nt im3ḥw ḥr pth skr ḥr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt Pth-nḥt* (C') 3. *im3ḥw ḥr pth-skr ḥr wsir nb ʿnh ḥsl n niwt.f tm Pth-nḥt* (A) 4. *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddwṯ* (B) 5. *ntr-ʿ3 nb 3bdw prit-ḥrw nt im3ḥw ḥr wsir nb ʿnh Pth-nḥt m3ʿ-ḥrw* (C) 6. *prit ḥrw nt im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt im3ḥw Pth-nḥt* (F) 7. *im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt Pth-nḥt* (G) 8. *im3ḥw ḥr pth-skr Pth-nḥt* (D) 9. *im3ḥw ḥr pth-skr Pth-nḥt*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, 2. lord of the sacred land, a voice offering of the one who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, and by the great god, lord of heaven, *Pth-nḥt*. 3. He who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, by Osiris lord of life, one who is praised by his entire city, *Pth-nḥt*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris 5. the great god, lord of Abydos, a voice offering of the honoured by Osiris lord of life *Pth-nḥt*, true of voice. 6. A voice offering of the one who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven, the revered *Pth-nḥt*. 7. He who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven, *Pth-nḥt*. 8. He who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, *Pth-nḥt*. 9. The one honoured by Ptah-Sokar *Pth-nḥt*.

#### Comment:

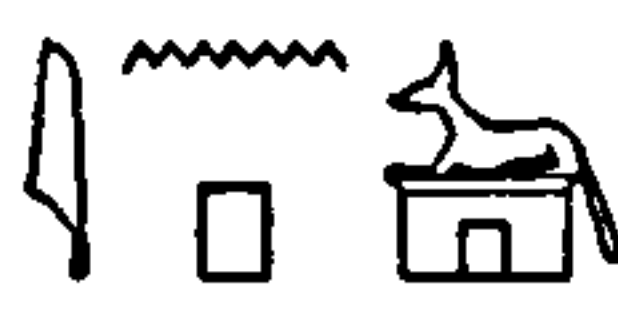
The name *Pth-nḥt* is known e.g. *PNI*, 140:15 (citing a Middle Kingdom example).





Like Anubis on the false door of *Šndt*, Osiris is mentioned here twice as the lord of life, an epithet which became frequent during the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>1348</sup> The epithet probably reflects the role of Osiris in the Coffin Texts which shows him as the god who secures triumph over death for all of his believers.<sup>1349</sup>

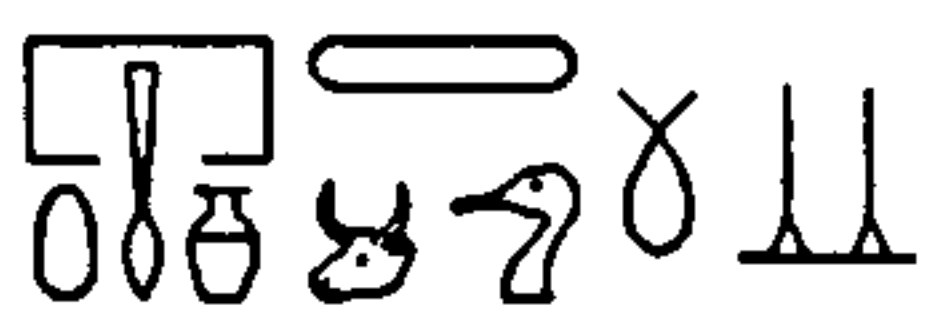
### Dating:


The design of the eastern offering chapel of the communal mastaba is an indication of a date at the end of the Old Kingdom. The style and design of the stela indicates a date later than the Old Kingdom, particularly the panel type and the supplementary frame. The other significant feature is the decoration of *wḏt* eyes on the cross bar, a feature which is probably not attested before the reign of Merykare. The full writing of Anubis,

phonetically and ideographically , the addition of the prothetic *l* in the writing of the epithet *lmy-wt*, the writing of *ḏsr* with the post-complement *r*, the writing of both

*Ddwt* and *ḏbḏw* , with the addition of the filling stroke, all indicate a date

in the Herakleopolitan Period. The arrangement of *wsir nb* , the abbreviation of the epithet *imḏh* are also expected during this period. The writing of *pr̄t hrw* with the

addition of the alabaster, and cloth signs as well as the plural strokes  is a feature which probably first appeared during the early part of the Eleventh Dynasty and did not become frequent before the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1350</sup> The writing of *nṯr-ʿ*

 with the post-complement *ʿ* written horizontally is an orthography which occurs on another two stelae from the same site, those of *Nfr-ḥsf* and *Ny-kḏw-rʿ*.<sup>1351</sup> It is also known to me to occur on another double stela of unknown provenance, that of *Mrt-mwt.s* and *Pth-nḥt*, now in the Archaeological Museum of Athens.<sup>1352</sup> At Thebes it seems that this writing is first attested in the early part of the Eleventh Dynasty, when it is known to

<sup>1348</sup> See comment under (4.8.5).

<sup>1349</sup> Cf. Griffith, 'Osiris', *LÄ* I, 629-630.

<sup>1350</sup> It is probable that this writing first appears on the coffin of Queen *Nfrw* of the early Eleventh Dynasty (cf. *RT* 12 (1892), 217).

<sup>1351</sup> See below.

<sup>1352</sup> See, *The World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum*, no. 28.

occur on the coffin of Queen *Nfrw*.<sup>1353</sup> In addition to these features, the stela displays three other phenomena which are not known to occur before this period. The first of these is the occurrence of the epithet *ntr-ʿ3 nb 3bdw* as an epithet for Osiris, a feature which had its earliest appearance in the Memphite necropolis, probably as early as the reign of Merykare.<sup>1354</sup> The second feature is the occurrence of the epithet *nb ʿnh* as an epithet for Osiris. This epithet, though it is more familiar in Twelfth Dynasty inscriptions, appears occasionally during the Herakleopolitan and Eleventh Dynasties.<sup>1355</sup> The third feature is the appearance of the epithet *m3ʿ-hrw*, also indicating a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1356</sup> One might suggest that this stela is slightly later than that of *Impy-lqr*, but belongs to the same period, probably the later part of the Herakleopolitan Period or the early Eleventh Dynasty.

#### 4.8.5. Stela of Šndt (LXV)

Bibl: Unpublished, current location is Saqqara Storeroom Number 7.

A limestone stela, with an inscribed supplementary frame. It measures 107.5 x 60.5 x 15 cm. The stela itself is of a small format, with four jambs, displaying the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding. Its panel is of a type which could be called a full screen panel, the type of panel which fills the entire space between the outer jambs. The cross bar, located directly above the central niche, is decorated with a pair of *wḏ3t*-eye executed in incised relief. Both texts and figures on the outer jambs are incised, while the scene on the panel is cut in raised relief. Texts are laid out in a conventional way; each of the inscribed areas bear either a single line or column of inscription. The figures on the outer jambs are two identical images of the deceased, showing her standing facing towards the central niche. She is depicted wearing a long wig with lappet falling over her back shoulder and her chest, long tight-fitting garment, and broad collar. She holds a spearhead-like lotus-

<sup>1353</sup> Cf. *RT* (1892), 217.

<sup>1354</sup> See comment above under the stela of *Imi/In* (4.1.28) who was a contemporary official of Merykare.

<sup>1355</sup> Cf. *TPC* I, 259 (15), where the epithet is encountered for Anubis, on the coffin of *Tti-hr-m33*, which is dated to the Herakleopolitan Period on the grounds of its style and inscription. The same epithet appears on the coffin of *Imi-hr-ssnb.f* (cf. *TPC* I, 239 (6)), also a Herakleopolitan Period Coffin.

<sup>1356</sup> See comment under (4.8.4); see also Schenkel, *FMAŠ*, § 28.



bud staff in one hand, while the other hand is extended open at her side. The panel has the usual table scene, with the deceased sitting on a low back chair on the left facing right. She wears similar attire to that on the jambs, and holds her left hand fisted to her chest, while she extends her right hand towards an offering table before her. Above the table are the usual slices of bread, foreleg of beef, a tray of figs and a tall jar. In front of the deceased's face is a lotus flower, part of the banquet, with the flower's head turned towards her face.<sup>1357</sup>

#### Transliteration:

(supplementary frame) 1. *ḥtp dī nswt inpw tpy ḏw.f lmy wt* 2. *nb t3 ḏsr qrst nfrt nt lm3ḥt ḥr pth skr Šndt* 3. *prīt ḥrw nt lm3ḥt ḥr pth-skr ḥr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt Šndt*. (stela) 4. (A) *prīt ḥrw nt lm3ḥt ḥr* 5. (B) *wsir nb lmnty ḥr ḥt-ḥr Šndt* 6. (C) *lm3ḥt ḥr inpw nb ʿnh Šndt* 7. (F) *lm3ḥt ḥr ntr-ʿ3 Šndt* 8. (G) *lm3ḥt ḥr wsir Šndt*

#### Translation:


1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, 2. lord of the sacred land, a beautiful burial for the one honoured by Ptah-Sokar, *Šndt*. 3. A voice offering of the one who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, by the great god, lord of heaven, *Šndt*. 4. A voice offering of the one who is revered by 5. Osiris, lord of the west, and by Hathor, *Šndt*. 6. One who is revered by Anubis, lord of life, *Šndt*. 7. She who is honoured by the great god, *Šndt*. 8. She who is honoured by Osiris, *Šndt*.

#### Comments:

The name *Šndt* 'acacia tree' is unusual. It is not known in the Old Kingdom, and not listed in *Personennamen*.<sup>1358</sup>

One of the features which occur on this stela and deserves comment is the epithet *nb ʿnh*. The epithet appears on false doors from this cemetery, associated with both


<sup>1357</sup> For similar iconography see, CCG 20507; Fischer, *Orientation*, fig. 69; Louvre E27211= Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 8; Fischer, *Dendera*, pl. XXV; Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 57. The location and the way the lotus blossom is represented should be compared with the location of the hanging mirror in front of the face of the deceased, a representation which is frequently seen on stelae of this period (see e.g., Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, figs. 120, 124; Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 1-3, 5, 19, 58; Fischer, *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 235-8, fig. 1, pl. XXIX; CCG 1600, 1603, 1633; Cf. also, Hildesheim 1884 = GM 28 (1978), 45-51, Abb. 1-2


<sup>1358</sup> The name  *Š(n)ḏw* was adopted by males during the Old Kingdom, cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 329:6.



Anubis and Osiris. However, the epithet is also known to be associated with other gods, particularly during the Middle Kingdom, but not before.<sup>1359</sup> It seems that this epithet made its appearance as early as the Herakleopolitan Period and Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>1360</sup>

#### Dating:

Although the supplementary inscribed frame points to a date at the end of the Old Kingdom in general, it is frequently adopted in false door design during the Herakleopolitan Period and Middle Kingdom.<sup>1361</sup> The type of the panel, which fills the entire space between the outer jambs, is not known in the Memphite necropolis before the reign of King Merykare. The decoration of the *wd3t*-eyes on the cross bar is not known to occur in the Memphite necropolis before the reign of Merykare. The offering table with bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef, a tray of fruit and meat cuts, is a composition which is not encountered before the Herakleopolitan Period. On the jambs the deceased is shown holding a spearhead-like staff, a feature which is seen first at the very end of the Old Kingdom, but did not become frequent before the advent of the Herakleopolitan

Period. Also characteristic of this period are, the full writing of Anubis ,<sup>1362</sup>

the addition of the prothetic *i* in the writing of the epithet *imy-wt*  a writing which is first known in the inscriptions adjacent to the burial chamber at the very end of the Old Kingdom and made its way on to stela probably in the Herakleopolitan Period, as

does the arrangement of *wsir nb* . The writing of *prw hrw*  is rather significant,<sup>1363</sup> being frequent during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1364</sup> This writing is, however, known to occur occasionally on stela of a Herakleopolitan or Eleventh Dynasty date: two

<sup>1359</sup> *Wb* I, 199:11. cf. Osiris lord of life e.g. CCG 20048 a; 20478 b, 20039 b; see also, Anubis lord of life, e.g. CCG 20279 a; 20266 b; ; as well as Ptah the Memphite god, cf. CCG 20610 b; 20716 b; 20253 c; 20742 B (a).

<sup>1360</sup> See note 40; It also appears on two of the stela; that of *impy-iqr* (4.8.3) and *Pth-nht* (4.8.4). The epithet is also known at Harageh as early as the Eleventh Dynasty, cf. *Harageh*, Taf. 77 (1); see also Lapp, *Typologie*, Ha 9.

<sup>1361</sup> See comment on this architectural feature above *passim*.




<sup>1362</sup> See comment above *passim*; cf. e.g. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 13; Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 36, 85, 23; *TPPI*, § 19, 27 ξ (*ʿš3yt*), 27 τ (*hnhnt*).

<sup>1363</sup> Probable known at Thebes in the early Eleventh Dynasty, cf. *RT* 12 (1892), 217, as it appears on the coffin of Queen *Nfrw*.

<sup>1364</sup> CCG 20014, 20053, 20610, 20760, 23043, 23035, 23027; Capart, *Recueil*, Taf. 23, 25.



of these are in the Field Museum Chicago, that of *Intf*,<sup>1365</sup> and that of *S3t-Impy*.<sup>1366</sup> The third example is a double stela of unknown provenance, now in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, belonging to *Pth-nht* and his wife *Mrt-mwt.s*.<sup>1367</sup> The style and inscriptions of these three stelae clearly continue the momentum of the Herakleopolitan Period and early Eleventh Dynasty and show no evidence of a Middle Kingdom date, either in the stela's design or in the textual features.<sup>1368</sup> The abbreviation of the west ideogram and the abbreviation of the epithet *Im3ht* are expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. The occurrence of *qrst nfri* is also indicative of a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare,<sup>1369</sup> as is probably the occurrence of the epithet *nb ʿnh*.<sup>1370</sup> Given the above mentioned features one would place this stela in the second half of the Herakleopolitan Period, or early in the Eleventh Dynasty.

Zakaria Ghoneim found, on either side of this stela, two inscribed side pieces, both 107 cm. tall and 23 cm wide. The left hand piece is decorated in incised relief with three registers which show what is probably an abbreviated version of the usual animal procession scene frequently encountered on the walls of Old Kingdom tombs. Each register has only one animal, above which the name of the animal is written. The uppermost one is *rnn-īw3* , the middle register is *rnn ghs*  , while the last register is *rnn m3-ḥd*. The three animals face inwards in the direction of the false door or the central niche. The opposite side piece has four registers of raised relief, displaying oil jars. The top register has only a jar of *st* oil, while the other three registers each bear two jars of oil, above which the names of the oils are inscribed.

<sup>1365</sup> Field Museum, no. 31694; cf. T.G. Allen, *Egyptian Stelae in Field Museum of Natural History* (Chicago, 1936), pl. I.

<sup>1366</sup> Field Museum, no. 31285; *Egyptian Stelae*, pl. II. It is worth noting the striking similarity of these two stelae with stela of *Šndt* in both design and inscriptions.

<sup>1367</sup> *The World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum* (Athens, 1995), no. 28.

<sup>1368</sup> Cf. Spanel, in *Studies Simpson*, II 765-772.

<sup>1369</sup> See Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 67 (y); Cf. also Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (2) which belongs to a official contemporary to King Merykare.

<sup>1370</sup> See comment above nn.41, 46; cf. also *Priestergräber*, 57, where it appear for both Anubis and Osiris on the coffin of *Hry-šf-ḥtp* which is dated on the grounds of its inscriptions and typology to the Herakleopolitan Period or Eleventh Dynasty, cf. Lapp, *Typologie*, Abb. 6; cf. also the occurrence of the same epithet for Anubis on a Herakleopolitan Period side piece from a chapel from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, which belongs to a lady called *S3t-Ḥt-ḥr* (6.1.14).

#### 4.8.6. Stela of *Pth-htp* (LXVI)

Bibl: Unpublished, Zakaria Ghoneim Excavation, probably still in situ.

A limestone small format false door stela, measuring 105 x 60 x 15 cm. The stela has the usual cavetto cornice, and torus moulding, as well as an inscribed surrounding frame. Both inscriptions and figures on the posts of the supplementary frame are incised, while the table scene on the panel is in raised relief. The figures on the frame posts are identical, representing the deceased standing facing towards the central niche. He is depicted wearing a shoulder length wig, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt. He holds a long staff in one hand, while the other hand is extended at his side, fist. The inscriptions are laid out in a conventional way, with each of the outer jambs and frame posts having one column of inscription. The inner jambs are left blank, although the stela seems to be complete. The cross bar is decorated with an incised pair of *wꜥꜣt*-eyes, while the panel which fills the entire space between the outer jambs, shows the usual table scene with the deceased sitting on the left facing an offering table loaded with bread slices, above which a foreleg of beef, trussed duck and a bunch of green vegetables are represented. Underneath the table on the left are a tall *ḥs* jar, while to the right of the table pedestal is a large ewer and basin. Above the deceased and the table a single line of inscriptions runs from right to left.

##### Transliteration:

(supplementary frame) 1. *ḥtp di nswt inpw imy wt* 2. *nb t3 ḏsr qrst nfrt nt imꜣḥ ḥr pth-skr*  
*Pth-ḥtp* 3. *pryt ḥrw nt imꜣḥ ḥr pth-skr ḥr wsir nb ʿnh Pth-ḥtp* (stela) 4. (A) *ḥtp di wsir nb*  
 5. (B) *Ddw pryt ḥrw nt imy-r šnꜥ Pth-ḥtp* 6. (C) *imꜣḥw ḥr pth-skr ḥsy n nb.f Pth-ḥtp* 7. (D)  
*pryt ḥrw nt imꜣḥw Pth-ḥtp*

##### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, 2. lord of the sacred land, a beautiful burial of the one who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, *Pth-ḥtp*. 3. A voice offering of the one who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar and by Osiris lord



of life, *Pth-htp*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of 5. Busiris, a voice offering of the Overseer of the Storehouse, *Pth-htp*. 6. He who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, praised by his lord, *Pth-htp*. 7. A voice offering of the honoured *Pth-htp*


### Comment:

*imy-r šn<sup>c</sup>* 'Overseer of the Storehouse', an storage department which is associated with the state, as well as wealthy private estates. From tomb scenes the *pr-šn<sup>c</sup>* seems to be not just a storage place, but it was rather more complicated, seeming to be a production centre of the household, attached to a private estate, or as a state department or even as a temple attachment.<sup>1371</sup>

### Dating:

The style of the pseudo-mastaba, in whose eastern face the stela was imbedded, is an architectural feature which indicates a later date. The limestone model called a 'house-stela' was introduced at the very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1372</sup> It is probable that, from this style of 'house-stela', the architect of the Herakleopolitan Period had developed a look-alike mud-brick mastaba, in whose eastern face he placed the usual false door stela.

The type of the stela's panel, which fills the entire space between the outer jambs, clearly indicates a date not earlier than the Herakleopololitan Period. The decoration of pair of *wḏ3t*-eyes on the cross bar above the central niche also points to a similar date. Other characteristic features are: the full writing of Anubis in the context of offering formula, the addition of the prothetic *l* in the writing of the epithet *imy-wt*, the writing of *ḏsr* with the post complement *r* all point to a date not before the Herakleopolitan Period.

The arrangement of *wsir nb*  also indicates a date in this period. The writing of *pr-it-ḥrw* with an ox's head and a bird's head also appears frequently on stelae of this period. Two more features appear on this stela which provide us with *terminus post quem*: the occurrence of substantive use of *qrst nfrt*, which is known as early as the reign of King

<sup>1371</sup> Cf. C.J. Eyre in M.A. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 29-30; see also a recent discussion P. Andrassy, 'Das *pr-šn<sup>c</sup>* im Alten Reich', *SAK* 20 (1993), 17-35, who suggests that the department in question was 'Wirtschaftsberieb'.

<sup>1372</sup> For comment on this style of mastaba see under (4.7.2).

Merykare,<sup>1373</sup> and the occurrence of the epithet *nb ʿnh* 'lord of life',<sup>1374</sup> an epithet which appears at the end of the Herakleopolitan Period and early Eleventh Dynasty. A date not earlier than the reign of Merykare is suggested.

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<sup>1373</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (2) (mentions Merykare). Cf. also *TPC I*, 259 (15); 262 (20). It is worth noting that the adjective *nfr* occurs with the phrase *qrs.tw.f nfr* at the end of the Sixth Dynasty texts (cf. Davies, *Sheikh Said*, pl. 23; *Urk I*, 253: 11; also Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, § 67 (B); Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 28, n. 114). Such occurrences contradict Barta's suggestion that the adjective *nfr* had been added to this phrase as early as the Eighth Dynasty (cf. Barta, *Die Opferformel*, Bitte 4, 27, 39, 47).

<sup>1374</sup> For comment on this epithet see under (4.8.5).



#### 4.8.7. Stela fragment of *Ny-k3w-ptḥ* (Plate LXVII)

Bibl: Unpublished, current location is Saqqara Storeroom number 7.

A fragmentary stela, the remaining part forming the right hand side of a large format false door, which originally had six jambs. What remains shows that the stela was surrounded by a supplementary inscribed frame. The fragment measures 99 x 43 x 9.5 cm. Its texts and figures on the middle and inner jambs are incised, while the table scene was executed in raised relief, as were the pair of *wḏ3t*-eyes on the cross bar. The panel was of the type which fills the entire space between the middle jambs in large format false doors. The scene on the panel shows the usual funerary meal, with the deceased depicted before an offering table, of which part of the table pedestal as well as the front part of the deceased's leg are still preserved. Both the inner and middle right jambs show identical images of the deceased standing facing towards the central niche. He is seen wearing what seems to be a short full wig<sup>1375</sup> and a pointed kilt. He holds his right hand to his chest fist, while the left hand is extended at his side fist.

#### Transliteration:

1. (right post of the supplementary frame) ... ... (*im3ḥw ḥr pth-s*)*kr ḥsy n nb.f im3ḥ ḥr wsir nb ʿnh Ny-k3w-ptḥ m3ʿ-ḥrw* 2. (C') ... ... (*im3ḥw*) *ḥr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt it-ntr shd smw ḥsy n nb.f im3ḥ ḥry iḥt-ntr Ny-k3w-ptḥ* 3. (C) ... (*im3ḥw ḥr*) *pth-skr ḥr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt it-ntr ḥry iḥt-ntr im3ḥ Ny-k3w-ptḥ* 4. (G) *im3ḥ ḥry iḥt-ntr it-ntr Ny-k3w-ptḥ m3ʿ-ḥrw*

<sup>1375</sup> It has to be admitted that the exact form of the wig is not very clear from the photo (Plate LXVII). However, short full wigs are known to appear sporadically on Eleventh Dynasty stelae from a few Upper Egyptian sites: e.g. Dendera (cf. Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 11c); Hu (Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. 25); Gebelein (CCG 1622; Turin Suppl. No. 1262; cf. also, Fischer, *Kush* 9 (1961), 44-80); as well as at Thebes, where it is worn by princess ʿ3yt (cf. Fischer, *ZAS* 100 (1974), 22; Cairo J.E 47267; *BMAA* Nov. 1921, part 2, p. 47 = Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, pl. 8). A similar type of wig is also worn by King *W3ḥ-ʿnh/Intf* (cf. Fischer, *ZAS* 100 (1974), pl. I (b); M.M.A 13.182.3 = Winlock, *JNES* 2 (1943), 258-9, pl. 36; idem, *Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom*, pl. 4). If the identification of the wig suggested here is correct, it is noticeable that it covers the ear of the deceased, a feature which is evidenced in the Eleventh Dynasty statues (cf. Fischer, *ZAS* 100, 22; M.M.A 26.7.1393 = Hayes, *Scepter* I, figs. 127, 210; cf. also *MDAIK* 20 (1965), pl. 18 = *Or* 34 (1965), pl. 31 (10); BM 37896 = Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art*, pl. 4 (right); Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 21).

Translation:

1. ... (He who is honoured by Ptah-So)kar, praised by his lord, honoured by Osiris, lord of life, *NY-k3w-ptḥ*, true of voice. 2. ... (He who is honoured) by the great god, lord of heaven, God's Father, Inspector of *smw*-attendants, praised of his lord, the honoured, Master of the Divine Ceremonies, *Ny-k3w-ptḥ*. 3. ... (He who is honoured by) Ptah-Sokar, and by the great god, lord of heaven, God's Father, Master of the Divine Ceremonies, the honoured *Ny-k3w-ptḥ*. 4. He who is honoured, Master of the Divine Ceremonies, God's Father, *Ny-k3w-ptḥ* true of voice.

Comments:

*It-nṯr* 'God's Father'. In the light of the other titles, as well as the absence of *mry-nṯr* (a supplement phrase which was generally added to the title *It-nṯr* when courtly rank or relationship to the king were intended), it is likely that the title refers to a priestly office. He was probably active in the temple of Ptah, or perhaps that of Sokar as may be indicated with the occurrence of the title *shḏ smw*. *It-nṯr*, as a priestly office, is probably first encountered at the very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1376</sup> The office is rarely attested even during the Middle Kingdom as pointed out by Kees.<sup>1377</sup> This stela, however, provides new evidence of this priestly designation during the Herakleopolitan Period, as well as demonstrating additional evidence for the assimilation of courtly titles to the priesthood of local cults, as noticed by Fischer.<sup>1378</sup>

*shḏ smw* 'Inspector of *smw*-attendants'. A priestly office associated with the cult of Ptah and Sokar in Memphis. It is a lesser counterpart of the title *hrp sm*, frequently held by the Memphite High Priests of Ptah during the Sixth Dynasty and is regularly preceded

<sup>1376</sup> Cf Fischer *JARCE* 3 (1964), 25-29. The title here is held by the 'Great *w'ḥ* priest of Ptah *It-ptḥ/Iry*'. This stela has probably the earliest occurrence of this priestly title. An equally good case can be made for the same interpretation of *It-nṯr* in the titles of three Heliopolitan high priests whose tombs evidently antedate the end of the Old Kingdom (Daressy, *ASAE* 16 (1916), 198 (*Mrw*), 199 (*Sbky*), 209 (*Hw-n-Hr*)). Helck (*Beamtentitlen*, 94) mentions these examples, but suggests that they are simply 'Ehrentitel', paying no attention to the other priestly offices which appear in the same contexts. Here the title regularly follows *wr m3.(w)* 'Greatest of the Seers' or *hry-ḥbt* 'Lector Priest', and sometimes occurs between the two.

<sup>1377</sup> Kees, *ZAS* 86 (1961), 121

<sup>1378</sup> For further discussion of some of these titles see Fischer, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 25-29.



by another title referring to Sokar.<sup>1379</sup> The title is likely to have a strong link with the cult of Sokar, evidenced by two occurrences: the first case shows the name of Sokar actually attached to the title under consideration, *hrp sm skr*,<sup>1380</sup> and in the other case the title *sm* is also directly attached to Sokar in the titles of *Ny-m3't-ptḥ* of the Fifth Dynasty, who was a Supervisor of Priests of the pyramid town of King Neferirkare, Prophet of Ptah, and *sm skr*.<sup>1381</sup> The function of the holders of this title is far from clear. Fischer suggests that it represent a minor priestly office in the priesthood of Sokar.<sup>1382</sup> Nevertheless its regular occurrence in the titles of the High Priest of Ptah during the Sixth Dynasty perhaps argues against Fischer's suggestion. An attendant or lay personnel is suggested by Fischer as a function for the office of *smw*,<sup>1383</sup> on the grounds of the occurrence of a verb of identical appearance, which involves an attitude or action towards a god.<sup>1384</sup> Fischer, in his treatment of this office, suggests that this title does not appear after the end of the Sixth Dynasty, and it was not used again until the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>1385</sup> However, its occurrence on this stela provides fresh evidence for its existence during the Herakleopolitan Period.

*hry iḥt ntr* is literally 'one who is upon (master of) *iḥt ntr*'. In the context of the other titles held by the stela's owner it seems likely that the office refers to some priestly tasks which the deceased undertook in the temple of Ptah or the Sokar shrine. The word *iḥt* is usually translated as 'possessions, things, or affairs',<sup>1386</sup> but it also expresses the meaning of 'cult, rituals, or ceremonies',<sup>1387</sup> of which expressions such as *irt iḥt*, *irrw iḥt*,

<sup>1379</sup> Cf. Mariette, *Mastabas*, 113 (cf. also p. 130) (*Pth-šps*, BM 682 = James, *Hier. Texts I*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 17), p. 123 (*R<sup>c</sup>-nfr*, CCG 18-19), p. 157 (*S3bw-km*), p. 375 (*S3bw/Ibbi*).

<sup>1380</sup> CCG 93, 1701 (*Pth-šps*).

<sup>1381</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 250.

<sup>1382</sup> Fischer, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 28.

<sup>1383</sup> Not to be confused with *stm* cf. Charles Maystre, *JNES* 8 (1949), 85-6. For *stm* see Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 39\*-41\*.

<sup>1384</sup> Fischer, op. cit, 28; see also *Wb* IV, 120:8; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 225.




<sup>1385</sup> Fischer, *JARCE* 3, 28. See also Maystre, *JNES* 8, 88; *Wb* IV, 120:7. See also, H. de Meulenaere 'Un titre memphite méconnu', in J. Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.) *Mélanges Mariette*, BdE 32 (1961), 285-90; cf. also C. Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire* I, 73, n. 209.

<sup>1386</sup> Cf. *Wb* I, 24:2-6; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary* 18; Meeks, *Année lex* II, No. 78.0458

<sup>1387</sup> *Wb* I, 125:1; cf. also Posener-Kriéger and J.-L. de Cenival, *The Abusir Papyri* (London, 1968), pl. 3, col. (b), line 1).

*lry iht* 'one who performs rites' are known.<sup>1388</sup> The word also appears to be compounded with the word *ntr* in the phrase *lry iht ntr* 'performing the divine rituals'.<sup>1389</sup> One should probably translate the title as 'Master of the Divine Rites'. Nevertheless one can not ignore meanings such as 'Eigentum des Gotts, Tempelgute' suggested by the Wörterbuch,<sup>1390</sup> or 'cultic largesse', as recently rendered by Leprohon.<sup>1391</sup> Accepting both translations, one might suggest that the title was of a priestly office, not only concerned with the cultic and ceremonial aspect of the temple, but also responsibility for administering the donations presented to the temple.

#### Dating:

There are two stylistic features which appear here on the fragmentary false door which clearly associate the stela with a period somewhat later than the Old Kingdom. The first is the full panel, which fills the entire space between the outer jambs. The second is the occurrence of a pair of *wḏ3t*-eyes on the cross bar. Both features are first evidenced during the reign of Merykare. Palaeographic features encountered on this stela also point to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. They include the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* , the orthography of *ntr*-<sup>c</sup> *nb* with the addition of the post-complement <sup>c</sup> ,<sup>1392</sup> the occurrence of the epithet *nb* <sup>c</sup>*nh* . The appearance of the epithet *m3c* *hrw* particularly points to a date at the end of the Herakleopolitan Period or early Eleventh Dynasty.

<sup>1388</sup> Cf. e.g. Badawy, *Nyhetep-ptah*, fig. 22:2; Helck, *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 70; Vernus, *Athribis*, 125, n.1, 203; Meeks, *Année lex* I, no. 77.0432; II, no. 78.458; III, no. 79.0322. This term calls to mind the well known royal epithet *nb lry iht* 'Master of Ceremonies', cf. P. Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* I (Brussels, 1977), 75, n. 151; see also, W.K. Simpson, *CdE* 47 (1972), 49.

<sup>1389</sup> Cf. *ibid*; see also Edel, *ZAS*, 106 (1979), 113; Habachi, *Tavole*, 94-95, here a priest is shown performing the *ih̄t ntr*, which clearly involves burning incense, and pouring libation water

<sup>1390</sup> Cf. *Wb* I, 124: 17-18.

<sup>1391</sup> R.J. Leprohon, *JARCE* 31 (1994), 46-47.

<sup>1392</sup> For comment on this feature see under *Pth-nht* (4.8.4).



#### 4.8.8. Stela of *Nfr hsf*<sup>1393</sup> (LXVIII)

Bibl: Unpublished, current location is Saqqara Storeroom Number 7.


A small format limestone stela measuring 118 x 66 x 12 cm. It is surrounded by an inscribed supplementary frame, and has the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding. The panel is of the type which fills the entire space between the outer jambs. The cross bar above the central niche is decorated with an incised pair of *wꜥꜣt*-eyes. Both texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the table scene on the panel is in raised relief. Texts are laid out in a conventional way; the frame's architrave and the stela lintel each has a single line of text, while each of the jambs and frame posts bears a single column of inscription. At the end of the inscriptions on the jambs and the frame posts are mirror image of the deceased, depicting him standing facing towards the central niche. He is seen with short hair, wearing a pointed kilt, and extending his front hand open in a gesture of reverence, while the other hand is extended at his side fist.


#### Transliteration:

(frame) 1. *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy ḏw.f imy-wt nb tꜥ ḏsr* 2. *pr̥t ḥrw nt imꜥḥw ḥr pth-skr wr ḏḥrw m ḥwt skr imꜥḥ Nfr-ḥsf* 3. *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ḍdw ntr-ꜥꜥ nb ꜥḏw pr̥t ḥrw nt wr ḏḥrw m ḥwt [skr]*<sup>1394</sup> *Nfr-ḥsf* (stela) (A) 4. *imꜥḥw ḥr pth-skr* (B) 5. *ḥr ntr-ꜥꜥ nb pt wr ḏḥrw m ḥwt skr Nfr-ḥsf* (C) 6. *pr̥t ḥrw nt imꜥḥ ḥr ntr-ꜥꜥ Nfr-ḥsf* (F) 7. *pr̥t ḥrw nt imꜥḥ Nfr-ḥsf* (G) 8. *pr̥t ḥrw nt imꜥḥ Nfr-ḥsf* (D) 9. *imꜥḥw ḥr pth-skr* 10. *ḥr ntr-ꜥꜥ nb pt Nfr-ḥsf*

#### Translation:







1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, 2. a voice offering of the one honoured by Ptah-Sokar, Chief of Leathercrafts in the temple of Sokar, he who is honoured, *Nfr-ḥsf*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, a voice offering

<sup>1393</sup> The ideogram  could also read *tpy*. It frequently appears with the same shape as the sign here, cf. e.g. Kanawati, *Saqqara* I, pl. 6, 7, 27; cf. also, CCG 1413, 1414, 1420, 1447, 1453, 1448.

<sup>1394</sup> Note here the name of Sokar to be restored, as it is highly likely that the name of the god was dropped by the scribe, who only wrote the determinative .

of the Chief of the Leathercrafts in the temple of Sokar,<sup>1395</sup> *Nfr-hsf*. 4. He who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar 5. and by the great god, lord of heaven, Chief of the Leathercrafts in the temple of Sokar *Nfr-hsf*. 6. A voice offering of the one who is honoured by the great god, *Nfr-hsf*. 7. A voice offering of the honoured *Nfr-hsf*. 8. A voice offering of the honoured *Nfr-hsf*. 9. He who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar 10. and by the great god, lord of heaven, *Nfr-hsf*.

#### Comments:


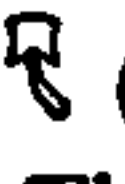

The title  is written three times on the stela, all of them with this ideographic writing.<sup>1396</sup> The ideogram  which is identified by Gardiner as a cow skin,<sup>1397</sup> is taken to refer to leather or leathercrafts on the grounds of the occurrence of the full writing of the same title, which reads *dhṛ/dḥḥ*, in at least two sources.<sup>1398</sup> It appears in the titles of *Wsr* of Sheikh Farag,<sup>1399</sup> as well as *Bnsi*, the owner of a stela now in the collection of the Oriental Institute Museum.<sup>1400</sup> On the last example the title is written *wr dḥḥ*    with the determinative , a writing which supports the reading suggested for the title inscribed here, in which case this abbreviated writing would read *wr dḥḥ* and translate as 'Chief of the Leathercrafts'.

One might also note the association of the office with the shrine or retinue of Sokar in Memphis. Sokar's outstanding attribute during the Old Kingdom was his character

<sup>1395</sup> Perhaps the earliest mention of a temple of Sokar occurs in the Pyramid Texts (*Pyr.* 2069), cf. C. Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes I*, 38-54.

<sup>1396</sup> This ideographic writing also appears in the titles of a Sixth Dynasty official Cf. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms* (Boulaq stele no. 929 the title read *imy-r dḥḥ* 'Overseer of the Leathercrafts').

<sup>1397</sup> Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, F 27. The ideogram comes as a determinative for words referring to animals and herds as well as words indicating leather cf. *Wb* I, 96; II, 150 :3-5; III, 244; V, 481-2; V 605:10-11.

<sup>1398</sup> In *Wb* V, 605:10 *dḥḥ* is listed as an older version of *dhṛ* (*Wb* V, 481:13). *dḥḥ* is mentioned in the Abusir Papyri with the determinative  as well as  (cf. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives*, 15A-16A, p. 82, 84-5; also, Posener-Kriéger and J.L. de Cenival, *The Abusir Papyri*, pl. 49e). It also occurs with the determinative  on an unpublished stela in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, no. 31704 (the owner of the stela is 'Overseer of the *dḥḥ* Workshop', and 'Overseer of the Double Chamber of Pelt-Tanning'. Note that *h3wt* (*Wb* III, 225: 9) is written with the determinative of a mantle suggesting some sort of leather processing and leather work, cf. Brovarski, *JNES* 32 (1973), 455, n. 13. For leathercrafts during the Old Kingdom, see Junker, *Weta und das Lederkunsth Handwerk im Alten Reich*, *SÖAW* 231/1 (1957), 5-33; cf. also cf. R. Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im Alten Ägypten*, *ÄA* 31 (Wiesbaden, 1976), 7-17, although Drenkhahn does not mention the title in question.

<sup>1399</sup> Boston Museum of Fine Arts photograph A 3260; cf. Brovarski, *JNES* 32 (1973), 455, n. 11.

<sup>1400</sup> *Ibid*, 453-465.



as a craftsman and patron of those who were involved in such activities.<sup>1401</sup> An Old Kingdom relief from the tomb of *Tp-m-ꜥnh* shows a metal worker exhorting his colleague with the exclamation 'Sloth is abominable to Sokar, O craftsman'.<sup>1402</sup> Another smelter from the tomb of *K3.t-m-rhw* pledges 'Beer for Sokar my patron'.<sup>1403</sup> These scenes clearly associate Sokar with metal craft.<sup>1404</sup> However, his association with other crafts is also evidenced during the Old Kingdom. In the mastaba of Kagemni, an ointment maker says, 'may Sokar make your scent sweet'.<sup>1405</sup> As for connection of Sokar with leathercraft, a text from the Middle Kingdom reads 'It is this hide belonging to Sokar and to his own smelting, indeed it is not the smelting of the craftsman'.<sup>1406</sup> The association of Sokar with leathercrafts is also demonstrated clearly in the light of the title of this stela's owner, who practised his office as an Overseer of Leathercrafts in the retinue of the god Sokar.<sup>1407</sup>

<sup>1401</sup> Cf. Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 49-50, 124.

<sup>1402</sup> Cf. Capart, *Recueil*, I, pl. 12; Smith, *AJA* 46 (1942), fig 6; Erman, *Reden, Rufe, und Leider*, *APAW* 15 (1919), 45; H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Painting*, II (Warminster, 1979), no. 23; cf. also Hodjash and Berlev in, *AoF* 7 (1980), 36-7, pl. 2.

<sup>1403</sup> Cf. Mogensen, *Le mastaba égyptien de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (Copenhagen, 1921), fig. 40; cf. Erman, op. cit., 41-42.






<sup>1404</sup> Cf. Brovarski, 'Sokar' *LÄ* V, 1057, n. 35.



<sup>1405</sup> Cf. Von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai I*, (Berlin, 1905), pl. 33.

<sup>1406</sup> *CT* VI, 284; cf. also, Fischer, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 28, n. 30. *ḥ3yt pw nt skr* clearly refers to Sokar's association with leathercrafts. For other crafts for which Sokar acted as a patron see, Brovarski, *LÄ* V, 1057

<sup>1407</sup> The title provides more evidence of the self-sufficiency of temples during this period. It refers to the existence of a productive economic unit of leather material inside the temple of Sokar. It is probable that the service of such a unit was not only restricted to temple needs. On the economy of temples during the Old Kingdom, see Posener-Kriéger, 'Les papyrus d'Abousir et l'économie des temples funéraires de l'Ancien Empire', in E. Lipinski (ed.) *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East I* (Leuven, 1979), 133-151; see also, Goedicke, 'Cult-temple and state during the Old Kingdom' in Lipinski, *ibid*, 113-131. Cf. also Janssen, 'The role of the temple in the Egyptian economy during the New Kingdom' in, *State and Temple Economy*, II, 505-517. Leathercraft is one of the oldest crafts mastered by the ancient Egyptians. Different sorts of hide and leather were requested by the deceased in their offering menu. In the offering menu of *Hꜥ-b3w-skr* of the Third Dynasty (cf. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, (London, 1905), pl. 1), he requested mantles of panther skin, and *m3st* skin, as well as *ḥsd* skin (another unidentified animal); cf. also similar items requested by *Minw-ḥwf*, W.S. Smith, 'The coffin of prince Min-Khaf', *JEA* 19 (1933), 154 ff. Tomb reliefs give us a descriptive account of leather manufacture during the Old Kingdom, where scenes show all sorts of leather objects such as sandals, pelts and different garments (cf. Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker*, 7-17; Junker, 'Weta und das Lederkunsthandwerk im Alten Reich', *SÖAW* 231/1 5-33).

### Dating:

The style of the stela, the typology of its panel which fills the entire space between the outer jambs, and the decoration of the cross bar with a pair of *wḏ3t*-eyes, all point to a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare. The table scene composition is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period. The full writing of Anubis, the writing of the epithet *imy-wt*, the writing of *ḏsr* with the post-complement *r* all point to a later date. In addition the use of the ideogram  instead of the usual  in the writing of *3bḏw*, the mutilation of the  sign on the outer right jamb, the writing of  as a determinative for *skr* instead of the usual ,<sup>1408</sup> and the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* are expected during the Herakleopolitan Period.

Two more palaeographic features and an epithet appear on this stela which probably indicate a late date in the Herakleopolitan Period itself. First is the writing of *pr̥t-hrw* with the elongated loaf of bread, bird's head, and cow's head as well as both alabaster and cloth determinatives, a writing which is evidenced occasionally as early as the very end of the period in question and early Eleventh Dynasty. Second is the addition of  in the writing of *ntr-3* . Both of these orthographic features are frequently adopted on the stelae this cemetery. The occurrence of *ntr-3 nb 3bḏw* as an Osirian epithet is also first evidenced during the reign of Merykare. A date not earlier than the reign of Merykare, or early part of the Eleventh Dynasty should be suggested.

<sup>1408</sup> Cf. *Urk I*, 57; also see Fischer, *Dendera*, 211, n. 820.



## 5. Memphis.

### 5. 1. Kom el Fakhry cemetery.

#### 5.1.1. Stela of *Isw-s3-Impy/Impy* (Plate LXIX)

Bibl: Unpublished stela from Kom el-Fakhry, mentioned by Lilyquist, *JARCE* 11 (1974), 29.

A limestone false door measuring approximately 136 x 87 cm. The stela is designed with a supplementary inscribed frame, a feature which was introduced at the end of the Old Kingdom and became familiar thereafter. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the table scene on the panel is in raised relief. The false door itself is of small format, with four jambs, two on each side. Each jamb displays a standing portrait of the deceased, facing towards the central niche. The four images are identical apart from the wig type: on the outer jambs he wears a shoulder-length wig, while the figures on the inner jambs show him with a short wig. Apart from that, the four figures are mirror images, depicting the deceased, wearing a broad collar, a ceremonial beard, and pointed kilt. He holds a long staff in one hand, while he extends the right hand, fisted, along his side. On the panel, *Impy* sits on a low back chair, facing right. Before him is an offering table above which are tall slices of bread loaves surmounted by a foreleg of beef. Underneath the table, and resting directly on the floor are a tall *hs*-jar on the left and a large nested ewer and basin on the right. The panel is of the classic Sixth Dynasty type with narrow apertures on either side. The cross bar is decorated with a pair of *wꜥ3t*-eyes in sunk relief.

#### Transliteration:

(Supplementary frame) 1. *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy ḏw.f imy-wt nb t3 ḏsr...* 2. ... *im3ḥw ḥr pth-skr qrst [nfrt]...* ... *im3ḥw Isw-s3-impy* 3. *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw ḥnty-imntiw nb 3ḃḏw im3ḥw Isw-s3-impy* (False door) 4. *ḥtp di nswt inpw ḥnty sh-ntr* 5. *inpw nb Sp3 im3ḥw Isw-s3-impy* 6. (C) *im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ꜥ3 nb pt Isw-s3-impy* 7. (F) *im3ḥw Impy* 8. (G) *im3ḥw Impy* 9. (D) ... ...*im3ḥw Impy*

Translation:


1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land ... 2. ... He who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, a beautiful burial....., the honoured *ṯsw-s3-ṯmpy*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu, lord of Abydos, the honoured *ṯsw-s3-ṯmpy*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, the foremost of the divine booth, 5. Anubis lord of *Sp3*, the honoured *ṯsw-s3-ṯmpy*. 6. He who is honoured by the great god, *ṯsw-s3-ṯmpy* 7. He who is honoured *ṯmpy*. 8. He who is honoured *ṯmpy*. 9. ... the honoured one *ṯmpy*.

Comments:

The name *ṯsw-s3-ṯmpy* is not listed by Ranke.<sup>1409</sup> However, the first element is evidenced as a personal name for private individuals during the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom.<sup>1410</sup> The second part of the name is known during the same period, particularly the later part of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1411</sup>

Dating:

The style and design of the stela is of the classic Sixth Dynasty type, but the addition of the supplementary frame perhaps points to a date later in the dynasty rather than earlier. The decoration of the stela's panel is, however, indicative of a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom, in particular the depiction of the offering table with bread slices surmounted by the foreleg of beef. Such table composition is characteristic of Herakleopolitan Period table iconography.<sup>1412</sup> The most telling indication is the representation of the pair of *wḏ3t*-eyes on the cross bar above the central niche. This feature is not known to occur before the reign of Merykare. The inscriptions also point to

a similar date in the Herakleopolitan Period. The full writing of Anubis , and the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*, are both indicative of that period. The addition of










<sup>1409</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 3 vols (Glückstadt, 1935-1977).

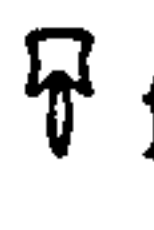

<sup>1410</sup> Ibid, 46:13-14.

<sup>1411</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-7*, pl. VII (4); *Priestergräber*, Abb. 13.

<sup>1412</sup> For comment on this feature, see above *passim*.




the expletive stroke in the writing of *Ddw*   , *3bdw*    and *Sp3*    are not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1413</sup>

Other features also indicate a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period, such as the substitution of  for the usual  in the writing of *3bdw*, a feature which is not evidenced on earlier stelae.<sup>1414</sup> It is probable that the stela should not be dated earlier than the reign of Merykare, but also not much later, since the inscription and the door style bear no clearly Middle Kingdom features.

<sup>1413</sup> For the writing of *3bdw* with the filling stroke, cf. Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 19, 32; cf. CCG 20542 (2-3); BM 1628; cf. also similar writing appears on coffins of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasty from Asyut, cf. Lapp, *Typologie*, S 22, 29, 66, 76; at Thebes, cf. CCG 28022, also Lapp, *ibid*, Bl. 18, 33, 35; at Meir also this filling stroke is used in the inscriptions of both Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties coffins, cf. *ibid*, M 26, 38, 36; at Beni Hassan, cf. *ibid*, BH 8; and Gebelein, where the stroke follows the *dw* sign, cf. *Grabfunde* II, 119, Taf. 3, 6-11 = *Ägypt. Inschrift.* I, 231 (Berlin 13772).

For the occurrence of *Sp3* with filling stroke, cf. Lapp, *Typologie*, S 22, 76, M 46, 8, all are of Eleventh Dynasty date. This writing is also known on the Middle Kingdom coffins, cf. *ibid*, BH 14, B 19b and S 34, 25.

<sup>1414</sup> This substitution probably occurs because of the vocal similarity between the signs. It is probably first seen in the pyramid texts in the writing of *3bw* 'Elephantine' Pyr. 864, as well as in the personal names such as *S3b* in which the sign  expressed the phonetic sound *3b*, cf. PN I, 299: 11; CCG 1715-1716; *Urk* I, 82:8; de Morgan, *Recherches* II, 235. It seems not to occur in the writing of *3bdw* anywhere before the Herakleopolitan Period. It occurs on some contemporary false doors from South Saqqara (4.8); cf. also *TPC* I, 268 (9). The same feature occurs on an offering table from Kom el-Fakhry too (8.4.2). This palaeographic feature also appears in the provinces during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties, cf. Lapp, *Typologie*, B 33, 1, 5, 17, 6 b, 21 b, 19 a, 27, 29 a; Ha 9; T 29. See also different forms of the same sign on Akhmim coffins, cf. *ibid*, Bl. 2-3.

### 5.1.2. The stela of *Impy-<sup>c</sup>nh* (Plate LXX)

Bibl: Unpublished; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 852; also mentioned by Lilyquist, *JARCE* 11 (1974), 29.

A small format limestone stela measuring 135 x 86 cm. It is designed with an inscribed supplementary frame. The panel is of the shutter type which was introduced during the mid-Sixth Dynasty and became a characteristic feature of false door design thereafter. The stela has four jambs, two on each side. On each of them, at the end of the inscription is a portrait of the deceased representing her standing and facing towards the central niche. All four figures are identical, showing the deceased wearing a long wig with only one lappet falling on the back shoulder, a broad collar and long tight fitting dress. Both of her hands are extended open at her side. Her feet are depicted slightly apart as if she is walking. The panel show the usual table scene. On the cross bar is an incised sunk relief representation of a pair of *wd3t*-eyes.

#### Transliteration:

(Supplementary frame) 1. [*h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy ḏw.f imy wt nb t3 ḏsr*] 2. ... .. *hsyt n hnwt.s h̄synt n niwt.s tm im3hwt hr ht-hr nbt... im3ht Impy-<sup>c</sup>nh* 3. [*h̄tp di nswt wsir nb*] *Ddw ntr-<sup>c</sup>3 nb 3bdw sd3t nfrt hr w3t nfrt nt im3hwt h̄krt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt Impy-<sup>c</sup>nh* (false door) 4. (A) *h̄tp di nswt inpw h̄nty sh-ntr* 5. (B) *qrst nfrt m pr.s nt hrt ntr h̄krt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt Impy-<sup>c</sup>nh* 6. (C) *pr̄it-hrw nt im3ht h̄krt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt Impy-<sup>c</sup>nh* 7. (F) *pr̄it hrw n im3ht h̄mt-ntr ht-hr Impy-<sup>c</sup>nh* 8. (G) *pr̄it hrw n im3ht h̄krt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt Impy-<sup>c</sup>nh* 9. (D) *h3 m t hnqt k3w 3pdw šs mnht ht nbt bnrt nfrt n im3ht Impy-<sup>c</sup>nh*

#### Translation:

1. [ An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land...] 2. ... .. praised by her mistress, praised, by her entire city, honoured by Hathor, mistress of..., the honoured *Impy-<sup>c</sup>nh* 3. [An offering which the king gives and Osiris] lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, a beautiful departure upon the beautiful roads of the honoured, Sole Ornament of the King, *Impy-<sup>c</sup>nh*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, the foremost of the divine booth, 5. a beautiful burial in her tomb of the necropolis, the Sole Ornament of the King, *Impy-<sup>c</sup>nh*. 6. A voice offering



of the Sole Ornament of the King, *Impy-ꜥnh*. 7. A voice offering of the honoured, Prophetess of Hathor, *Impy-ꜥnh*. 8. A voice offering to the honoured, Sole Ornament of the King, *Impy-ꜥnh*. 9. A thousand of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster, and every thing sweet and good things to the honoured *Impy-ꜥnh*.

#### Comments:


*hsyt n niwt.s tm* is a characteristic later Sixth Dynasty autobiographical phrase.<sup>1415</sup>




The substantive use of *sd3t* in the phrase *sd3t nfrt* is perhaps to be compared with similar use of *prtt hrw nt* and *qrst nfrt*.<sup>1416</sup>

*pr* here replaces the usual term for tomb *ls*. This usage is known already in the Old Kingdom.<sup>1417</sup>

#### Dating:

The style and overall design point to a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom, particularly the shutter type panel and the inscribed supplementary frame. The occurrence of the *wd3t*-eyes on the cross bar is the most telling indication: it assigns the stela to a date not earlier than that of King Merykare. The inscriptions, their palaeography and phraseology also indicate a date not earlier than the reign of this King. The occurrence of the phrase *qrst nfrt* and the epithet of Osiris *ntr-ꜥ nb 3bdw* are not known in the Memphite necropolis before the reign of Merykare.<sup>1418</sup> The palaeography provides more substance in support of such date: for instance the writing of *prtt-hrw* with ox and bird's

head as well as the long bread loaf , the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht*, and the writing of the coffin sign, all point to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan

Period. Also the substitution of  for  in the writing of *3bdw*, and the separation of  and


 in the writing of *hrt-ntr* also point to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom. In

<sup>1415</sup> Cf. Janssen, *Autobiographie*, 88 (27-8), cf. also pp. 64-65.

<sup>1416</sup> Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 68; see also for similar phrases, J. Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), 243-264.

<sup>1417</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 142, 146 (M), 147; Vandier, *Mo'alla*, III, 7-8; cf. Fischer, *WZKM* 57 (1961), 60-62; cf. also the inscriptions of *Bhn* from Akhmim *lw iri.n.l pr pn nhh*, 'I made this tomb of eternity', cf. Newberry, *LAAA* 4, 109, no. 4; Kanawati, *Hawawish* I, 38-44, figs. 23-26; see also Wb I, 514: 2-4; *Beni Hassan* I, 26 (180).

<sup>1418</sup> For comment on this epithet see under (4.1.28).

addition, the use of *h3* + offering items on the panel point to later date,<sup>1419</sup> as does the writing of  with sloping edges.<sup>1420</sup> Given these features, it is probable that the stela dates to the reign of King Merykare or slightly later. A recent article has assigned these stelae to the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>1421</sup> There is, however, no feature which would assign the stelae as late as that: the offering formula used here is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period, as are the style, design and palaeography of the stelae.

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<sup>1419</sup> Cf. CCG 1512; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 41; idem, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 10-11, figs. 3-4.

<sup>1420</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 136, n. 590.

<sup>1421</sup> H. Willems, 'A note on the date of the early Middle Kingdom Cemetery at Ihnasiya al-Madina', *GM* 150 (1996), 101, n. 10, 102.



## 6. Chapel reliefs.

### 6.1. Decorated side pieces.

The side pieces, as well as some of the inscribed blocks discussed here, are those which are difficult to assign to a particular false door or known chapel. These side pieces are an essential part of the structure of the shallow small chapel which was fashionable during the Herakleopolitan Period, especially around the pyramid of Teti at North Saqqara. These side pieces are highly important since they are the only remaining evidence of the art repertoire of the Herakleopolitan Period. Most of the scenes depicted, at small scale and sometimes with amusing crudity, some of which we have already encountered in the mastabas of the Old Kingdom.

Some of these are published by Firth and Gunn,<sup>1422</sup> and others by Quibell.<sup>1423</sup> Some of these side pieces and blocks will be considered in detail.

The side piece of *Hry-š.f-nht* published by Gunn,<sup>1424</sup> is highly interesting: one of the sons of the chapel's owner hold the title *šmsw* 'attendant', a frequent title in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1425</sup> Another son is named *Hnw-htp*, perhaps to be identified with *Hnw-htp* the owner of an offering table found in the same cemetery.<sup>1426</sup> The side piece of *lpl-<sup>c</sup>nḥw*,<sup>1427</sup> may belong to the *lpl-<sup>c</sup>nḥw* who was the owner of Berlin coffin 7796,<sup>1428</sup> since both hold the title *lmy-r š<sup>c</sup>ty*; if this is correct, the owner of the side piece would date to the reign of Merykare. The other particularly interesting side piece published by Firth and Gunn is that of *Gmni* (Plate LXXI).<sup>1429</sup> Its iconography and palaeography are indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period, particularly the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* as well as the

<sup>1422</sup> TPC I, 203-211.

<sup>1423</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pls. XIX (1-3), XX (1-5); idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pls. VIII (3-5), IX (3), X (2-3).

<sup>1424</sup> TPC I, 205 (3).



<sup>1425</sup> Cf. Ward, *Index*, no. 1517; *JEA* 39, 38; O.D. Berlev, *Obschestvennii Otnosheniya v Egipte Epokhi Srednego Tzarstva* (Social Relations in Egypt in the period of the Middle Kingdom) (Moscow 1978), 207.

<sup>1426</sup> TPC I, 289 (3).

<sup>1427</sup> Ibid, 208 (8).

<sup>1428</sup> *Ägyptische Inschriften* I, 130-135.

<sup>1429</sup> TPC I, 208-9 (12), fig. 90; CCG 1571.

use of  instead of the usual determinative  after *nb*. The formation of the names of sons and relatives or attendants pictured on this side piece, indicates a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom, such as: *ṭpl-m-s3.f*, *Gmnl-m-ḥ3t* and *ṭpl-ḥnw*.

Some side pieces which come from the Quibell excavations will be reconsidered here in detail since they were only published in photographs with hardly any comments.

#### 6.1.1. Name lost (Plate LXXII)

A fragment of a right hand side piece, now in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>1430</sup> The fragment displays the lower part of a long tabulated list of offerings, below which is a much abridged, but rather interesting scene. It shows various rites performed by the priests at the funerary banquet. At the beginning of the register is a kneeling priest, with both hands extended touching a low offering table or a libation altar before him. Behind him stands a lector priest holding a papyrus roll in his left hand, while raising his proportionately huge right hand, in a gesture of recitations. Further to the right are three kneeling priests chanting 'many recitation'. At the close of the rites a priest is represented facing outwards, but turning his face in the opposite direction. He is seen as he departs the tomb, dragging behind him an aromatic broom, probably for exorcising the evil spirits which might lurk in the tomb as well as wiping out the footprints. Below this register are the remains of the upper part of another register, a butchery scene showing four butchers engaged in slaughtering an ox.

Decoration of the side pieces which flanked the false door in itself points to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The technique of using incised relief for the offering menu and raised relief for the scenes is also typical of this period.

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<sup>1430</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara* 1905-1906, pl. XIX (1); M.M.A. 10. 175.72 = Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, 146, fig. 88; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 564.



6.1.2. Right hand side piece of *Mrt-Tti-htp* (Plate LXXIII)<sup>1431</sup>

The remaining part of this side piece shows four registers. The uppermost contains a frieze of ointment jars, underneath which is a butchery scene, depicting three butchers taking part in slaughtering an ox: the main butcher is saying to his assistant 'hold firm'. His assistant is seen holding a bowl in his left hand, while the right hand is grasping the leg of the slaughtered ox. The third assistant is depicted holding tight a rope that ties the ox's legs. The third register shows three female offering bearers bringing all sorts of food and each of them holds a basket full of food, fruit and vegetable above her head, supported by one hand, while the other hand is holding a duck or a goose. The last register shows the deceased sitting on the left facing outwards. She sits on a low back chair, wearing a long wig with lappets falling over her back shoulder and chest, and holding a lotus blossom to her nose with her left hand, while she extends the right hand towards an offering table before her. The table has the rectangular-like bread slices shape, surmounted by a foreleg of beef, a trussed duck, lettuce and onions. Above the scene a single line of inscription runs from right to left: *Im3ht hr inpw Mrt-[Tti]-htp*, 'she who is honoured by Anubis *Mrt-[Tti]-htp*'.

Notable here the is intentional erasure of the name of *Tti*. The date is undoubtedly indicated by the style as well as the theophorus name of the stela's owner, which is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1432</sup> The offering table composition is characteristic of the iconography of the offering table during the Herakleopoitan Period, as is the representaion of the rim of the unguent jar with two ties, which appears at the end of the Old Kingdom<sup>1433</sup> and the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1434</sup>

<sup>1431</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 26, pl. XIX (2)

<sup>1432</sup> For comment on similar names see under (4.1.4).

<sup>1433</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 18, 39, 42, 49, 57, 82. pls V, VI, VII, X, XI, XIV, XVI, XVII.

<sup>1434</sup> Spanel, *Bani Hasan*, 77-78; cf. also Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. IX (3).

### 6.1.3. The left side piece of *Inpw-m-h3t* (Plate LXXIV)<sup>1435</sup>

This side piece is almost complete, with three registers of raised relief. The uppermost register shows a herdsman leading an ox, behind which is a representation of a man holding a knife and a bowl, usually seen in the context of butchery scenes helping the butcher in the slaughtering activities. The herdsman is represented as old and barely thin; above him is written *mniw Trši* 'the herdsman *Trši*', and the caption behind him reads 'bringing a a young *lw3*-ox', while the assistant walking behind the ox is called 'the butler *Wsr*'. Underneath this register a single line of inscription runs from right to left: 'bringing offerings that were brought to him from his estate of his tomb, the honoured *Inpw*'. The second register depicts three offering bearers, two females and a male, facing inwards in the direction of the false door. In front of the first female bearer is a vertical column of inscription: 'leading the (procession) by *Ipi n..w?*'.

Above the last register a single line of inscription runs from left to right, facing the tomb or chapel owner: 'he who is honoured *Inpw-m-h3t*, his wife, his beloved *S3t-sbk*'. The register itself depicts *Inpw-m-h3t* standing on the right facing left, with short hair, and wearing a broad collar, bracelets and a knee-length kilt. He holds a long staff in one hand, while the other hand is extended fist along his side. Behind him stands his wife, wearing a long wig with lappets, a broad collar, bracelets and a long tight-fitting dress. She places her right arm around her husband's shoulders, while her left hand holds her husband's rear hand. Before them stands a lector priest, wearing his appropriate costume: a shoulder-length wig which leaves his ear exposed, a sash across his chest and a knee-length kilt. He holds an incense bowl burning incense in front of the deceased and his wife. In front of the priest is written: 'It is for him, burning incense (by) the lector priest, the attendant *Inpw*-

<sup>1435</sup> M.M.A. 10.175. 71= Quibell, *Saqqara* 1905-1906, 26, pl. XIX (3); Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 15, fig. 7; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 562-3; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, I, 145-6, fig. 87. Note that Malek assigns this side piece to *Inpw-m-h3t* the owner of the false door in Cairo Mus. CCG 5711. However the difference in height between the stela and the almost complete side piece make it difficult to accept this identification.



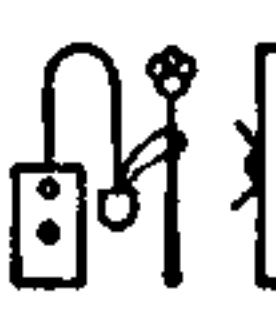
*m-h3t*'. Before the deceased is written: 'To the *k3* of the Inspector of Documents'<sup>1436</sup> *7npw-m-h3t*'.

The depiction of the thin old herdsman originated here in the Memphite necropolis during the Herakleopolitan Period, and then became a characteristic feature during the Middle Kingdom in provincial reliefs, particularly in Upper Egypt.<sup>1437</sup> The theophorus name of the chapel owner, the title *šmsw* adopted by the lector priest, the writing of the epithet *im3h*, and the phonetic writing of *inpw*, and the formation of the name of the deceased wife *S3t* + NN all point to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 6.1.4. Right hand side piece of *7np* (Plate LXXIV)<sup>1438</sup>

An almost complete side piece. It is divided into two sections, the upper section consists of a large tabulated offering list. The lower section shows a representation of the deceased standing on the left facing right. He wears a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, and long skirt, and holds his left hand to his chest, while he extends his right hand open at his side. Before him is an offering table, above which are a foreleg of beef and various cuts of meat. Underneath the table and resting directly on the floor, are two tall wine jars. The deceased is seen as a mature man, with long skirt and portly figure. Above the figure is written horizontally: 'he who is honoured *7npw*', the same is written vertically, but this time Anubis is written ideographically. The date is indicated by the style as well as palaeographic features such as the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*, which is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period in the Memphite necropolis. The phonetic writing of *inpw* on superstructure inscriptions is also indicative of a later date.

#### 6.1.5. Name lost (Plate LXXV)<sup>1439</sup>

<sup>1436</sup> The word is not clear but likely to read *šw*  followed by plural strokes . . .

<sup>1437</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 249-250.

<sup>1438</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara* 1905-1906, pl. XX (1).

<sup>1439</sup> Ibid, pl. XX (4); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 564.

A fragmentary side piece showing the upper part of right-hand side piece. Remains of the decorative *hkr*-frieze, as well as square-band frame are still visible, underneath which are the remains of a register which depicts a fowling scene. It shows the chapel owner standing, (probably) on a boat, holding a bird in one hand, and grasping a throwing stick in the other hand. Behind him stands probably his daughter, who is seen as a young girl, with the side lock with a disk at its end. She holds a bird in one hand and a lotus blossom in the other.

#### 6.1.6. Right side piece of *ṭpt* (Plate LXXV)<sup>1440</sup>

The remaining fragment of this side piece shows an almost full register, traces of another register above it and the upper part of a third register. The traces of the upper register probably show the remains of a representation of the leading of animals, as the hooves of the animals are still visible. The second register shows a bird-catching scene: two people pull a net from which a few birds have managed to escape. The third register shows only the head of the chapel owner, probably a standing portrait of the deceased. Above the deceased head a single line of inscription runs from right to left: 'Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, Overseer of the Expedition, the honoured *ṭpt*'. Apart from the style, the plural strokes which are indicative of a later date, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* clearly assigns the side piece to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period.


#### 6.1.7. Right side piece fragment of *Tti-m-s3.f* (Plate LXXVI)<sup>1441</sup>

<sup>1440</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 564; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XX (5); Formerly was in Art Inst. 10.230, now in Chicago Oriental Institute 17365; Allen, *A Handbook of the Egyptian Collection* (Chicago, 1923), 34-35; Wreszinski, *Atlas III*, 73 (B).

<sup>1441</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XX (3); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 564; formerly in the Art Institute 10.229, now in Chicago Or. Inst. 17364; Allen, op. cit., 33.



The remaining part forms the lower half of the side piece which shows traces of one register and a second full register. Only the lower part of the upper register is still visible. On the left are the feet of a man and woman, directed outwards. It seems that *Tti-m-s3.f* himself was standing with his wife behind him, similar to the portrait of *7np-m-ḥ3t* and his wife.<sup>1442</sup> It is interesting to note that the man's feet are ornamented with a pair of anklets. Standing before the deceased and facing him is, perhaps, a priest whose feet are still visible. The lower register shows four offering bearers. The first is characterised by his costume: he is wearing a shoulder length wig, ceremonial beard, and a knee length kilt, and holds a foreleg of beef. The other three bearers carry different sorts of offering. Between the two registers a single line of inscription runs from left to right: 'bringing the divine offering in the course of every day to the honoured *Tti-m-s3.f*'.

The dating of the side piece is indicated by its palaeography, particularly the addition of the filling stroke in the writing of *hrt nt hrw nb* , as well as the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ḥ*. Both are characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period. The other significant feature is the representation of a major male figure wearing anklets. This is an iconographic feature which is rarely known before the Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>1443</sup> A recent discovery in the Teti Pyramid cemetery show that anklets were associated with men from a much earlier date.<sup>1444</sup> The fragment therefore should be assigned to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 6.1.8. Fragmentary left side piece of *7pl-ḥnhw* (Plate LXXVI)<sup>1445</sup>

<sup>1442</sup> See under (6.1.3).

<sup>1443</sup> Cf. also Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 16, 28, 44, 74, 81; Brovarski, *Naga ed Deir*, 235, nn. 258-259; Cf. C. Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1990), 161; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, 303-305; A. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewelry* (London, 1971), 28, 61; see also Winlock, 'The mummy of Wah unwrapped', *BMMA*, Pt. 2, 35 (1940), 253-259; E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*, *MÄS* 8 (Berlin, 1966), 143.

<sup>1444</sup> This criterion is invalidated by a recent discovery at Saqqara; the anklets are worn by *7nw-mnw* in two portraits on the outside of his tomb wall. He probably date to the later part of the Sixth Dynasty (personal examination of a tomb recently discovered by the Australian team directed by N. Kanawati, in the Teti Pyramid cemetery, north side).

<sup>1445</sup> Formerly in Art Institute. 10.232, now in Chicago Or. Inst. 17366; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 26, pl. XX (2); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 564; Allen, op. cit, fig. on p. 28; Wreszinski, *Atlas* III, 55 (B).

The fragment shows the remains of three registers. The uppermost register shows the bottom half of a man who is scattering seed, followed by a ploughman seen with a foreword shoulder, with both hands grasping the plough. Next to him, nearer to the oxen, stands an assistant goading the oxen forwards with stick: the ploughman is saying to his assistant 'go ahead and come down'.<sup>1446</sup> The second register depicts two peasants reaping wheat with their sickles, followed by a woman gleaning seeds. The first peasant is saying 'I am thirsty', while his companion answers him saying 'harvest the barley'. The woman at the back is speaking of fatigue 'I am idle says the one who gets ahead with the work of every day'.<sup>1447</sup> The third register depicts a family visit to the marshes of the Delta: *ṭpt-ḥw* is pictured standing probably on a boat, now lost, holding a bird in one hand, and ready to hurl his throwing stick which is grasped in his other hand. His name is written just above his head. Opposite him, now lost, is perhaps another portrait of him showing him spearing fish. It is also possible that a member of his family (wife/son/daughter) is depicted in front of him. Above the lost figure is written: '*ṭpt-ḥw* beloved of ...'.

The style, the use of abbreviated versions of the subject matter which usually covered the Old Kingdom mastaba walls, and the theophorus name *ṭpt-ḥw*, all point to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period. Notable here is the occurrence of a woman who carries a basket in one hand, while gathering stray stalks in the other, following the two harvesters; a new motif introduced during the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1448</sup>

#### 6.1.9. A fragment of right side piece of an unknown Senior Lector Priest

(Plate LXXVII)<sup>1449</sup>

<sup>1446</sup> Cf. Erman, *Reden*, 20-1 (10); Guglielmi, *Reden*, 10 (1). It is probably a phrase to mark the start of the ploughing operation, which would start by goading the oxen forward.

<sup>1447</sup> For different translations, see Guglielmi, *Reden*, 37.

<sup>1448</sup> Cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 220, n. 160, fig. 217.

<sup>1449</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VII (5). This fragment is now in Munich, Staatliche Sammlung, Gl. 119.



The fragment shows part of the tabulated offering list, and titles of the side piece owner. Underneath is a register of offering bearers: three females and the remains of another are depicted carrying offerings, and facing right towards the false door. Behind the last one is a vertical caption reading 'bringing (offering) to the west to his *k3*'. Underneath this register the upper part of another register is still visible; this shows two standing men of whom only their heads remain. They face right, and before the second man is written:  $\Pi Q \square$ , probably 'examine, inspect, organise',<sup>1450</sup> it is difficult to tell in what context, but it is probably an agriculture scene. Notable is the office of the side piece owner, who was *hry-hb smsw* 'Senior Lector Priest'.<sup>1451</sup> The style, the office and the abbreviated west ideogram all assign the side piece to the Herakleopolitan Period.

6.1.10. A fragment of left side piece, name lost (Plate LXXVIII)<sup>1452</sup>

The fragment shows remain of two registers. The top register depicts a butchery scene: an assistant butcher firmly pulling the rope with which he has tied an ox. Behind him an offering bearer is represented carrying ducks in both hands. Underneath the register is a single line of inscription running from left to right: 'bringing the choices of meat....'. On the lower register are the remains of offerings: onions, lotus flowers and cuts of meat.

6.1.11. A fragment of left hand side piece, name lost (Plate LXXIX)<sup>1453</sup>

<sup>1450</sup> Cf. *Wb* IV, 35; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 212.

<sup>1451</sup> See on this office above, under *Iti* (4.4.1).

<sup>1452</sup> *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VIII (3).

<sup>1453</sup> *Saqqara Storeroom Number 7*; Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 16, fig. 123.

The fragment displays the remains of four registers. These registers have no base line separating them, giving the impression of being piled above each other. The uppermost depicts two rectangular low tables, above which are six oil jars, and above each of these jars is the name of the oil which it contains. These are, respectively from right to left: 'st-festival oil, *hknw*-oil, *sft*-oil, *nhnm*-oil, *tw3t*-oil, and the best 'š oil'. The second register shows two similar tables, above which are different sorts of jewellery; necklaces and collars, as well as a mirror with lotiform handle. On the third register is the representation of a long low table above which are different kind of jars and basins of the sort used in purification rites. Only the top part of the fourth register remains, depicting what is probably a row of offering bearers.

6.1.12. Two fragments of left side piece, name lost (Plate LXXIX)<sup>1454</sup>

These two fragments, when joined, show the bottom half of a left side piece. On the left the female deceased sits in front of an offering table, on a low back chair. She wears a long wig with lappet falling on her chest and back shoulder, a broad collar, and a long tight-fitting dress with shoulder straps, and holds a lotus blossom to her nose in one hand, while the other hand (now lost) is extended towards the offering table. The table is loaded with the usual tall bread slices, above which are a foreleg of beef, a joint of meat, and a lettuce. Above the deceased and the offering table is a register of toiletries and jewels; it is notable here that there is no register base line. On the right are two low tables, above which are collars and bracelets. Next on the left is a large mirror with lotiform handle, and on the far left end is a toiletry box. Underneath is a kohl grinding bowl, above which is written *msdmt* 'black eye-paint', probably referring to the kohl to be ground in this bowl. Above this register are the remains of a single line of inscription running from right to left: 'bringing the divine offering [in the course of every day]....'.<sup>1455</sup> Apart from the style and

<sup>1454</sup> Saqqara Storeroom Number 7, nos. 14072, 14073; Lilyquist, op. cit, 16, fig. 124.

<sup>1455</sup> It is probable that the phrase here is similar to that written on the side piece of *Tti-m-s3.f* (6.1.7).




the iconography of the offering table, the depiction of a kohl grinding bowl is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1456</sup>

### 6.1.13. Left side piece of *Ipi* (Plate LXXX)<sup>1457</sup>


The side piece was found in the surface debris east of the mortuary temple of King Unas, in a fragmentary state. When the fragments were joined they displayed five registers of raised relief. The uppermost register depicts a frieze of oil jars and kohl bags on rectangular stands. The next register shows a frieze of collars and bracelets on similar stands. The third register shows a man pulling a rope attempting to throw down an ox, as indicated by the caption above the scene: 'fall down on your face to the *k3* of my lord'. Next to him comes an offering bearer carrying a calf on his shoulder, supporting it with both hands, while a milk jar hangs from his left elbow. The fourth register depicts four offering bearers, two males and two females. On the last register, the deceased is represented standing on the right facing left, with short hair, wearing a broad collar and a pointed kilt. He raises his right hand in a gesture of invocation, and extends his left hand at his side, grasping a folded cloth.

In front of him is an offering table loaded with the usual slices of bread, surmounted by a trussed duck. Underneath the table are two tall wine jars on a ring stands decorated with lotus flowers, one on each side of the table pedestal. On the left and next to the wine jar is another tall *ȝ* jar. Before the table and facing towards the deceased stands his son whose name is also *Ipi*. He is seen with short hair, wearing a broad collar, and a knee-length kilt. He presents, and wrings the neck of, a duck, with another duck falling on the floor in front of his father. Above him is written: 'his son, his beloved, *Ipi*'. Above the register, a single line of inscription runs from left to right: 'he who is honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, Scribe of the pyramid town, *Ipi*'.

On superstructure inscriptions the writing of the epithet *imy-wt*  with the

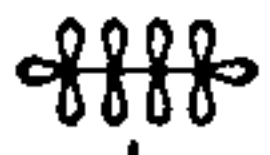
<sup>1456</sup> For comment on this feature, see under (4.3.2-3).

<sup>1457</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 551; Z.Y. Saad, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 450-51, pl. XXXV.

addition of the prothetic  $\text{𓆎}$  is indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period.  'pyramid town' does not indicate which specific pyramid is meant, but since the side piece was found in the vicinity of Teti's pyramid, it is probable that the pyramid town referred to is that of Teti, or Merykare whose pyramids was also located near by.

#### 6.1.14. Left side piece of *S3t-Ht-hr* (Plate LXXX)<sup>1458</sup>

Three registers are shown on this side piece. These are surrounded by a decorative band of small squares and also decorated with a *hkr* frieze. The top register shows the deceased standing on the right facing left, and holding a lotus blossom to her nose. Facing the deceased is her daughter who offers her mother a bunch of lotus buds. She is shown at a small scale in comparison to her mother. Above the daughter are two vertical columns of inscription: '(1) she who is honoured by Anubis, lord of life,<sup>1459</sup> *S3t-Ht-hr* (2) her daughter *Pth-m-s3.s*'. The second register shows two women bringing toiletries to the chapel owner, each with the title *sd3wt* 'treasurer'.<sup>1460</sup> Above them is written: 'bringing the treasures to the honoured *S3t-Ht-hr*'. The last register shows two offering bearers, a male and a female, and above them is written: 'bringing the choicest of meat, bread, and beer to the honoured *S3t-Ht-hr*'. On the edge of the side piece is a request to the passer by: '... may you say a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing, of offering and provisions to the honoured *S3t-Ht-hr*'.

The writing of the epithet *im3ht*, as well as the addition of the filling stroke in the writing of *s3t* and *s3*  are characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of Hathor also points to a later date, as do the theophorus names of the chapel owner and her daughter. The epithet *nb ʿnh* is indicative of a date later in the Herakleopolitan Period, as

<sup>1458</sup> Stockholm Mus. MM. 11432; Peterson, *Orientalia Suecana* 21 (1972), 3-8, plate facing p. 4; sketch and text, Gunn MSS, notebook, 11, no. 81.

<sup>1459</sup> Note that Peterson reads *nb ʿnh* as *nb 3bdw*. For the epithet *nb ʿnh* and its occurrence, see under (4.8).

<sup>1460</sup> For this title see Fischer, *Varia*, 70 (6), nn. 9-11.



it is occasionally found at the end of this period and during Eleventh Dynasty as well as in the Middle Kingdom.

## 6.2. Inscribed blocks.

### 6.2.1. Inscribed blocks of *Hry-tp-r<sup>c</sup>/Iti* (Plate LXXXI)<sup>1461</sup>

A set of five blocks with incised reliefs and inscriptions. According to Gunn the five blocks were arranged so that D and E formed a right angle with A, B and C, so the first line of the vertical inscription on D, and E, are on the left hand side edge of A. The blocks A-C measure 112 x 41.5 x 11 cm. The top half of these blocks is decorated with six lines of inscription, while the other half displays a large figure of the deceased representing him standing on the right facing left. He wears a shoulder length wig which leaves the ear exposed, a broad collar, bracelets, and a pointed kilt, and he holds the usual long staff and baton. Before him stands his wife who is represented on a small scale. She appears with short hair tied with a hair-band, and wears a broad collar and a long tight-fitting dress. She holds a bird in one hand and grasps her husband's staff with the other hand, above her is written: 'his wife, his beloved, Prophetess of Hathor *Hst*'. Facing the deceased and his wife, also on small scale is his son, depicted standing and burning incense in front of his father. Above his head is written: 'his son, his beloved *Bbi*'. The inscription above the scenes reads as follows: '(1) An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Abydos, a voice offering (2) to the one honoured by Ptah-Sokar, beloved of his father, (3) praised by his mother, beloved of his brothers and (4) sisters, Chamberlain of the King (in) the great palace, Nobleman of the King, *Iti*. (5) He who is honoured by the Chief Justice and Vizier *K3.l-gm.n.l*, (6) Lector Priest, Privy to the Secret *Hry-tp-r<sup>c</sup>*, whose good name is *Iti*'.

Blocks D-E measure 56 x 49.5 x 29 cm. On the right are eleven vertical columns of inscription which contain an address to the living. On the left the deceased is represented sitting on a low-back chair, facing right. He is seen holding a long staff in one hand while the other hand is raised open, in a gesture of invocation, as he calls on passers-

<sup>1461</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 546; TPC I, 212 (1); II, pl. 77; *Urk* I, 197: 34 (12).



by to stop at his tomb.<sup>1462</sup> Behind him stands his wife, with her left hand placed around the shoulder of her husband. The texts read as follows: '(1) O, you living, who are upon the earth, who shall pass by this tomb, (the king) shall praise you (2) ... (3) ... to every lector priest, every man, who shall give bread, and beer for me (4) ... (you shall give of) that which is in your hand.<sup>1463</sup> If you have nothing<sup>1464</sup> in your hand you shall say: (5) " ... a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the Nobleman of the King, Regulator of the Phyle *ṯt*". (6) ... (I am) an excellent lector priest, effective and equipped. He who shall read (7)... every... his funerary offering of ... (8) ... I will be his partisan (9) in front of the council of the great god (10) ... Chamberlain of the King *ṯt*. (11) (his wife his beloved, Prophetess of Hathor) *Hst*'.

Notable here is the phrase *im3ḥw ḥr K3.l-gm.n.l* which refers to the deification of the vizier, supported by the fact that the phrase in question is paralleled by *im3ḥw ḥr pth-skr*.<sup>1465</sup> The phrase might indicate the period to which the blocks belong, and in which this vizier was deified by local people, probably not before the very end of the Old Kingdom.

#### 6.2.2. Inscribed block of *ṯpl* (Plate LXXXI)<sup>1466</sup>

A limestone slab, measuring 48 x 38 x 14 cm, chipped away around the edges. It has the remains of seven incised columns of incised inscription. No colour survives.

#### Transliteration:

1. ... *im3ḥw ḥr inpw tpy ḡw.f [imy]-r šn-t3*... 2. ... *...f ṯpl imy-r šn-t3 ṯpl m i3t nt [sqdwty] bity* ... 3. ... *r-mn-m t3-mḥw imy-ib n nb.f m wḡ<sup>c</sup>-mdw* ... 4. ... *irr.n.l wḡt-nswt mrrt*

<sup>1462</sup> See for these texts, J. Sainte-Fare Garnot, *L'appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires égyptiens des origines à la fin de l'Ancien Empire* (Cairo, 1938); Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1953), 257-258.

<sup>1463</sup> Cf. CCG 20003 a 3-4; *BMHT* II, pl. 34 (6).

<sup>1464</sup> The suffix after *nfr.n* is unusual, cf. *TPC* I, 212, n. 1; Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 351.

<sup>1465</sup> Cf. *TPC* I, 126-130.


<sup>1466</sup> Gunn MSS XX, 20; notebook 11, 71.

*rmꜥ rdi.n.i t n ḥqr ḥbs [n ḥꜣi]... 5. ... imꜣḥw ḥr rmꜥ lnk mry lt.f ḥssw mwt.[f]... 6. ...[tpyw]  
tꜣ imyw-ḥt ḥntyw-š wꜥbw... 7. ... wꜣt nswt ... ... ḥssw... ....*

### Translation:

1. ... he who is honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain, *ṯpl*. Overseer of the Vegetation ... 2. ... his.... *ṯpl*. Overseer of the Vegetation, *ṯpl* in his office of Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt... 3. ... as far as Lower Egypt, he who is in the heart of his lord<sup>1467</sup> in giving judgement... 4. ... I have done what the king commands, and what the people desire; I have given bread to the hungry, clothes [to the naked....]<sup>1468</sup> 5.... honoured by the people, I am beloved of his father,<sup>1469</sup> praised by his mother.... 6. [O you living upon] the earth, *imyw-ḥt*-priests, *ḥntyw-š* priests, and *wꜥbw* priests,... 7. ... what the king commands, whom ... praises ... .

### Dating:

Palaeographic features clearly assign the fragment to a date later than the Old Kingdom. The phonetic writing of Anubis, is not expected on superstructure inscriptions before the very end of the Old Kingdom or probably even later. The writing of the *tꜣ* sign with two pellets underneath points to a later date. The addition of the plural strokes in the writing of *imyw-ḥt*, *ḥntyw-š* and *wꜥbw* also points to very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1470</sup> The use of the filling stroke in the writing of *iꜣt* is indicative of later date. The abbreviated writing of the epithet *imꜣḥ* is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period, as does its writing with the filling stroke  perhaps even points to an even later date in the dynasty.

This biographic text is interesting since it is one of very few similar texts which have survived from this period from the Memphite necropolis. A reference to the jurisdiction of his office as 'Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt as far as the Delta' is significant, if the date of this individual is correct he perhaps lived when the Herakleopolitan Dynasty only had control over north Egypt.

<sup>1467</sup> For this phrase see, Janssen, *De Traditioneele Autobiografie*, 127-128.




<sup>1468</sup> See, *ibid*, 78-81.

<sup>1469</sup> *Ibid*, 64.

<sup>1470</sup> See under (8.3.1, n. 27).



### 6.2.3. Inscribed blocks of Šdi-3bd (Plate LXXXII)<sup>1471</sup>

These blocks form a lintel and two jambs. To avoid repetition only the dating will be reconsidered here. El-Sabbahy suggests a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom. However the titles as well as palaeographic features point to a later date. Šdi-3bd's titulary is comparable with that of *Mrrt* of Dendera, who is dated to the Herakleopolitan Period, as pointed out by El Sabbahy himself.<sup>1472</sup> Apart from the type of wig worn by the deceased, which points to a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom,<sup>1473</sup> the palaeographic features assign the blocks without doubt to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom: the arrangement of *wsir nb*  is not expected on superstructure inscriptions before this period, the abbreviation of the west ideogram , is a feature which only becomes familiar with the advent of the Herakleopolitan Period, as is the omission of the  in the writing of the epithet *im3h*. The writing of *k3w* with the plural strokes points also to a later date,<sup>1474</sup> as does the occurrence of the filiation phrase *mst n Hbyt* 'born of *Hbyt*'.<sup>1475</sup> The blocks probably come from the tomb of an official who was a contemporary of the Herakleopolitan Period.

<sup>1471</sup> See, El-Sabbahy, 'Blocks from the tomb of Shed-abed at Saqqara', *JEA* 79 (1993), 243-248, figs. 1-4.

<sup>1472</sup> Ibid, 248 and references there.

<sup>1473</sup> For comment on this type of wig which was used frequently during the Herakleopolitan Period, see under (4.7.2.1).

<sup>1474</sup> See, comment on this feature above (8.3.1, n. 27).

<sup>1475</sup> See Obsomer, in *Mélanges Théodoridès*, 178 list 5.

## 7. Fragmentary false doors.

The fragments discussed here have been selected on the grounds of their importance for establishing dating criteria for the Herakleopolitan Period.

### 7.1. Fragmentary false doors from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, from Firth and Gunn's excavation.

#### 7.1.1. A fragmentary stela of *Ḥtpi-ḥnw/Ḥtpi*

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 540; *TPC* I, 199 (31).

Two fragments of the lower left hand side of a false door. From Gunn's description, the stela is of the large format type. The texts are incised, while the figures at the end of the inscriptions on the jambs are cut in raised relief.

#### Transliteration:

1. (B') ... .. *sšm.tl.f in [k3w.f] im3ḥw Ḥtpi*. 2. (B) ... .. *mty-n-s3 im3ḥw Ḥtpi-ḥnw* 3. (F) ... *[s]ḥd ḥnty-š Ḥtpi*

#### Translation:

1. ... .. may he be guided by [his *kas*], the honoured *Ḥtpi*. 2. ... .. Regulator of the Phyle, the honoured *Ḥtpi-ḥnw*. 3. ... Inspector of Tenants, *Ḥtpi*.

#### Comments :

The Topographical Bibliography assigns the fragments to tomb *HMK* 26, probably because of the similarity of the names of the two owners. The assigning of inscribed fragments to a particular tomb superstructure is problematic, since the majority of the inscribed stelae or blocks were found in disturbed conditions, as well as the lack of accurate archaeological records concerning the exact location and the context in which these stelae were found. However the picture is not completely bleak. When some of these stelae, blocks and other inscribed materials are put together, one is able to obtain useful data regarding these individuals; their relationship or social status, as well as providing some assistance in assigning these stelae or chapels to their tombs. The identification of



the fragments in question with tomb *HMK* 26, seems unlikely, since none of the *ṯpl-ḥnw*s found in the shaft of that tomb bear any of the titles of *ṯpl-ḥnw*, the owner of this fragment. Although this is not always the case,<sup>1476</sup> one would expect to find coffins mentioning some of the offices which the deceased held during his career, as are mentioned on their false doors.<sup>1477</sup> One of the coffins found by Lepsius (now in Berlin 7796) belongs to a certain *ṯpl-ḥnw*,<sup>1478</sup> whose titles match those of the *ṯpl-ḥnw* mentioned on the fragmentary stela. Both list the titles *shd ḥnty-š* and *mty-n-s3*. If this identification is correct, it is probable that the missing parts of the stela in question mention the pyramids of both Teti and Merykare which are mentioned on the coffin.<sup>1479</sup> In which case, the fragments would be assigned a date not earlier than that of Merykare.

The title *imy-r šꜥty* mentioned on Berlin 7796 is an obscure one. It has been translated by Ward as 'Overseer of the Documents'.<sup>1480</sup> The palaeography of the title may, however, provide an alternative suggestion. The word *šꜥty* appears with the determinative,  $\nabla$ <sup>1481</sup> a jar or a basin. A similar basin or cup is usually seen on the coffin friezes next to the scribal equipment.<sup>1482</sup> *šꜥt* is also used as the name of a sort of cake, but then always written with cake determinative. Probably the closest reference to *šꜥt* with the basin determinative is the word that labels the ewer and basin on the coffin friezes and called *šꜥty*.<sup>1483</sup> *šꜥty* is perhaps a reduced version of the Fifth Dynasty *šꜥty n(ty) iꜥw nmst* 'the two vessels of washing and *nmst*-jar'.<sup>1484</sup> The title *imy-r šꜥty* appears occasionally

<sup>1476</sup> Cf. the coffin of *Gmni-m-ḥ3t* (*TPC* I, 227 (1)), does not mention any of the titles quoted on his stela (*TPC* II, pl. 27 (B)); also cf. *ṯpl-ḥr-ssnb.f* (*TPC* I, 239 (6)) and his stela (*TPC* I, 190 (20)).

<sup>1477</sup> Cf. *TPC* I, 232 (8), 245 (7), 246 (8), 253-6 (10), 257 (12), 258 (14), 26 (17), 265 (22).


<sup>1478</sup> Berlin 7796; *Ägyptische Inschriften*. I, 130-135.

<sup>1479</sup> The owner of Berlin 7796 is probably also the owner of a side piece found by Firth and Gunn (*TPC* I, 208 (8)) which belong to a certain *ṯpl-ḥnw* who also holds the title *imy-r šꜥty*, held by the *ṯpl-ḥnw* of Berlin coffin.

<sup>1480</sup> Ward, *Index*, no. 373; Fischer, *Titles*, 53 (373).

<sup>1481</sup> Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, (w 10) explains as a cup or probably basket.

<sup>1482</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Frises*, 266 (111), figs. 701-705; idem, *Tom. part.*, fig. 39; Lapp, *Typologie*, Abb. 68, 88,

133, 194. It is worth noting that when documents are meant, the determinative  is usually used, cf. *Wb* IV, 418-419.

<sup>1483</sup> Jéquier, *Frises*, 117-120; idem, *Tombes des particuliers*, figs. 42, 43; cf. also *Wb* IV, 418, 421 (9).

<sup>1484</sup> Junker, *Giza* IV, 72, Taf. 9-10; see also Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 183.

during the Herakleopolitan Period and Middle Kingdom,<sup>1485</sup> but the lack of determinatives as well as a clear context for this title make it difficult to determine the meaning of the title. The determinative  $\nabla$  which occurs in two cases of this title is the only real clue to the identity of the office. Both come from the Teti pyramid Cemetery: Berlin 7796 and a side piece, probably of the same owner as Berlin 7796.<sup>1486</sup> In both cases the word in question is written in a dual form with the determinative  $\nabla$ , a fact which could suggest a reference to both ewer and basin. If this is correct, the office may be associated with purification equipment and not only with ewer and basin, in which case the title might read 'Overseer of the Washing Equipment', or 'Overseer of the Purification Equipment'.

To verify such a suggestion for the two cases we have from Saqqara, one must look at the offices held by the owner of Berlin coffin 7796. None of the titles held by this official has any sort of association with scribal titles, hence a translation such as an 'Overseer of the Documents' would not fit the context. The titles which appear on the coffin are all purely priestly offices, with which the purification equipment (ewer and basin) would fit quite well. Ward, *Index*, no. 373a *imy-r-šty n hwt-ntr* translated as 'Overseer of the Offering Cake of the Temple', might then be reconsidered, and it might read better as 'Overseer of the Purification Equipment (Overseer of the Two Vessels\ Ewer and Basin) of the Temple'.

#### Dating:

The fragments on their own show some characteristic features of the Herakleopolitan Period, such as the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* which is not evidenced earlier. The theophorus name of the stela's owner is not known before the Herakleopolitan period. On the basis of the identification suggested above with the owner of Berlin 7796, one should assign the stela to a date not earlier than that of Merykare.

#### 7.1.2. Fragmentary stela of Wsr-mwt

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<sup>1485</sup> Ward, op. cit; Fischer, *Titles*; cf. also CCG 23059; cf. also Ward, *Index*, no. 373a., which probably refers to the same office but he translates it differently 'Overseer of the Offering Cake of the Temple'. Note that there is no determinative for the word in question.

<sup>1486</sup> TPC I, 208 (8).



Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 545; *TPC* I, 200 (37).

Eight fragments remain, including part of the flat surface above the cavetto cornice (H), parts of the name on (B), (C), (F) and (G).

Transliteration:

(H) ... .. [ʿrfwy] w3d msdmt n im3h Wsr-mwt. (On B, C, G are parts of the name) .....Wsr-[mwt]. On (F) ... .. im3h Wsr-mwt

Translation:

(H) ... .. [two bags] of green and black eye-paint to the honoured Wsr-mwt. (B, C, G) Wsr-[mwt] (F) ... .. the honoured Wsr-mwt.

Commentary:

The only indicative dating feature is the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*, which is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period. Quibell found a coffin for a man with the same name.<sup>1487</sup> Since the name *Wsr-mwt* only known from these two monuments, and both come from the same cemetery, it is probable that they belong to the same individual. The coffin is identified by Lapp as to belong to the Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>1488</sup> However, the coffin of *Wsr-mwt* is very close in style and decoration to that of *Inp-m-h3t* and *Gmni-m-h3t*.<sup>1489</sup> Both officials are known to be contemporary to the reign of Merykare. If this identification is correct, it is probable that the fragmentary stela of *Wsr-mwt* belongs to a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare.

### 7.1.3. Fragmentary stela of P3-3n

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 545; *TPC* I, 200 (39).

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<sup>1487</sup> Quibell, and Hayter, *Teti Pyramid Cemetery North Side*, 11-12, fig. on p. 12, pl. 21 (1-2),

<sup>1488</sup> Lapp, *Typologie*, § 120.

<sup>1489</sup> For discussion and dating of these two individuals see above under (4.1.31) and (4.1.22).

According to Gunn, only the lower right hand side of the stela remains. It measures 51 x 60 x 14 cm. Inscriptions are incised, with the background painted red.


Transliteration:

1. (C) ... .. [lm3h]w hr wsir nb Ddw 2. ... .. lm3hw hr lnpw 3. P3-3n 4. (F) lost 5. (G) ... .. [imy]-r st hnty-š 6. ... .. imy-r šwy im3hw 7. P3-3n

Translation:

1. ... .. he who is honoured by Osiris lord of Busiris 2. ... .. he who is honoured by Anubis 3. P3-3n. 4. [lost] 5. ... .. Overseer of the Administrative Bureau of Tenants 6. ... .. Overseer of the Two šwy, the honoured 7. P3-3n.

Comments:

Two titles appear on this fragmentary stela; ‘Overseer of the Administrative Bureau<sup>1490</sup> of the Tenants’ is a well known title of the late Fifth and Sixth Dynasty.<sup>1491</sup> The second title ‘Overseer of the Two šwy of the [Great Palace]’, is discussed at length by Junker,<sup>1492</sup> who suggests the meaning ‘Overseer of the Two Weaving (workshops) of the Great Palace’. This translation was later accepted by Helck,<sup>1493</sup> who added that the title in question is frequently associated with that of ‘Overseer of the Tenants of the Great Palace’. Recently Strudwick also adopted Junker’s translation arguing that the title is associated with the treasury department, and citing three officials who held this office and were also treasury overseers.<sup>1494</sup> Fischer, however, provided a different translation, suggesting ‘Overseer of the Stonework of the Two Quarries’,<sup>1495</sup> on the grounds of a passage in the autobiography of Ny-<sup>nh</sup>-shmt ‘stone working [  ] was produced every day’.<sup>1496</sup> It seems difficult to accept Fischer’s suggestion in the case of Nn-hft-k3.i which might read as ‘Overseer of the

<sup>1490</sup> For st as an administrative office see van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier*, 69-70.


<sup>1491</sup> Cf. Posener-Krieger, *Archives*, II, 57-581; Stadelmann, *RdE* 33 (1981), 74-5; idem, *BIFAO* 80 (1981), 153-164; M. Baud, ‘La date d’apparition des hntjw-š’, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 13-49.

<sup>1492</sup> Junker, *Giza* V, 12-13, 128; VI, 208.

<sup>1493</sup> Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 63.

<sup>1494</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 289.

<sup>1495</sup> Fischer, *ZAS* 105 (1978), 55, n. 74.

<sup>1496</sup> *Urk* I, 38:17; 92:3; *Beamtentiteln*, 100. For the possibility that [  ] might read inri when it refers to stonework, see Allen, in *Studies Gwyn Griffiths*, 15, fig. 1.



Weaving Workshop of the Royal Linen', providing that  $\square$  replaces  $\equiv$ .<sup>1497</sup> In which case the sign in question is used for a weaving workshop as well as stone working and only the context would distinguish one from the other. It is not impossible also to suggest that the  $\square \text{ } \text{š}$ <sup>1498</sup> may refer to gardens or plantation basins in the great palace.<sup>1499</sup> This might be supported by the fact that the title in question is usually associated with that of 'Overseer of the Tenants', an office which is concerned with land holding.<sup>1500</sup>

Before drawing any conclusion concerning the date it is probably wise to look at two fragmentary decorated side pieces probably found not far from where the fragmentary stela was and belonging to the chapel of the same individual. The right hand side piece was found nearly complete, but in two fragments, which form the upper and lower parts of this side piece.<sup>1501</sup> The upper part measures 20 x 27 x 14 cm. Decoration is incised, with signs painted in blue, on a red background. This small fragment displays part of a register, depicting a man standing and facing inwards. He is seen presenting a haunch of beef. Above and before him is written 'his son, his beloved, Nobleman of the King, Companion of the House, *Sbki*'. On the edge of the fragment are the remains of two vertical columns of inscription, which read '(1) An offering which the King gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain,... (2) An offering which the King gives and Osiris, who is in ...'.

The other fragment measures 88 x 30 x 14 cm. It has four registers. The uppermost depicts the son of the deceased presenting a bird, and probably leading an animal, with his name and titles written above and in front of him: 'Overseer of Scribes, His beloved, Nobleman of the King, Companion of the House, *Sbki*'. In the next register the same son is shown presenting a haunch of beef, with a caption above him saying: 'bringing up the choices of meat', and also with his name and titles written in front of him. The third

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<sup>1497</sup> See Junker op. cit; cf. also *BH* I, pl. 29. For  $\square$ ,  $\equiv$  see Darnell, *Essays Goedicke*, 35-9 and references there.

<sup>1498</sup> For the use of this term and its application to gardens, see Fischer, 'An invocatory offering basin of the Old Kingdom', *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 129-131.

<sup>1499</sup> Cf. the title *iryw-š* 'those who are concerned with the garden', cf. Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. x; J.-C. Hugonot, *Le jardin dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1989), 245-6; cf. also Posener-Kriéger, *Archives*, II, 361-67.

<sup>1500</sup> Cf. also the Middle Kingdom title *imy-r š* 'Overseer of the Garden', cf. Ward, *Index*, nos. 369a-371. Cf Eyre, *JEA* 80 (1994), 68-9 and references there; Baud, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 13-49.

<sup>1501</sup> Cf. *TPC* I, 205 (6).

register according to Gunn is a mirror image of the former register, except that the bearer is named *Mry-ib*. The fourth register depicts the usual rites made in front of the offering table. Here, a priest is seen kneeling, with both hands extended in front of him touching a small stand. Behind him stands a man who is burning incense. They are both directed towards the false door. Above them is a single line of inscription mentioning the titles and name of the man for whom these rituals are performed: 'Nobleman of the King *P3-3n*'. On the edge of the fragment are two vertical columns of inscription, probably a continuation of those on the upper part. These read '(1) ... lord of the sacred land, who is in the *wt*, the foremost of the divine booth, may he be buried beautifully in the necropolis (2)... (who is in) Busiris. A voice offering to him in this tomb of his of the necropolis, the one honoured by the great god, (3) Nobleman of the King, (4) *P3-3n*'.

Beneath the inscription, the deceased is represented standing and holding the usual long staff and baton.

Another side piece fragment of the same individual was found by Firth and Gunn,<sup>1502</sup> probably a fragment of the left side piece of *P3-3n*'s chapel. This fragment measures 55 (now) x 26 x 13 cm. The decoration follows the same pattern as the right hand side piece. It is incised, and the signs are painted in blue on a red background. Two registers remain. The upper one depicts a man presenting a haunch of beef, and leading an ox. Above him is written, 'bringing funerary offering', the inscription probably continues before the bearer, '(to) the Nobleman of the King, *P3-3n*'. The next register depicts the usual offering table rituals, which also appear on the corresponding register on the opposite side piece. Here, above the priest burning incense, is written, 'bringing incense to the Companion of the House, *P3-3n*'. On the edge of fragment are the remains of two columns of inscription which read '(1) ... [may he travel upon the beautiful roads] on which the revered one travel. (2) ... ... that he may ascend to the great god lord of the west, 3. Companion of the House (4) *P3-3n*'.

The inscription ends with a representation of the deceased, standing holding the usual staff and baton. Facing him is unfinished representation, probably of his son, whose title and

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<sup>1502</sup> TPC I, 204 (2) (right hand side piece); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 546. Note that Gunn published them as separate pieces.



name are inscribed in front of him, 'Nobleman of the King, Scribe of (magical) protection *Sbki*'.

A lintel of the same official, found by Firth and Gunn, seems to complete the usual design of a shallow chapel, a well known architectural tomb design during the Herakleopolitan Period. It is made of limestone and measures 86 x 30 x 14 cm.<sup>1503</sup> The inscriptions are incised, with signs painted blue on a red background. The lintel is fractured into two parts. There are two lines of inscription: the top line is directed towards the left to face a representation of a seated figure of the deceased, while the bottom line also faces right in the direction of a second seated figure of the deceased. They read '(1) Overseer of Tenants, Overseer of what heaven gives and the earth creates, the one honoured by the great god, *P3-3n*. (2) Nobleman of the King, Companion of the House, Chief of the wardrobe, Overseer of all vegetation, honoured by Anubis, *P3-3n*'.

#### Comments:

The identification of these monuments as coming from the same chapel is established by the frequent occurrence of the titles and names as well as the style. Titles such as 'Noble man of the King, Companion of the House' are frequently known at the very end of the Old Kingdom, probably as ranking titles rather than as functional offices, granted purely on economic grounds.<sup>1504</sup> One of the titles appearing on the lintel deserves special comment, that is 'Overseer of what heaven gives and earth creates'. This is known from very early in the Sixth Dynasty and is usually associated with offices related to land and land produce.<sup>1505</sup> Such an association with land production and food provision can be concluded from an occurrence of the phrase *ddt pt qm3t t3* with the title *imy-r iw<sup>c</sup>-r n nswt ddt pt qm3t t3*, probably to be translated as 'Overseer of the King's repast of what the

<sup>1503</sup> TPC I, 210 (17).

<sup>1504</sup> For these two titles see, de Wit, *CdE* 31 (1956), 89-104; Fischer, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 26-8; *JAOS* 81 (1961), 423; Fischer, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 25. n. 4.

<sup>1505</sup> e.g. *Mrrw-k3.l*, cf. TPC I, 132 (24); *Nfr-sšhm-r<sup>c</sup>*, cf. Capart, *Rue de tomb.*, pl. 9; *Mrrl*, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 518-19, note that he was also *imy-r šwy pr-<sup>c</sup>3*; *1šfī*, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 515; *Rue de tomb.* pl. 73, notably he was also *imy-r šwy pr-<sup>c</sup>3*, *imy-r šn-t3*; *Mrw*, cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 520, he was also *imy-r šn-t3*; *Nfr-sšm-ptḥ* cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 515-6, who was also *imy-r šwy pr-<sup>c</sup>3*. For the occurrence of this title in the Middle Kingdom, see Fischer, *Titles*, 7 (289d), 10 (420a-b).

heaven gives and earth creates'.<sup>1506</sup> *P3-3n* was 'Overseer of the Administrative Bureau of Tenants, Overseer of all vegetation',<sup>1507</sup> and 'Overseer of what heaven gives and earth creates', and this probably supports the suggestion of associating the office of *imy-r šwy* with land cultivating, and not with either weaving workshops or stoneworks.

One of the titles of the son called *Sbki* is rather interesting, *sš gs-dpt*, a title usually rendered as 'Scribe of the Boat'.<sup>1508</sup> Recently, Fischer reconsidered this title, and argued convincingly for rendering of *gs-dpt* as 'protection' and translated the title as 'Scribe of the (magical) Protection'.<sup>1509</sup>

#### Dating:

The style of the stela as well as the titles of the *P3-3n*<sup>1510</sup> and his son indicate a date at the end of the Old Kingdom. However, the style and design of the chapel with false door flanked by two decorated side pieces is characteristic of the very end of the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1511</sup>

#### 7.1.4. Fragmentary stela of *Nfrt-w3* (Plate LXXXIII)

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 545; Gunn, MSS XVIII. 46 (2) [photo]; text, cf. *TPC* I, 201 (44). For a side piece of the same individual see, PM III<sup>2</sup>, 546; *TPC* I, 206-7 (5).

Two fragments of the lower left part of the stela remain. They form parts of three left jambs of a large format stela. Texts and figures of the deceased on the jambs are

<sup>1506</sup> Z.Y. Saad, *Royal Excavations at Saqqara and Helwan* (1941-1945), pl. 19; Cf. also *Nfr-sšm-r* was 'Overseer of what heaven gives and earth creates' and also was 'Overseer of the King's repast', cf. *Urk* I, 193; Cf. also *Išfi*, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 73.

<sup>1507</sup> For this office see, Fischer, *The tomb of Ip at El-Saff*, 23 (6).

<sup>1508</sup> D. Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 101 (226).

<sup>1509</sup> Fischer, *GM* 126 (1992), 59-63.

<sup>1510</sup> The false door of an official named *P3-3n* and bearing similar titles was found by Ali el-Khouli in front of the mastaba of Mereruka. This door is not published, and there is no other information available, cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 226.

<sup>1511</sup> Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 12.



incised. Each of the jambs has a single column of inscription, and a portrait of the deceased. These figures show her standing facing the central niche. In each case she wears a long lappeted wig, and long dress with shoulder straps. All three figures depict her with feet apart in a striding attitude.<sup>1512</sup> On the outer jamb she is seen holding an ointment jar to her nose with one hand, while the other hand is hanging fisted along her side. The middle jamb is almost worn away, but some lines are still visible, and it is probably a representation of the deceased holding a lotus blossom to her nose with one hand, while the other hand is extended open at her side. On the inner jamb she is represented holding her left hand fisted to her chest, as a token of respect and reverence, while her right hand is hanging open at her side.

Transliteration:

1. (B') ... .. *n hrt-ntr im3ht Nfirt-w3* 2. (B)... .. [*Dhw*]ty-*hb tpy rnpt hb im3ht Nfirt-w3*  
3. (F) *w3g hb hb skr 3bd hb smdt hb*

Translation:

1. ... .. of the necropolis, the honoured *Nfirt-w3*. 2. ... .. *Dhwty* feast, beginning of the year feast, the honoured *Nfirt-w3*. 3. *w3g* feast, feast of Sokar, monthly feast and half monthly feast.

Comments:

The name of the deceased is not written on the inner jambs. It seems that the lack of space did not allow the artist to add the name, and it is probable that the artist felt that the representation of deceased was enough to identify the texts above it.<sup>1513</sup>



Before dating the stela, one has to look at the side piece too. The fragmentary side piece is a part of the right side piece, and measures 40 x 32.5 x 11 cm . Text on the edge of the side piece is incised, while the rest of the decoration in raised relief. Remains of red colour are still visible on the skin of the figure, as well as on the signs ꞙ, 𐀀 and 𐀁. The fragment has two registers: the upper register depicts offering bearers facing left. A male and two females are seen carrying offerings and leading animals; each bearer has his/her name written in front of him/her. The man's name is lost, the first female is named *Gmni-*

<sup>1512</sup> For similar postures see above passim; cf. also, Harpur, *Decoration*, 138.

<sup>1513</sup> Cf the stela of *Sni* (4.1.15).

ḥnh-m-s3.s, and the second is Hsti. The second register starts with a single line of inscription which runs from left to right and reads 'Bringing the vessels to the honoured Nfrrt-w3'.<sup>1514</sup> Underneath is the depiction of offering bearers; a man and woman carrying vessels upon their heads. The name of the man is lost. The female name is Ny-sw-Iir the younger. On the edge of the side piece are the remains of a vertical column of inscription: '[An offering which the King gives and] Anubis ... , lord of Sp3, may she be buried ... .. ....'.

#### Dating:

The stela seems to be of the general style of the very end of the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period, but the most telling indications of the date are iconographic and palaeographic features which clearly preclude an earlier date. The striding attitude is a characteristic feature of the postures of major female figures during the Herakleopolitan Period,<sup>1515</sup> as is the representation of the female deceased with fisted hand. These are postures which are more frequently associated with male figures.<sup>1516</sup> Of the palaeographic features, only the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht* is a clue to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom. The decoration on the side piece is also typical of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1517</sup> The name *Gmni-ḥnh-m-s3.s* in itself indicates a later date. The substitution of  for  is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period in names, but became frequent thereafter. Given all these criteria it is probable that the stela fragment, as well as the side piece, date to the Herakleopolitan Period and not earlier.

#### 7.1.5. Fragmentary stela of S3t-hmt

Bibl: *TPC* I, 201 (44); *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 545.

<sup>1514</sup> For similar text occur on a contemporary side piece, cf. Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, fig. 136.

<sup>1515</sup> Cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 138, tb. 6. 16; cf. also Fischer, *BES* 9 (1987-8), 16, n. 7, who cites a few earlier examples.

<sup>1516</sup> Cf. *TPC* II, pls. 68, 70 (2); Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 15, figs. 8-9.

<sup>1517</sup> Cf. e.g. Peterson, *Orientalia Suecana* 21 (1972), pl. facing p. 4; *CCG* 1665; *Mirrors*, fig. 136; *TPC* II, pl. 21 (B)



Part of the lower right hand side of a large format stela. The inscriptions are incised, and well cut.


Transliteration:

(C') or (C) ... ... [nb t3] *dsr qrst nfrt n lm3ht S3t-hmt*.

Translation:

(C') or (C) ... ... [lord of ] the sacred land, a beautiful burial to the honoured *S3t-hmt*.

On (C) or (G) only the signs ,  and  remain.

The owner of this stela was probably the same as *S3t-hmt* the owner of a fragmentary side piece, now in Saqqara storeroom Number 7 (Plate LXXXIV).<sup>1518</sup> Four fragments of the left side piece were seen and copied by Lilyquist. When joined they measure 120 cm in height. These fragments display the remains of three registers. The uppermost register shows part of a butchery scene.<sup>1519</sup> The second register depicts vessels on rectangular stand, under which a single line of inscription runs from right to left and reads 'Bringing vessels to the honoured [*S3t-hmt*]'. On the lower register is a representation of the deceased standing on the right, facing left. She is seen with her feet apart in a striding posture. She wears a long wig with lappet falling over her shoulder and chest and a long tight-fitting dress. In her right hand is a long staff with flat top, probably meant to be a papyriform staff, while the left hand is hanging at her side holding an  sign. Opposite her stands a female servant, who is on a smaller scale. She is depicted with a short hair, wearing a long garment. She presents her lady with a mirror and a toilet or kohl-grinding bowl. In front of her is a short vertical column of inscription which reads 'To your *k3* my mistress'.<sup>1520</sup> Behind this servant comes another wearing similar attire and carrying a toilet box above her head and holding a mirror in her hand. Above the servant a toilet box and necklace are represented with no register line, so they appear as if floating.

<sup>1518</sup> Saqqara store room no. 7 (Reg. no. 14011); *Mirrors*, fig. 136; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 546. Note that the name does not appear on the line drawing provided by Lilyquist. It is worth-noting also that there is another false door found by Quibell for a female called also *S3t-hmt* (4.1.29), but since the name is spelled differently on the side piece, and the stela found by Quibell is of a small size, it is probable that the side piece copied by Lilyquist belongs to this fragmentary stela found by Firth and Gunn.

<sup>1519</sup> Cf. *TPC* I, pl 21; cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VIII (3); cf. also Louvre E14184 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45 (right side piece).

<sup>1520</sup> See for similar scenes and inscriptions on the sarcophagus of *K3wit* Cairo, JE 47397; cf. Lange-Hirmer, *Egypt* (3rd. ed.), pl. 83; Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, fig. 135.

### Dating:

Apart from the name formation *S3t* + NN, which in itself point to a date later than the Old Kingdom, palaeographic features also point to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The occurrence of the phrase *qrst nfrt* is first seen on the false door of *Htp* who was an official contemporary to the reign of Merykare.<sup>1521</sup> On a side piece which likely to belong to the same owner, the presentation of a mirror by the housemaid is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period,<sup>1522</sup> although the representation of mirrors on the tomb superstructure is known from the end of the Old Kingdom. Also indicative of a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan period, and probably not earlier than the reign of Merykare, is the representation of *S3t-hmt* holding an 𓆎 sign.<sup>1523</sup> The occurrence of the phrase *n k3.t* probably also points to a later date.<sup>1524</sup> The kohl-grinding bowl, called *m3hrt*, is also not evidenced in tomb iconography before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1525</sup> Therefore the side piece as well as the stela probably date to the reign of Merykare or slightly later.

#### 7.1.6. Stela fragment of *S3t-gmni*

Bibl: *TPC* I, 201 (45); *PM* III<sup>2</sup>, 546.

This fragment shows only part of the title and name of the stela's owner.<sup>1526</sup> She was 'Sole Ornament of the King'. The only dating clue is the name formation *S3t*+NN which points to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom.

#### 7.1.7. Stela fragment of *Gmni-iw*

<sup>1521</sup> See comment on this feature above; cf. also, Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (2).

<sup>1522</sup> Cf. Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, figs. 129, 137 a-c.

<sup>1523</sup> For comment on this feature see under (4.1.41).

<sup>1524</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VIII (5); pl. X (2); cf. also contemporary inscriptions from Herakleopolis, cf. Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1975), pl. XXIV (b), XXV (b); cf. also the sarcophagus of 𓆎yt and K3wyt, cf. *Mirrors*, figs. 129, 130, 135; for these sarcophagi and their type see Lapp, *Typologie*, Abbs. 164-166, 171, 172.

<sup>1525</sup> Cf. Lapp, *GM* 94 (1986), 49-51; cf. also contemporary side pieces from the same cemetery, *JEA* 78 (1992), figs. 5 (c), 6 (c).

<sup>1526</sup> Note that the name *S3t-gmni* appears on the stela of *Dw3t-hup* (4.1.41), cf. *TPC* I, 188 (17).



Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544; *TPC I*, 201-2 (47); see also a lintel, *TPC I*, 210 (18).

According to Gunn, these are four fragments from the bottom part of a large format stela. The inscriptions are incised. The background is painted to imitate pink granite, and the lines framing the columns of inscription are painted black.

Transliteration:

1. (B') ... ... *im3hw hr inpw ... Gmni-iw* 2. (C') ... ... *imy-r sš tswt whrt-nswt ... ... shd pr-ꜥ3 Gmni-iw*. 3. (B) ... ... *[Gm]ni-iw* 4. (C) ... ... *s3b imy-r sš Gmni-iw* 5. (F) ... ... *[Gmni]-iw*

Translation:

1. ... ... he who is honoured by Anubis ... *Gmni-iw*. 2. ... ... Overseer of the Scribes of the Crew of the Royal Dockyard ... ... Inspector of the Great Palace *Gmni-iw* 3. ... ... *Gmni-iw* 4. ... ... Judge, Overseer of the Scribes *Gmni-iw* 5. ... ... *Gmni-iw*.

There is also a fragmentary lintel of the same official, found by Firth and Gunn. This measures 115 x 24 x 11 cm. It is fractured into four fragments, its inscriptions are incised and very weathered. It reads: 'An offering which the King gives and Anubis [who is upon his mountain], who is in the *wt*, to the Overseer of the Scribes of the Crew of the Royal Dockyard, the honoured *Gmni-iw*'.

Comments:

The sign  $\Delta$  is probably to be read *whrt* 'Royal Dockyard or Workshop',<sup>1527</sup> and also *tst* may be translated better as 'enrolment',<sup>1528</sup> accordingly the title would read 'Overseer of the Scribes of the Enrolment of the Crew of the Royal Dockyards'.<sup>1529</sup>

<sup>1527</sup> For titles associate with the royal dockyard see, Fischer, *Dendera*, 211-12.

<sup>1528</sup> See, *Wb V*, 403:7; *CCG* 1689.

<sup>1529</sup> The sign  $\Delta$  could also read as *lpt* in which case the title would read differently. It has to be mentioned that the substitution of  $\Delta$  for the usual Old Kingdom  $\alpha$  or  $\alpha$  is a feature which did not became frequent before the Middle Kingdom (Cf. e.g. Fischer, *Dendera*, n. 824; Martin, *Administrative Seals*, no. 8, 18; *LAAT* 4, 114; *Bersheh*, II, pl. 21). *lpt-nswt* is probably the correct reading since *whrt* is rarely attested with *nswt*. *lpt-nswt* is usually renderd as 'Royal Harim'. (cf. E. Reiser, *Der Königliche Harim im Alten*

Dating:

The name of the stela owner indicates a date later than the Old Kingdom.<sup>1530</sup> The full writing of Anubis points to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom. These features would assign the stela and its lintel to a date in the Herakleopolitan Dynasty and not earlier.<sup>1531</sup>

7.1.8. Name lost

Bibl: *TPC* I, 202 (50).

The importance of this fragmentary stela is seen in the mention of the pyramid cult temple of King Merykare. According to Gunn these two fragments which come from the right hand side of a large format stela form part of the panel and the right hand side jambs. The funerary meal scene on the panel is cut in raised relief, while the rest of the inscriptions are incised.

Transliteration:

1. (C') ... ... *is.f n hrt-ntr im3h* ... ... 2. (A) ... ... *im3hw hr*... ... 3. (C) *mty-n-s3 W3d-Iswt im3hw* .... 4. (D) *htp di nswt* ... ... 5. *h3 t h3 hnkt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs* ... ...

Translation:

1. ... ... his tomb of the necropolis, the honoured ... ... 2. ... ... honoured by ... ... 3. Regulator of the Phyle of the Pyramid *W3d-iswt Mry-k3-r*<sup>c</sup>, the honoured ... 4. An offering

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*Ägypten und seine Verwaltung* (Wien, 1972); Junker, *Giza*, XI, 127-129) Lorton recently reconsidered this term, and argue for translating the term as 'Counting House' (cf. Lorton, *JARCE* 11 (1974), 98-101). Fischer, although agreeing with Lorton in rejecting the term Harim, opposes Lorton's suggestion and prefers to translate the term as 'King's Private Apartment', cf. Fischer, *Titles*, 94 (n. 1230). For the occurrence of titles associated with the 'King's Private Apartment' see, e.g. Junker, *Giza*, III, 10; VII, 124; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 68-70; CCG 1624; Hassan, *Giza*, III, 78, fig. 69, pl. 25; Cf. Reiser, op. cit., 68-80; Ward, *Index*, no. 36.




<sup>1530</sup> For theophorus names associated with the element *gmni* and their date see above *passim*.

<sup>1531</sup> If the reading is *lpt-nswt* the substitution of  $\Delta$  for  $\square$  would apparently indicate a date not earlier than the very end of the Old Kingdom and the Herakleopolitan Period ( Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, n. 824).



which the King gives and ... 5. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl a thousand of alabaster ...

Commentary:

The inscriptions on the two fragments display some characteristic features of the Herakleopolitan Period: the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*, and the writing of *hrt-ntr*  with two projections on the top of  before the  sign, are both frequently seen during this period.<sup>1532</sup> The association of the stela's owner with the temple cult of King Merykare, built to the east of Teti's pyramid,<sup>1533</sup> indicates that the unknown owner was contemporary to the reign of Merykare or slightly later.

7.1.9. Name lost

Bibl: *TPC* I, 202 (51).

Two small fragments mentioning the name of the cult temple of King Merykare. According to Gunn they belong to a different stela to that discussed above. The mention of *W3d-iswt* is the only clue to its date.

7.1.10. Name lost

<sup>1532</sup> For the second feature see, Cairo JE 55618 = Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), pls. XIX (3), XX (3) XXII (3), XXIII (3); Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45; *TPC* II, pls. 24, 27; Cairo J 55618; Lilyquist, *JARCE* 11 (1974), 27, pl. 2 (b); see also Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 27. This writing is known from Sixth Dynasty stelae from Edfu (Louvre E 14329 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 9; Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (Cairo, 1935), pl. 14 (1-2); Bruyère et al., *Tell Edfou 1937 (Fouilles Franco-Polonaises I*, Cairo, 1937), pl. 15 91)), and Naqada (Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, pl. 4). It also occurs on somewhat later inscriptions from Balat (J. Osing et al., *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla. Aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhry*, *AV* 28 (Mainz am Rhein, 1982), pls. 53, 56, 58. For the dating of this material see Leprohon, *JSSEA* 16 (1986), 50-56; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 27, n. 99)), Dendera (Petrie, *Denderah*, pls. 8, 9, 11 B, 37 A ), Naga ed-Deir (*JAOS* 76 (1956), 102) and Thebes (CCG 28022; Lacau, *Sarcophages*, pl. 5).

<sup>1533</sup> Malek in, *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, IV, 204-214.

Bibl: L. Giddy et al, *The Anubieion at Saqqara II. The Cemeteries* (London, 1992), 18 (77/124), pls. 7, 64; Malek, 'King Merykare and his pyramid', in, *Hommages à Jean Leclant* IV, 204-214, fig. 1-2; it is also listed by Leclant, *Or* 48 (1979), 357.

According to Malek, it is a lump of light-gray builder's plaster (maximum height 24.8 cm., width 18.7 cm.), with remains of three vertical columns of inscription. It is suggested by Malek that the battered fragment of plaster is an impression, i.e. a negative copy of a lost decorated relief.<sup>1534</sup>

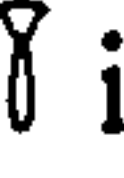






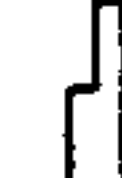
Transliteration:

1. ... *iswt Mry-k3-R<sup>c</sup>*... 2. *im3hw hr in[pw]* ... 3. ... [*nb*] *t3-dsr*...

Translation:

1. ... [cult] places of *Mry-k3-R<sup>c</sup>* 2. ... one who is honoured by Anubis,... 3. ... lord of the sacred land.

Comments:

Merykare's pyramid is known as *W3d-iswt-Mry-k3-R<sup>c</sup>* 'Flourishing are the cult-places of Merykare'. On this fragment the sign  is missing, and the arrangement of the three *st*-sign suggests that it was never present. Malek explains the absence of the *W3d*-sign on the grounds that *swt* in this case referred to the cult-places in the pyramids of both kings (*dd-iswt* of Teti, *w3d-iswt* of Merkare). The word *iswt* occurs in titles  of the governor of the Herakleopolitan Nome at El-Saff, without specific reference to a particular pyramid.<sup>1535</sup> A great many pyramid names, from both the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom, contain the element *iswt*.<sup>1536</sup> However, on the present fragment, the mention of Merykare leaves no doubt that *iswt* refers to the cult places of this King.

Dating:

The phonetic writing of *inpw*, and the writing of *t3*-sign with two pellets below: both are expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. The mention of Merykare suggests that fragment belongs to an official who was a contemporary or perhaps slightly later.

<sup>1534</sup> Ibid, 204, n. 4.

<sup>1535</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 76; idem, *The Tomb of Ip at El Saff*, 26 (21), pl. G.

<sup>1536</sup> Helck, *LÄ* V, 5-6.



### 7.1.11. Fragmentary stela of *ṭpi-m-s3.f* (Plate LXXXV)

Bibl: Gunn, Notebook 19, p. 39 (2); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 558; El-Fikey, *The Tomb of the Vizier Re<sup>c</sup>wer at Saqqara*, pl. 16 (5).

This is the lower left hand side fragment of a large format stela. It measures 59 x 46 x 18 cm. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised. Only the head of the figure remains on the middle jamb, while on the outer jamb the upper half of the body appears. The deceased is represented with short hair, and his hands are shown raised in a gesture of adoration.

#### Transliteration:

1. (B') ... .. *m is.f n ḥrt-nṯr im3ḥ ṭpi-m-s3.f* 2. (B) ... .. *m ist ḥry sgri m ḥwt-wrt ṭpi*  
3. (F) [*im3ḥw ḥ*]r wsir ṭpi[-*m-s3.f*]

#### Translation:

1. ... .. in his tomb of the necropolis, the honoured *ṭpi-m-s3.f*. 2. ... .. in the palace, Master who commands silence in the *ḥwt-wrt*, *ṭpi*. 3.[ He who is honoured by] Osiris, *ṭpi[-m-s3.f]*.

#### Comments:

*ist* probably refers to a 'palace, office' or an 'administrative bureau'.<sup>1537</sup> Here, however, it is introduced with the preposition, *m* a fact which calls to mind the title *sdm sdmt w<sup>c</sup> m ist* 'Judge of that which one alone hears in the palace' which occurs during the Herakleopolitan Period and Middle Kingdom.<sup>1538</sup> The title here probably has a judicial reference, since it is associated with the department of *ḥwt-wrt*.<sup>1539</sup> The other interesting





<sup>1537</sup> See comments on this term under (7.1.3). Cf also. titles such as *smsw ist* (*IVb* I, 129:9; Ward, *Index*, no. 1306); *imy-r ls nswt*; *imy-r lswy n ḥkrt-nswt*; *imy-r lswy n pr-ḥry-wdb* (cf. Murray, *Index*, pl. XX); see also Daressy, *Mera*, 531; Ward, *Index*, no. 1008.

<sup>1538</sup> Cf. CCG 20016; *HT*, II, pl. 27; Cf. also, Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, p. 5, and pl. xv. On references to 'hearing alone' see Eyre, in *Studies Shore*, 122. n. 55.

<sup>1539</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 188-194.

function or epithet is *hry sgri m hwt-wrt* 'Master who commands silence in the *hwt-wrt*'. It is unusual epithet,<sup>1540</sup> but it probably indicates one of the functions of the previous title.

#### Dating:

The representation of the deceased on the outer jamb in a posture of adoration is probably indicative of a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period. The inscriptions clearly imply a date in the Herakleopolitan Period and not earlier: in particular, the abbreviated epithet *im3h* and the addition of the filling stroke in the writing of *im3h* and *hrt-ntr*. The writing of *hwt-wrt* also points to a later date.<sup>1541</sup> The theophorus name of the stela's owner points to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom, and its palaeography also points to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The substitution of the sign  for the more usual  in the name is unusual.<sup>1542</sup> The substitution of  for  in personal names is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period. If the restoration of the title [*sdm sdmt w*] *m ist* is correct, the stela is probably to be assigned to a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare.

#### 7.1.12. Fragmentary stela of *Ipi-ssnb.s/ Ipi*




Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 558; Gunn, MSS XIV 61 91) [photo]; Notebook, 12, nos. 106-107.

The lower part of this stela was found in situ, with collapsed fragments near it. The fragments, when joined the lower part of the stela, measure 97 x 84 x 15 cm. The stela was flanked by two decorated side pieces. Inscriptions and relief are much weathered. The whole chapel was built next to that of her husband *Šm3*, which will be discussed later.

#### Transliteration:

<sup>1540</sup> For a similar epithet used in a different context, cf. *hry sgri šnwt* 'one who controls the silence of officials', CCG 20539 I/14 = Sethe, *Lesestücke.*, 15 a; cf. also the New Kingdom priestly office, *hry sgr n imn* 'Master who commands silence for Amun', cf. RT 4 (1883), 96.

<sup>1541</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 193, n. 2; Note that this writing is frequently seen during the Middle Kingdom, cf. e.g. *Bersheh* II, 24; Martin, *Administrative Seals*, no. 49; Ward, *Index*, no. 248.

<sup>1542</sup> I have no knowledge of other similar name writing, but the substitution of  for  or  in names in general is not known before Dynasty 11, cf. LD II, 149; PN II, 263 (12); see also Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, (D 38).



1. (A) [missing] 2. (B) ... ... *pr̥t hr̥w n.s nfr m smt lm̥nt̥t lm̥3ht 1pl* 3. (C) ... ... *hpl.s m htp r lm̥nt̥t (nfr̥t) lm̥3ht 1pl-ssnb.s* 4. (F) *lm̥3ht 1pl-ssnb.s* 5. *lm̥3ht 1pl-ssnb.s* 6. (G) *lm̥3ht 1pl-ssnb.s* 7. *lm̥3ht 1pl-ssnb.s* 8. (E) *lm̥3ht hr̥ inpw tpy-dw.f m iswt.f nbt w<sup>c</sup>bt lm̥3ht 1pl*. 9. (D) [under the offering table is] *dbht htp*

Translation:

1. [missing] 2. ... ... a voice offering to her beautifully in the western cemetery, the honoured *1pl*. 3. ... ... may she travels in peace to the beautiful west, the honoured *1pl-ssnb.s*. 4. She who is honoured, *1pl-ssnb.s*. 5. She who is honoured, *1pl-ssnb.s*. 6. She who is honoured, *1pl-ssnb.s*. 7. She who is honoured, *1pl-ssnb.s*. 8. She who is honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain in all his pure places, the honoured, *1pl*. 9. Requirement of offering.

Comments:

There are also fragmentary side pieces, found in situ, flanking this stela.<sup>1543</sup> The left side piece displays the remains of a tabulated offering list, followed by a register depicting the deceased sitting in front of an offering table. The registers of the right side piece show butchery scenes and offering bearers as well as the usual table scene. The butchery scene is rather interesting: according to Gunn it depicts two butchers slaughtering an ox, and next to them stands a butcher's assistant carrying a knife and bowl. He is labelled *wdpw 1np-m-h3t* 'the butler *1np-m-h3t*'. Butlers are known to have an active part in butchery activities.<sup>1544</sup> They are usually seen in different outfits to those worn by the butchers and their assistants. They were probably lay persons who assisted the butcher with various tasks.<sup>1545</sup> The register with bearers depicts two females carrying different sorts of offering, and labelled as 'Treasurers of the Estate'.<sup>1546</sup> Above the bearers is a single line of inscription: 'May a funerary offering be invoked for her by her servants of her funerary estate in the course of every day, to the honoured *1pl-ssnb.s*'. The edges of both side

<sup>1543</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 558; Gunn, Notebook, 12 nos. 107-110.

<sup>1544</sup> They are shown, for instance, pulling back a foreleg of an ox, cf. Junker, *Giza II*, fig. 20; Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. 36; H. Kayser, *Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum*, pl. 2.

<sup>1545</sup> For similar scene to the one under consideration see, James, *Khentika*, pl. 22; cf. also Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIX (3); cf. also Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 15.

<sup>1546</sup> For this female title see, Fischer, *Varia*, 70 (6), nn. 9-11; Peterson, *Orientalia Suecana* 21 (1972), pl. facing p. 4.

pieces are inscribed, each with a vertical column, but only the name of the deceased is still visible, the rest of the text is worn away.

#### Dating:

The style and overall design of a shallow chapel is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period, in particularly those around the pyramid of Teti.<sup>1547</sup> The palaeographic features also point to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom: the arrangement of *pr̥t-ḥrw* with the heads of an ox and bird as well as the additional bread loaf is characteristic of the period. The abbreviated west ideogram, the use of the filling stroke, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ḥt* are also indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period. In addition two more textual features which occur on this stela indicate a date later in the dynasty itself. The occurrence of the adjective *nfr + m smt imntt* directly after *pr̥t ḥrw*, is typical of Herakleopolitan Period offering formulae.<sup>1548</sup> Although the adverbial phrase *m lswt.f nbt* is known to occur after gods' epithets from as early as the Fifth Dynasty,<sup>1549</sup> the addition of *w<sup>c</sup>bt* to this adverbial phrase is not evidenced before the end of the Old Kingdom. It frequently appears during the Middle Kingdom, but it probably made its earliest appearance at the end of the Herakleopolitan Period and Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>1550</sup> The theophorus name of the stela's owner is not known before the Herakleopolitan Period. Given these features, particularly the last two, it is probable that the stela should be assigned a date in the second half of the Herakleopolitan Period or early Eleventh Dynasty.

#### 7.1.13. Fragmentary stela of Šm3

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 558; Gunn, MSS XV. 35 b; XIV. 61 (2) [photo].

<sup>1547</sup> Cf. *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 12.

<sup>1548</sup> See comment above on this feature, *passim*.

<sup>1549</sup> See, Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen*, 22, 30 (Anubis), 48 (Khnum), 124-5 (Osiris), 185, 189 (Sokar), 36, 41 (Bastet), 53, 58, 73 (Hathor), 96, 101 (Maat), 111, 119 (Neith), 235 (Sekhmet).

<sup>1550</sup> Probably the earliest example is that of *K3.l-s3-int.f* who was a contemporary of three early kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, Antef I, Antef II, and Menthohotep I, cf. *TPPI* § 23 = BM 1203; *HT* I, pl. 53; see also *TPPI* § 4 = CCG 20011; also the sarcophagi of the early Eleventh Dynasty Queens, cf. *TPPI* § 27 v = Cairo JE 47397, φ = MMA o7. 230.1 A-B; γγ (2) = Naville and Hall, *The XI<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahri* III, pl. II, III. Also on Eleventh Dynasty stelae from Gebelein, cf. Fischer, *Orientation*, fig. 68; Smith, *Art and Architecture*, fig. 145.



Like the stela of *Ipi-ssnb.s*, the lower part of this stela was found in situ, with the rest of its fragment having fallen next to it. The stela has been turned a slate colour by fire. Texts and decoration were made in red ink only. According to Gunn the unfinished stela was of a large format. Each of the six jambs has a column of inscription, ending with a standing figure of the deceased. On the outer and middle jambs the deceased is seen with his usual staff and baton, while the portraits on the inner jambs show the deceased in a posture of adoration.

Transliteration:

1. (B') ... *prît hrw n.f nfr m is.f im3hw Šm3* 2. (C') ... ... *n dt.f ... Šm3* 3. (B) ... ... [*lmy*]-*wt nb t3 dsr qrs.ti.f nfr im3h Šm3* 4. (C) ... [*hpi.f*] *m htp r imntt nfrt Šm3* 5. (F) [*im3hw*] *Šm3* 6. (G) [*im3hw*] *Šm3* 7. (E) ... ... *Šm3* 8. (D) [underneath the offering table], *dbht htp*.

Translation:

1. ... a voice offering to him beautifully in his tomb, the honoured *Šm3*. 2. ... ... of his estate ... *Šm3*. 3. ... ... who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land may he be buried beautifully, the honoured *Šm3*. 4. ... [may he travel] in peace to the beautiful west, *Šm3*. 5. [The honoured] *Šm3*. 6. [The honoured] *Šm3*. 7. ... ... *Šm3*. 8. Requirement of offering.

Dating:

The style of the stela as well as the design of the chapel indicates a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The iconography points to a date later than the Old Kingdom, particularly the adoration posture adopted by the deceased on the inner jambs; this is frequently associated with male and female representations on false doors of this period.<sup>1551</sup> This date is also suggested by palaeographic features such as the writing of *prît hrw*, the writing of the *t3* sign with two pellets underneath, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*, and the occurrence of the adverbial phrase *nfr m is.f* directly after *prît hrw*, all these features are expected in the Herakleopolitan Period.

7.1.14. Fragmentary stela of *Hty*

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<sup>1551</sup> See above, *passim*.

Bibl: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 567; Gunn, MSS XV. 35a.

Two fragments remains from the stela of *Hty*. They indicate the small format of the stela, and show that probably both texts and reliefs were incised. Colouring is preserved: signs are painted green, the skin of the figures, the stand of the offering table, the legs of the chair, the ewer and basin are painted red, and the line framing the inscription is blue. The fragments show parts of the left jambs and inner right jamb as well as part of the cross bar. Both outer and inner left jambs display standing portraits for the deceased, at the end of their inscriptions; both show the deceased with hands hanging open at his side.

Transliteration:

1. (B) ... *inpw tpy-dw.f Hty* 2. (F) ... *(imy-r) mš<sup>c</sup> Hty* 3. (G) *im3h* ... 4. (E) *hry sšt3 n sd3wt-ntr*.

Translation:

1. ... Anubis, who is upon his mountain *Hty*. 2. ... [Overseer] of the Expedition, *Hty*. 3. He who is honoured ... 4. Privy to the Secrets of the god's treasures.

Dating:

The remaining inscriptions from the stela of *Hty* probably indicate that he had a career in the expedition department, and probably headed this institution. He also was 'Privy to the



Secrets of the god's treasures'.<sup>1552</sup> It is not clear if *ntr* here refer to a king or a local deity.<sup>1553</sup>

There is no photograph of these fragments, and the remainder of the inscriptions provide no clues to dating. The only clue is probably the name of the stela's owner, which was probably a sort of echo or might even allude to the name *Hty* of kings of the Herakleopolitan Dynasty.

#### 7.1.15. Fragment of the stela of *Hnšt* (Plate LXXXVI)

Bibl: Unpublished, current location is Saqqara Storeroom Number 1 (next to the Inspectorate offices).

The fragment was found in the late 1980s, when the Saqqara Inspectorate was cleaning the area to the north of the pyramid of Iput, to the north east of the Teti's pyramid, in order to build a storeroom. The fragment is part of the left hand side of a small stela. It measures 45 x 26 x 9.5 cm. Texts and figures are incised. The preserved part of the panel shows the remains of the usual table scene. The stela belongs to the group of stelae which has a supplementary inscribed frame, a style of door first known during the reign of Pepy II and became frequent thereafter. The inner jambs of the stela seem to have

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<sup>1552</sup> The name *Hty* is also known from a fragmentary side piece (Plate LXXXV) (acquired from the Egyptian Antiquities Service by the Boston Museum of Fine Art, no. 24.594; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 751; Simpson, in *BNCMA* XI/3 (1972), 9, fig. 13). The remaining fragment show two registers of raised relief of good workmanship. Colouring; figures' skins are red; wigs are painted black, garments are white, the female skin is painted yellow; signs are green. The top register displays a butchery scene: on the right stands a herdsman, pulling back a rope with which he ties the slaughtered ox. Opposite him is a butcher holding his knife and attempting to pull out the heart of the animal. Above him is a caption saying 'pulling out the heart', he is seen turning his head back talking to his assistant who is sharpening a knife for the butcher above this man is written *dim ḡs* 'sharpening the knife'. The other register depicts two offering bearers: a male and female carrying offerings and leading animals, directed towards the false door. The small proportioned animal is called *wn-ḡw* probably referring to a small calf. In front of the female is written *hnqt* 'offering' possibly referring to the food and offering carried by both bearers. To the left of the bearers is a squatting man, directed to the right and is seen force-feeding a duck or a goose. Above him is written *wšī r3* 'fattening a goose'. Under this register is part of a single line of inscriptions which runs from right to left: 'Bringing the choicest to the honoured, Royal Acquaintance, *Hty*'. It is not clear if this fragment belongs to the same *Hty* as the owner of the fragments under consideration.

<sup>1553</sup> For discussion for this office see, Fischer, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 26; idem, *Dendera*, 115-116; cf. recently, P. Vernus, 'Observations sur le titre *Imy-r ḥmt* "Directeur du Tresor", in, Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden*, 251-260.

been left blank, while each of the outer jambs has a column of inscription. Figures of the deceased seem to occur only on the posts of the supplementary frame. The left post shows the deceased, standing facing the central niche. She wears a short wig, and a long tight fitting garment with shoulder straps, and holding a spear head-like staff with her left hand, while the right hand hangs at her side. The portrait features show some clumsiness, disproportion and poor workmanship in general.

Transliteration:

1. (Supplementary frame) 1. ... *imy-wt nb t3 dsr Hnšt* 2. (A) ... [*im3*]*hwt* 3. (B) *hkrt nswt wꜥtt im3hwt Hnšti* 4. (E) [*nbt*] *im3h* 5. (D) ... *Hnšt*.

Translation:

1. ... who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land (namely) *Hnšt*. 2. ... the honoured one. 3. Sole Ornament of the King, the honoured *Hnšt*. 4. [Possessor of] reverence 5. ... *Hnšt*.

Dating:

The style and overall design assigns the stela roughly to the end of the Old Kingdom, particularly the inscribed supplementary frame and the shortened apertures on either side of the panel.<sup>1554</sup> However, the representation of the deceased holding a spear-head like staff might indicate a later date.<sup>1555</sup> The writing of the *t3* sign with two dots underneath also points to a later date. It is probable that this fragmentary stela should be dated to the very end of the Old Kingdom or early in the Herakleopolitan Period.

7.1.16. Stela fragment of *Snt* (Plate LXXXVI)

Bibl: Unpublished, current location is Saqqara Storeroom Number 1.

Probably the right hand side jamb of a small format stela. It measures 60 x 6.5 cm. Only one column of inscription appears, at the end of which is a representation of the

<sup>1554</sup> For this last feature see Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 9, n. 30.

<sup>1555</sup> Cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 135, tb. 6. 12, fig. 57.



deceased standing facing inwards in the direction of the central niche. She wears a long wig without lappet, which make it looks like a man's shoulder-length wig. She also wears long tight fitting dress with shoulder straps. Both of her hands are hanging open at her side.

Transliteration:

1... ... *lm3hwt hr wsir nb Ddw Snt*

Translation:

1. ... ... she who is honoured by Osiris, lord of Busiris, *Snt*.

Dating:

The only clue to a late date is probably the type of the long wig with no lappet. This type of wig, although known from a much earlier period in the iconography of minor status women,<sup>1556</sup> is probably not known to be associated with major female figures before very late in the Old Kingdom or the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1557</sup>

7.1.17. Stela fragment of *Inl-pt*h (Plate LXXXVII)

Bibl: Unpublished, current location is Saqqara Storeroom 1.

The upper right part of a small stela of fine limestone. It measures 31 x 19 x 7.5 cm. The remaining part of the stela shows part of the cavetto cornice, as well as the torus moulding. The panel is of the so-called shutter type. Texts and figure on the panel are incised, with no colour remaining. The lintel has two lines of inscription running from right to left, while the right jamb bears a single column of inscription. The remaining part of the panel depicts the usual table scene, in which the deceased sits in front of an offering table, with both hands extended open towards the table.<sup>1558</sup> The table is unusual: the bread slices are formed to look like a T-shape. Above the table scene is a short ideographic offering list with the signs directed outwards.

<sup>1556</sup> See, K.A. Daoud, *SAK* 23 (1996), 85, n. 12.

<sup>1557</sup> Cf. Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 224; cf. also Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 4, 16, 19, 21, 27, 53; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 3, 17; CCG 20005, 20006, 20012, 20507; Louvre E26904 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 34.

<sup>1558</sup> For the deceased extending both hands towards the offering table, cf. e.g. Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 10-11, figs. 3-4; CCG 1449, 1447, 1486, 1491.







Transliteration:

1. (A) *htp di nswt inpw ...* 2. *imy-r bi3w im3hw ...* 3. (C) *im3hw hr ...* 4. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 sr h3 trp h3 r3 h3 šs (h3 mnht n im3hw) Inl-ptḥ*

Translation:

1. An offering which the king gives and Anubis, ... 2. Overseer of the Metal works, the honoured ... 3. He who is honoured by ... 4. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of *sr* geese, a thousand of *trp* geese, a thousand of *r3* geese, a thousand of alabaster (and a thousand of clothing to the honoured) *Inl-ptḥ*.

Comments:

The only title mentioned here is problematic: the sign  is obscure. The closest shape to this sign is probably the determinative of the word *bi3* , ,<sup>1559</sup> or probably the determinative of the word *škr* or *shkr*.<sup>1560</sup> The first is probably more likely, since the title 'Overseer of metalworks' is known from the Old Kingdom,<sup>1561</sup> and not like the second one which is not known, as far as I know, in a similar context. The variations of the sign  that occur during the Herakleopolitan Period show some approximations to the sign which appears on this stela.<sup>1562</sup> A similar, but not identical sign appears in a well known metallurgy title, on an alabaster offering table, now in Marseilles Museum of an official called *Ḥi-n-ššī*.<sup>1563</sup> Therefore the title   should read *imy-r bi3w* 'Overseer of the Metal works'.

Dating:

<sup>1559</sup> Cf. Von Bissing, *ZAS* 38 (1900), 150-151.



<sup>1560</sup> Cf. Fakhry, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 42; R. Gundlach, *ZAS* 86 (1961), 32, 34-5.

<sup>1561</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, N 34; see also, Junker, 'Die Hieroglyphen für "Erz und Erzarbeiter"', *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 89-103. See also, *Handwerker*, 18-22, 37; G. Goyon, 'Le tombeau d'Ankhon a Saqqara', *Kêmi* 15 (1959), 13.

<sup>1562</sup> Cf. Fischer, *WZKM* 67 (1961), 61; see also, Graefe, *Das Wortfamilie Bi3* (1971), 9-21; J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), 54-6; Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 56-7. For a different reading of this sign, see, R. Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im Alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1976), 36-42.

<sup>1563</sup> Marseilles Museum. no. 340, *smr w'ty ʿ-bi3 pr-ʿ3 Ḥi-n-ššī* 'Sole Companion, Assistant of metalworks of the Great Palace *Ḥi-n-ššī*'. For this title see, *Handwerker*, 37, 40-42; *Kêmi* 15 (1959), 13-15; Mariette, *Mastabas*, D 26, D 43; CCG 1540.



The style of the stela and its design indicate a rough date at the very end of the Old Kingdom, in particular the type of the panel, which was introduced during the mid Sixth Dynasty and became characteristic of door design during the Herakleopolitan Period. The inscription provides some support for such a date, in particular the full writing of *inpw* in the context of offering formulae  which is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1564</sup> The writing of the *h3* sign also points to a later date.<sup>1565</sup> In addition if the reading provided here for the title of the stela's owner is correct, the diagonal shape of the sign  would indicate a date later than the Old Kingdom.<sup>1566</sup> It is probable that this stela fragment should be assigned to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom.

<sup>1564</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (1); idem, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentioning Merykare); cf. also, CCG 1453, 1400, 1446; see also, Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 7, n. 9.

<sup>1565</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 134 (5); Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 20, 70, 82; CCG 1450.

<sup>1566</sup> Fischer, *WZKM* 67 (1961), 61.

## 7.2. Fragments from Teti pyramid cemetery from Quibell's Excavation.

### 7.2.1. Stela fragment of *K3-rnn* (Plate LXXXVIII)

Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 14, pl. XVII (1); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563; Now in Munich Staatliche Sammlung, Gl 111; for the coffin and burial chamber of *K3-rnn*, see, Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. XII, XIX; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 560-1.

The remaining fragment forms the lower left part of a small stela, showing the lower section of the left outer and inner jambs as well as the right inner jamb. Both texts and figures on the jambs are incised. Each of these jambs has a single column of inscription, ended with a representation of the deceased, depicting him standing, facing the central niche. On the outer left jamb the deceased is shown with short hair, wearing a broad collar, and knee-length kilt. He holds a long staff in his left hand, while the right hand is hanging at his side, grasping a folded cloth. The inner jambs display mirror image representations, showing the deceased with short hair, wearing a broad collar, and a pointed kilt. Both hands are raised in a gesture of adoration.



#### Transliteration:

1. (B) ... ...[nb] *3bdw prit hrw n im3h K3-rnn* 2.(F) *im3hw hr ntr-ꜣ K3-rnn* 3. (G) *im3hw hr inpw K3-rnn*

#### Translation:

1. ... ... [lord of] Abydos, a voice offering offering to the honoured *K3-rnn*. 2. He who is honoured by the great god, *K3-rnn*. 3. He who is honoured by Anubis, *K3-rnn*.

#### Dating:

The adoration posture which occurs on the inner jambs is a characteristic feature of the false doors of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1567</sup> The writing of the epithet *im3h* , and  with the addition of the filling stroke is not known before this period. Despite published datings of the Middle Kingdom,<sup>1568</sup> or late Eleventh/early Twelfth Dynasty<sup>1569</sup>

<sup>1567</sup> See above passim.

<sup>1568</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 560.



the style, iconography and palaeography of the stela show no evidence of a date later than the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1570</sup>

### 7.2.2. Stela fragment of *Mrt-[Tt]*-*li* (Plate LXXXVIII)

Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 25, pl. XVII (2); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563.

The preserved part forms the upper half of a small format stela. It measures 72 x 62 cm. The stela displays the usual cavetto cornice, torus moulding, and shutter type panel with out-curving top. Texts are incised, while table scene on the panel is in raised relief. The texts are laid out in a conventional way on the lintel and jambs, each with two lines or columns of inscription. The scene on the panel depicts the deceased sitting on a low-back chair on the right facing left. She wears a long wig with lappet falling on her chest and back shoulder, a broad collar and long dress. She holds her left hand fisted to her chest, and extends her right hand towards an offering table in front of her. The table carries the usual bread slices, on which a foreleg of beef and trussed duck are represented. Underneath the table, to the right and resting directly on the floor, is a large nested ewer and basin.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *h̄tp di nswt nswt wsir nb Ddw h̄nti imntyw nb 3bdw* 2. *pr̄it h̄rw n.s nfr m ls n h̄rt-n̄r*  
[*im3h̄t*] *Mrt-[Tt]*-*li*. 3. (B) *h̄tp di nswt n̄r-ʿ3 nb ... ..* 4. *im3h̄wt h̄r H̄t-h̄r ... ..* 5. (C)  
*h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy d̄w.f qr[s.tl.s]* 6. *nfr[t m s(m)t imntt im3h̄t Mrt-Tt-li]* 7. *h̄3 t h̄3 h̄nqt*  
*h̄3 k3w h̄3 3pdw h̄3 šs h̄3 mn̄ht n im3h̄wt Mrt-[Tt]*-*li*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, 2. a voice offering to her beautifully in her tomb of the necropolis [the honoured] *Mrt-[Tt]*-*li*. 3. An offering which the King gives and the great god, lord of ... .. 4. She who is honoured by Hathor, ... .. 5. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, [may she be]

<sup>1569</sup> Lapp, *Typologie*, Sq 98 a-b.

<sup>1570</sup> Note that Lapp, *Typologie*, assigns the coffin of *K3-rnn* to the same group of coffins as those of *ṭpi-ʿnhw* (Sq 15 a-b = Berlin, 7796), and *Gmni-m-h̄3t* (100 a-b = TPC I, 227 (1), 230 (2); II, pl. 23-6) and *T3l* (Sq 106 = TPC I, 257 (12)), all belong to officials who were contemporaries of Merykare.







buried, 6. beautifully [in the western cemetery, the honoured *Mrt-[Tt]-ll*] 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Mrt-[Tt]-ll*.

#### Comments:

Teti's name which is part of the theophorus name of the stela's owner, seems to be intentionally erased.<sup>1571</sup>

The restored phrase on the outer right jamb frequently appears in the offering formulae of the very end of the Old Kingdom and later.<sup>1572</sup>

#### Dating:

The date of the stela is suggested by the shutter type panel with out-curving top, which is characteristic of a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom. The offering table composition, with tall bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck, is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period. The arrangement of , the degenerated shape of the town determinative, the arrangement of *prtt hrw* , the phonetic writing of *inpw* , and the addition of the filling stroke to the *šs*-sign  are all expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of the  instead of the usual  also points to a later date,<sup>1573</sup> as is the occurrence of the adjective *nfr + m ls.s n hrt-ntr* directly after *prtt hrw*.<sup>1574</sup> The stela should probably be assigned a date in the Herakleopolitan Period, likely not before the reign of Merykare.

#### 7.2.3. Stela fragment of *Tpt-<sup>c</sup>nhw* (Plate LXXXIX)

<sup>1571</sup> Cf. TPC I, 184, n. 1-2; cf. also Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIX (2); Ranke, *PN II*, 291: 8.

<sup>1572</sup> Cf. Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, § § 68, 73.

<sup>1573</sup> Fischer, *Orientation*, 68-9.

<sup>1574</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XII, XIII (mentions Merykare), XIV, XV (mentions Merykare); cf. also, TPC I, 237, 239, 246, 261, 262; II, pl. 24 (mentions Merykare); Berlin 7796 = *Ägyptische Inschriften I*, 130-5 (mentions Merykare). Note that this feature did not appear in Upper Egypt before the Eleventh Dynasty, probably during the reign of Monthuhotep II, cf. Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 255, n. 314; CCG 28027.



Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XVII (5); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563; Munich, Staatl. Sammlung Gl. 110.

The remaining fragment of the right lower part of a large format stela. It shows part of the right outer jamb, the middle right jamb, and the bottom end of the right inner jamb. Each of the jambs have a single column of inscription, ending with a figure of the deceased showing him standing and facing the central niche. The figures on the outer and middle jambs are identical, depicting the deceased with short hair, wearing a broad collar and a knee-length kilt. He holds the usual long staff and baton. The inner jamb has only its lower part visible, but seems to show the deceased raising both hands in a gesture of adoration, indicated by the absence of the back hand, which means that it was raised.




Transliteration:

1. (C') (tpy rnpt) hb wp rnpt hb w3g hb im3h Tpi-<sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup>w 2. (hpi.f hr w3wt) nfrt Tpi-(<sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup>)w 3. [missing].

Translation:

1. (beginning of the year) feast, opening of the year feast, w3g feast, the honoured Tpi-<sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup>w. 2. (may he travel upon the) beautiful (roads), Tpi-<sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup>w. 3. [Missing].

Dating:

The only clues to dating are palaeographic features, and these clearly assign the stela to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of w3 sign  with forked tail points to a later date, as does the writing of the epithet im3h with the filling stroke , as well as the writing of the  with its tail separated. The latter feature is attributed by Schenkel,<sup>1575</sup> to later Naga ed-Deir inscriptions,<sup>1576</sup> and is also found during the same period at Dendera,<sup>1577</sup> Khuzam,<sup>1578</sup> and Naqada.<sup>1579</sup> Also found at Thebes as early as the reign of W3h-<sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup>/Intf.<sup>1580</sup> In addition, the theophorus name of the stela's owner in itself points to a date later than the Old Kingdom. It is probable that this fragment comes from

<sup>1575</sup> FMAS, § 39a.

<sup>1576</sup> Cf. Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 8, 40, 57, 69, 76, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85.

<sup>1577</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 89 (13), n. 406.

<sup>1578</sup> Idem, *Coptite Nome*, no. 13.

<sup>1579</sup> Ibid, nos. 16, 20, 21, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32, 36, 37, 40.

<sup>1580</sup> Cf. TPPI § § 8, 15, 21, 22.

the chapel of a contemporary cemetery established in the vicinity of the pyramid of Merykare.


#### 7.2.4. Stela fragment of Ny-<sup>c</sup>nh-Hr (Plate LXXXIX)

Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 25, pl. XVII (6); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563.

The bottom fragment of small format false door. According to the excavator it measures about 48 cm in height. The surface of the fragment is much weathered, particularly the surface of the remaining part of the two right jambs. Texts and figures are incised. Each of the jambs has two columns of inscription, but with only traces of the name and probably a list of feasts. At the end of each of the columns is a figure of the deceased depicting him standing and facing inwards. Each of the outer jambs displays an identical image of the deceased, showing him with a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt. He holds a long staff in one hand, while the other hand is grasping a staff with curled tip. The inner jambs show the deceased in a similar attitude, but here with short hair, a broad collar and a knee-length kilt.

#### Dating:

Two features occur on this fragment, are not known before the Herakelopolitan Period. The first is the representation of the deceased holding a curled tip staff, which is not evidenced before the Eleventh Dynasty and known during the first part of the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>1581</sup> This feature, however, is known in the Memphite iconography during the Herakleopolitan Period, probably its later part rather than earlier.<sup>1582</sup> The other dating

indication is the abbreviated writing of epithet *im3h*  which is not known before this period. The stela should probably be assigned a date close to that of the family of *Sk-wsh*<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>1581</sup> Cf. Fischer, *MMJ* 13 (1978), 9-10, n. 31; Lutz, *Stele*, no. 74; see also, Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 241, n. 275.

<sup>1582</sup> For contemporary examples from the Memphite necropolis, cf. the stelae of the family of *Sk-wsh*<sup>t</sup> whose family chapel was built at the south east corner of the 'rue de tombeaux', just to the north of the cult temple of King Teti, see under *Sk-wsh*<sup>t</sup> family stelae (4.3).



### 7.2.5. Stela fragment of *ṭpt-ꜥnhw* (Plate XC)

Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VII (1); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563; Leiden Mus. F. 1939/2.6.

The remaining part of a stela which has lost its upper part. The rest of the stela is fractured into two fragments. The stela is 60 cm. in height, with traces of colour remaining. The fragments show part of the panel which was designed to fill the entire space between the outer jambs. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the scene on the panel is in raised relief. The remaining part of the panel shows part of the usual table scene. Each of the four jambs has a vertical column of inscription, which ends with a portrait of the stela-owner. The figures on the outer jambs are identical, depicting the deceased standing facing towards the central niche, wearing a shoulder length wig, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt on the right jamb, but a knee-length kilt on the left. He holds a long staff and baton. Each of the inner jambs displays a different portrait of the stela-owner. On the left jamb the deceased is seen with short hair, wearing a broad collar, and a knee-length kilt,<sup>1583</sup> and both hands are hanging open at his side. On the right jamb, the deceased appears in a similar image, but here he wears a pointed kilt, and raises both hands in a gesture of adoration.

#### Transliteration:

1. (B) ... [*pr̥t hrw*] *n imꜣḥ ṭpt-ꜥnhw* 2. (C) ... *imy-wt nb tꜣ dsr imꜣḥ ṭpt-ꜥnhw* 3. (F) *imꜣḥ ṭpt-ꜥnhw* 4. (G) *imꜣḥ ṭpt-ꜥnhw* 5. (E) *imꜣḥ hr inp*<sup>1584</sup> *ṭpt-ꜥnhw*

#### Translation:



1. ... [a voice offering] to honoured *ṭpt-ꜥnhw* 2. ... who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, the honoured *ṭpt-ꜥnhw*. 3. He who is honoured, *ṭpt-ꜥnhw*. 4. He who is honoured, *ṭpt-ꜥnhw* 5. (E) He who is honoured by Anubis, *ṭpt-ꜥnhw*.

#### Dating:

The panel of the false door fills the entire space between the outer jambs, a type only known as early as the reign of Merykare.<sup>1585</sup> A date in the Herakleopolitan Period is also

<sup>1583</sup> It has to be mentioned that the lines of the kilt are not clear, and the deceased probably appears naked, cf. *TPC II*, pls. 71 (1-2); Harpur, *Decoration*, 130-33.

<sup>1584</sup> It is less likely to be read *nṯr-ꜥꜣ nb pt*, since the space after *hr* is not large enough.

suggested by the adoration posture adopted by the deceased on the inner right jamb, a feature which is frequently associated with false doors from this period. The palaeographic features indicate a similar date, particularly the abbreviated writing of the epithet *lm3h*  , the writing of the epithet *lmy-wt*, and the writing of the *t3* sign with two pellets underneath. The stela can be assigned to a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare, in whose reign the cemeteries around the pyramid of Teti and around his own pyramid witnessed remarkable activity as a chosen burial place.

#### 7.2.6. A fragment of a double stela of *Tti-hr-mnht* (Plate XC)

Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VII (3); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563; Munich, Staatl. Sammlung, Gl 118.

The bottom right corner of a left door and left bottom corner of a right door. The two doors seems to be separated by a torus moulding between them. The remaining part of the right stela shows the bottom part of the left outer jamb, on which there is the lower part of a standing man facing right in the direction of the central niche. He seems to wear a long skirt. The left side stela shows part of the outer and inner right jambs. Each of these jambs has two columns of inscription, ending with a portrait of the deceased facing the central niche. On the inner jamb the deceased is seen with short hair, and wearing a knee-length kilt, raising both hands in a gesture of adoration. On the outer jamb he is seen in a corpulent portrait, with short hair and abbreviated shoulders, wearing a long skirt, and appearing in posture of adoration.

#### Transliteration:

1. (C) 1. ... .. *sd3wty-(bity) Tti-hr-mnht* 2. ... .. *(Tti-hr-mnh)t*. 3. (G) *shy-ntr Tti-hr-mnht* 4. *w<sup>c</sup>b 3 Tti-hr-mnht*

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<sup>1585</sup> See comment above under *Tti* (4.4.1); cf. also, Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare).



Translation:

1. ... .. Seal Bearer (of the King of Lower Egypt), (*Ttl-ḥr-mnh*)t. 2. ... .. (*Ttl-ḥr-mnh*t). 3. He who is in the god's shrine, *Tti-ḥr-mnh*t. 4. Great *w<sup>c</sup>b* priest,<sup>1586</sup> *Ttl-ḥr-mnh*t.

Comments:

The restoration of the title is suggested from the traces of the sign *sd3wt*. It is can also read *sd3wty ntr*.<sup>1587</sup>

*shy-ntr*<sup>1588</sup> 'one who belongs to the divine booth', is a priestly office probably known as early as the Archaic Period. It is also held by a lector priest in the Sun-Temple of Neuserre.<sup>1589</sup> During the Sixth Dynasty, the Herakleopolitan Period and the Middle Kingdom, the office occurs occasionally.<sup>1590</sup>

Dating:

The design of a double stela is not known before the Herakleopolitan Period. So far no examples known can be dated on the grounds of iconography or palaeography to a date earlier than this period.<sup>1591</sup> On the jambs of the left stela the deceased is pictured raising his hands in a gesture of adoration, a posture which is known from the later part of the Sixth Dynasty, but did not became frequent before the Herakleopolitan Period. The theophorus name of the stela's owner points to a later date. The fragmentary double stela is probably to be placed very close in time to that of the *Sk-wsht* family (4.3), possibly the second half of the Herakleopolitan Dynasty.

### 7.2.7. Fragmentary stela of *Ttl-h3-lst.f* (Plate XCI)

<sup>1586</sup> For this office see Fischer, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 25-29; cf. also *TPC* II, pl. 70; Ward, *Index*, nos. 646-662.

<sup>1587</sup> For the last title see, Fischer, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 26.

<sup>1588</sup> For this title see, Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 45-49 and references there.

<sup>1589</sup> Cf. Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum* II, pl. 23 (56b).

<sup>1590</sup> For further discussion of this office see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 45-49 and references there.

<sup>1591</sup> Cf. the double stelae of the family *Sk-wsht*, see above; cf. also, Louvre E14184 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45; see also the double stela now in the Archaeological Museum at Athens, cf. *The National Archaeological Museum of Athens. The World of Egypt*, no. 28.

Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VIII (1-2); PM III<sup>2</sup>, Munich, Staatl. Sammlung, Gl 112.

Three fragments from a small false door stela. The two joined together are from the middle part of the stela, and the third fragment evidently fits well with the right jambs. The panel is of unusual type, rarely found in this cemetery, in which the apertures are reduced from the top and bottom.<sup>1592</sup> Texts and figures are incised. The panel displays the usual table scene, while on the right outer jamb, the deceased is depicted standing, facing the central niche, with short hair, a pointed kilt, and holding the usual long staff and baton.

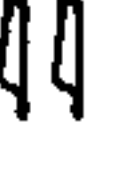
Transliteration:

1. (B) ... .. *hry-hb mty n s3 T[ti-h3-lst.f]* 2. (C) ... *lm3hw hr nswt mry hsy rmt hry-hb mty n s3 Tti-h3-lst.f* 3. (F) *i [nhw tpyw t3]*... .. 4. (G) *dd.tn t hnqt n hry-hb [mty n s3 Tti-h3-lst.f]* 5. (E) *lm3hw Tti-h3-lst.f* 6. (D) ... .. *h3 ... n hry-hb mty n s3 Tti-h3-lst.f*

Translation:

1. ... .. Lector Priest, Regulator of the Phyle, *T[ti-h3-lst.f]*. 2. ... he who is honoured by the King, beloved and praised by people, Lector Priest, Regulator of the Phyle, *Tti-h3-lst.f*. 3. O [who live upon the earth]... .. 4. may you say: bread and beer to the Lector Priest, [Regulator of the Phyle, *Tti-h3-lst.f*]. 5. He who is honoured, *Tti-h3-lst.f*. 6. ... .. a thousand of ... to the Lector Priest, Regulator of the Phyle, *Tti-h3-lst.f*.


Comments:

The two fragments, Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VIII (1-2) seems to fit well, on the grounds of the continuation of the text on the right jamb. Also the bottom parts of the stem of the two  and the ending of *hsy* which appear on fragment (1), are still visible on fragment (2). In addition, the text on the inner right jamb seems to be a continuation of the address to the living which probably appeared on the left inner jamb.<sup>1593</sup>

Dating:

The unusual style of the panel points to a later date, as also does the theophorus name. Other than that, there are few clues which would indicate or clarify the date, that one may

<sup>1592</sup> For similar type of panel see under (4.8.3 and 4.8.4).

<sup>1593</sup> It is suggested here that the left inner jamb had the usual address to the living text on the grounds of the occurrence of the , an opening which usually introduced this sort of text.



consider the location where the fragments were found as an indication to assign the stela fragment to the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1594</sup>

#### 7.2.8. Stela fragment of *Hnw* (Plate XCII)

Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. IX (4); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 561-2.

This fragment forms the left upper corner of small format false door. It shows parts of the lintel, left outer jamb and the panel. The panel is of the type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs. The lintel and jamb each have two lines or columns of incised inscription.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) ... .. *pr̥t hr̥w n hr̥y-ḥb smsw Hnw* 2. ... .. *qrs.tl.f nfr m s(m)t lmn̥tt Hnw* 3. (B) *hr̥y-ḥb smsw sš nt bs-Nw* ... .. 3. *hr̥y-ḥb smsw lmy-rnpt sš mḏ3t ntr hr̥y s[št3]* ... .. 4. (D) ... .. *lm3ḥ (H)nw* 5. ... .. *(lm3ḥ) Hnw*

#### Translation:

1. ... .. a voice offering for the Senior Lector Priest, *Hnw*. 2. ... .. may he be buried in the western cemetery *Hnw*. 3. Senior Lector Priest, Scribe of the Red Crown, he who has access to the *Nw* shrine ... .. 4. Senior Lector Priest who is in the year, Scribe of the Divine Documents, Privy to the Secrets ... .. 5. ... .. the honoured (*H*)*nw*. 6. ... .. (the honoured) *Hnw*.

#### Comments:

One of the offices held by *Hnw*<sup>1595</sup> is 'Scribe of the Red Crown, who has access to the *Nw* shrine'. The occurrence of the last title seems to be an archaism.<sup>1596</sup> On his coffin, *Hnw*

<sup>1594</sup> It was found to the east of the cult temple of Merykare, where a cemetery of priests and officials who were contemporaries of this King was found.

<sup>1595</sup> Probably the same *Hnw* as the owner of a burial chamber found by the same excavator, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, 15-16, plan on p. 20. The burial was found nearly intact apart from natural decay.

<sup>1596</sup> See Junker, *ASAE* 49 (1949), 211-12; see also Fischer, *Titles*, 35 (1389a) and 18 (780a).

also mentions that he was the 'Overseer of the Temple, God's Treasurer of the cult temple *w3d-lswt* of Merykare'.<sup>1597</sup>

### Dating:

Apart from the palaeographic features which point to a date later than the Old Kingdom, the titles point to a similar conclusion, in particular the office *hry-hb smsw imy-rnpt*.<sup>1598</sup> The identification of the stela's owner with *Hnw* the owner of Cairo JE 39052 is, however, the most telling clue of the date of this individual. On the coffin he is said to be the 'God's Treasurer of *W3d-lswt Mry-k3-r*', and therefore not earlier than the reign of Merykare. Also it is difficult to assume that he is much later, since it is not likely that the memory and cult of the Herakleopolitan kings would flourish after the Theban ascendancy.

### 7.2.9. Stela fragment of *Inbi* (Plate XCII)

Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VIII (6); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 562.

A fragment shows part of the outer and inner left jambs. Texts are incised, with each of the jambs having two columns of inscription.

### Transliteration:

1. (B) ... .. *m3<sup>c</sup> mry nb.f im3hw Inbi* 2. ... .. *...rdi.t.n.f t hnqt im3h Inbi* 3. (F) ... .. *wsir nb imnty im3h Inbi* 4. ... .. *im3hw hr inpw tpy-dw.f Inbi*

### Translation:



1. ... .. true..., beloved of his lord, the honoured *Inbi*. 2. ... .., may he be given bread and beer, the honoured *Inbi*. 3. ... .. Osiris, lord of the west, the honoured *Inbi*. 4. ... .. the honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain, *Inbi*.

### Dating:

<sup>1597</sup> Cairo, JE 39052; Lapp, *Typologie*, 53 (Sq. 77; cf. also, Fischer, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 27, n. 18. Note that Fischer also cites the coffin of *Ipi-m-s3.f* found in the same burial chamber of *Hnw*. They probably both had a career in the cult temple of both Teti and Merykare and were contemporary with the last king. For the coffin of *Ipi-m-s3.f* see, Cairo JE 39052; Lapp, *Typologie*, Sq 9a.

<sup>1598</sup> See Fischer, *ZAS* 90 (1963), 38; *TPC* II, pl. 39, 54; cf. also *BMAA* (Nov. 1939, pt 2), 26; see also comment on this priestly office above under the stela of *Iiti* (4.4.1).




The date is suggested by the abbreviated writing of the epithet *im3h* , as well as the addition of the filling stroke in the writing of *nb.f* , both of which are not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 7.2.10. Stela fragment of *Sbk-nht* (Plate XCIII)

Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. IX (2); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563; Munich, Staatl. Sammlung, Gl 116.

Part of a stela panel, with raised relief representing the deceased sitting on a low back chair on the left facing right, and wearing a shoulder-length wig, a ceremonial beard, a broad collar and knee-length kilt. He holds his left hand to his chest, while the right hand is extended open towards an offering table in front of him. The table is a rounded tray supported by a forked pedestal, carrying a foreleg of beef, and a *swt*-joint. Underneath the table to the right and resting directly on the floor is a large nested ewer and basin. Above the offering table is a short ideographic offering list: 'A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Sbk-nht*'.

#### Dating:

Two features appear here which assign the stela to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom. The first is the type of the panel which fill the entire space between the outer jambs, a type probably not known before the reign of Merykare. The other feature is the use of the abbreviated writing of the epithet *im3h* , which is characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 7.2.11. Stela fragment of *Mrt-Til-ii* (Plate XCIV)

Bibl: Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, 73, pl. X (1); Munich, Staatl., Sammlung, Gl 108; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563.

Quibell found both left and right side pieces which flanked the stela forming a shallow chapel which is a characteristic design of offering chapels of the Herakleopolitan Period, particularly in the cemeteries around the pyramid of Teti and that of Merykare.<sup>1599</sup>

(1) The stela:

Only the bottom half remains of a large format stela, found fractured into eight pieces. These measure, when joined, about 80 (now) x 88 cm. Texts are incised, while the table scene on the panel and the figures on the jambs are in raised relief. The remaining part of the panel shows the remains of the usual table scene. The cross bar above the central niche is decorated with a pair of *wꜥꜣt*-eyes. Each of the six jambs has a single column of inscription, at the end of which is a figure of the deceased, representing her standing and facing towards the central niche. The six figures show her wearing the same long wig, broad collar, bracelets, anklets, and long tight-fitting garment. On the outer jambs she holds a lotus blossom to her nose with one hand, while the other is hanging open along her side. On the middle jambs she appears with both hands hanging open along her side. The inner jambs depict her with one hand to her chest, as a token of respect, while the other hand is extended at her side.

Transliteration:

1. (B') ... .. *n imꜣht Mrt-Tti-ilit* 2. (C') ... .. *hrt-[ntr] n s(m)t imntt imꜣht Mrt-Tti-ilit* 3. (B) ... .. *(hpl.s) r imntt nfrt imꜣht Mrt* 4. (C) ... .. *ꜣbd hb smndt hb wꜣh-ꜥh hb n Mrt-Tti-ilit* 5. (F) *imꜣht hr ntr-ꜥꜣ nb pt Mrt* 6. (G) *imꜣht hr nb imnty Mrt*

Translation:

1. ... .. to the honoured *Mrt-Tti-ilit*. 2. ... .. the necropolis of the western cemetery, the honoured *Mrt-Tti-ilit* 3. ... .. (may she travel) to the beautiful west, the honoured *Mrt*. 4. ... .. monthly feast, half-month feasts and *wꜣh-ꜥh* feast<sup>1600</sup> to *Mrt-Tti-ilit*. 5. She who is

<sup>1599</sup> The side pieces are now in Or. Inst. 17361-2; Allen, *A Handbook of the Egyptian Collection* (Chicago, 1923), figs. on p. 30.

<sup>1600</sup> For this writing see, *Pyr.* 2118 (b); cf. also LD II, 86 (b); CCG 20528; *Wb* I, 254: 3-4; see also Junker, in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 109-117.



honoured by the great god, lord of heaven, *Mrt.* 6. She who is honoured by the lord of the west, *Mrt.*

### Side pieces (Plate XCIV)

#### (a) Left side piece:

Three fragments were found from this side piece. They comprise almost two complete registers and part of a third. The uppermost register, is probably displaying offering bearers of whom only the bottom parts of two are still visible. The second register shows, on the right, a female standing facing right and carrying two rolls of what is probably linen. Behind her are two men attempting to overthrow a bull, the first is holding the bull by its horns, and in front of him is written 'fall down to her kas'.<sup>1601</sup> Above the bull is written *ng hp....*<sup>1602</sup> Underneath this register is a single line of inscription running from left to right: 'She who is honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *w*t, *Mrt-Tti-ii*'. The bottom register depicts the deceased sitting on the left on a low back chair facing outwards. She wears a long wig with lappet falling on the chest and back shoulder, a broad collar, bracelets, anklets, and long tight-fitting dress. She holds a lotus bud in her left hand, and extends her open right hand towards an offering table before her. The table appears with the usual tall bread slices, above which are a foreleg of beef, different cuts of meat, and a lettuce. Underneath the table to the right and resting directly on the floor, is a tall *hs* jar, and on the left is a large ewer and basin. Next to the table is a rectangular stand, above which are two loaves of bread, surmounted by a tray full of different sorts of fruit. Before the deceased is a short ideographic offering list with the signs directed towards the deceased: 'A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl to the honoured *Mrt-Tti-ii*'.

#### (b) Right side piece:

Four fragments remain of this side piece, comprising three registers. The top register depicts four offering bearers facing left in the direction of the false door. The second register depicts, on the left, two more offering bearers, a female and male. Behind them are a grinding kohl bowl resting directly on the floor, above which are two kohl bags, and

<sup>1601</sup> Cf. Saad, *ASAE* 43 (1943), pl. XXXV.

<sup>1602</sup> Probably to be read as 'ng-bull, (like) *hpw* bull', cf. Blackman, *Meir* I, pl. XI.

these in turn are surmounted by a *wsht* collar. Next to the bowl is a rectangular stand, above which are ointment jars, on the top of which two bracelets are represented. Underneath this register is a single line of inscription running from right to left: 'She who is honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain, *Mrt-Ttl-lit*'. The last register displays a similar scene to that on the opposite register on the left side piece. However, two features were added here: the deceased is seen smelling a lotus blossom, and in front of the offering table stands a priest facing the deceased, wringing the neck of a goose.

#### Dating:

The design of the chapel with a false door flanked by two decorated side pieces is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period. The table composition on both stela panel, and the lower registers of the side pieces is also characteristic of this period. The representation of a pair of *wd3t*-eyes on the cross bar above the central niche, and the representation of the kohl grinding bowl are not evidenced before the reign of Merykare. Palaeographic features also point to a similar conclusion, particularly the abbreviated west ideogram, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht*, and the use of the filling stroke in the writing of *k3w.s*. The theophorus name of the chapel owner also points to later date. The chapel should be assigned to a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare.

### **7.3. Fragmentary false door from South Saqqara.**

#### 7.3.1. A fragmentary false door of Ny...-pth (Plate XCV)

Bibl: M. Moursi, *GM* 106 (1988), 65-66, Abb. 1, taf. I.

Three fragments of the top right part of a limestone stela. After joining they measure 72 x 33 cm. They were found by Fakhry during his clearance around the pyramid



of *Dd-k3-r'Issi* at South Saqqara. The fragments show that the door belongs to that type which has a supplementary inscribed frame, and the panel seems to be of the type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs. Texts are incised, while the table scene is in raised relief. Only the top right part of the panel remains, showing part of the slices of bread, the back part of an animal hoof and traces of what are probably vegetables which usually surmounted the bread slices in the depiction of offering tables during the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### Transliteration:

[supplementary frame] 1. *h̄tp di nswt inpw tpy-dw.f...* ... 2. *wsir nb Ddw n̄tr-ʿ3 nb 3bdw...* (*im3h̄w hr*) *pth-skr Ny-...-pth*. [false door] 3. (A) *h̄3 m t h̄nqt k3w 3pdw šs mn̄ht...* ... ....4. *hr pth-skr hr...* ... .... 5. (C) *im3h̄wt hr pth-skr* ... .... 6. *hm(t)-n̄tr H̄t-hr h̄syt n nb.s im3h̄t hr wsir...* ....


#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, ... ... 2. Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos... (she who is honoured by) Ptah-Sokar Ny-...-pth. 3. A thousand loaves of bread, jars of beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster and clothing ... ... (She who is honoured) 4. by Ptah-Sokar, and by ... ... 5. She who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, ... ... 6. Prophetess of Hathor, praised by her lord, she who is honoured by Osiris, ... ...

#### Dating:

This fragmentary stela shows features which are clearly associated with the Herakleopolitan Period. Characteristically, the full panel type is not evidenced before the

the reign of Merykare. The full writing of Anubis , the abbreviated epithet

*im3h̄t* , the writing of *Ddw* with the filling stroke, all are not expected before the Herakleopolitan Period. The occurrence of the epithet *n̄tr-ʿ3 nb 3bdw* as an Osirian epithet is not known before the reign of Merykare. Probably the stela should be assigned a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare, nor much later since there is no stylistic nor

inscriptional feature which would indicate a later date than the Herakleopolitan Period. This fragment is highly interesting, since it draws attention to an otherwise unexplored Herakleopolitan cemetery around the pyramid of *Dd-k3-r'Wssj* at South Saqqara.

4. 1. 3.

1. 2.



## 8. Offering Tables.

### 8.1. Offering tables from Firth's excavations in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (Plate XCVI).

A few selected tables will be discussed here, whose style and inscriptions clearly associate them with the Herakleopolitan Period. The notation for reference to the position of the inscriptions follows as far as possible the same system used on the stelae; A, B, C refer respectively to the area along the top, the area down the left hand side, and the area down the right hand side, L is the loaf of bread represented in relief, D is the opposite edge to A.

#### 8.1.1. The offering table of *Gmni-tss*<sup>1603</sup>

A limestone table with two basins connected to a larger one by a narrow channel. It measures 33 x 47 x 19 cm. Inscriptions are incised, except on L which is made in raised relief.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *h̄tp di nswt wslr pr̄it-h̄rw nt smr w̄ty Gmni-tss* 2. (B) *h̄3 r̄3 h̄3 tr̄p h̄3 t̄ h̄3 h̄3... ...* 3. (C) *h̄3 t̄ h̄3 h̄nqt h̄3 šs h̄3 mn̄ht n gmni-tss* 4. (D) *im̄3h̄ Gmni-[tss]* 5. (D) *im̄3h̄ Gmni-[tss]* 6. Edge of the gutter (left) *lmy-r pr im̄3h̄ ...* 7. (right) *im̄3h̄ Gmni* 8. (L) *im̄3h̄w Gmni-tss*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, a voice offering of the Sole Companion, *Gmni-tss*. 2. A thousand of *r̄3*-geese, a thousand of *tr̄p*-geese, a thousand loaves of bread, a thousand of ... ... 3. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to *Gmni-tss*. 4. He who is honoured, *Gmni-tss*. 5. He who is honoured, *Gmni-tss*. 6. Overseer of the House, *Gmni-tss*. 7. He who is honoured, *Gmni-tss*. 8. He who is honoured, *Gmni-tss*.

#### Comments:

<sup>1603</sup> TPC I, 224 (47); II, pl. 11 (6); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 547.

The name on A, L, C, bottom left and right is intentionally erased, in particular the group *Gmni*. It is not clear whether this erasure was to destroy the memory of the deceased or for the usurpation of the table by somebody else.

#### Dating:

In addition to the style and design of the table, which points to a date later than the Old Kingdom, the theophorus name of the deceased indicates a date not earlier than the very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1604</sup> Therefore, a date at the very end of the Old Kingdom, or early Herakleopolitan Period should be suggested.

#### 8.1.2. The offering table of *Gmni-<sup>c</sup>nhw*<sup>1605</sup>

A small limestone offering table measuring 45 x 47 x 10 cm. Only A is inscribed with two horizontal lines of incised inscription. A raised relief representation of the deceased before an offering table appears at the end of this inscription.



#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *h̄tp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. *pr̄it-h̄rw n im̄3h̄w hr nb.f Gmni-<sup>c</sup>nhw*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of Busiris, 2. a voice offering to he who is honoured by his lord, *Gmni-<sup>c</sup>nhw*.

#### Dating:

The writing of  is frequently associated with the Herakleopolitan Period, as is the abbreviation of the epithet *im̄3h̄w* . The theophorus name of the stela's owner also points to a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom.

### **8.2. Offering tables from Quibell's excavations in the Teti Pyramid Cemeteries.**

<sup>1604</sup> For similarly constructed names, and for the deification of the vizier Kagemni see above, *passim*.

<sup>1605</sup> *TPC I*, 224 (48); *PM III*<sup>2</sup>, 547.



### 8.2.1. The offering table of *Ṛnp-m-s3.f* (Plate XCVII)<sup>1606</sup>

A limestone offering table measuring 49 x 41.5 cm. It has pair of small basins which are linked to a larger one by a narrow channel. The inscriptions are incised, and laid out on the edges of the table. The inscriptions and relief on the loaf L are in raised relief. The offering formulae on A are symmetrically oriented, as is the text on D.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. *ḥnty-imntiw nb 3bdw prit-ḥrw n.f* 3. (D) *im3ḥ Ṛnp-m-s3.f* 4. (A) *ḥtp di inpw tpy-ḏw.f* 5. (C) *lmy-wt nb t3 ḏsr qrs.tl.f nfr* 6. (D) *im3ḥw Ṛnp-m-s3.f* 7. (L) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt* 8. *n im3ḥw Ṛnp-m-s3.f*



#### Translation:

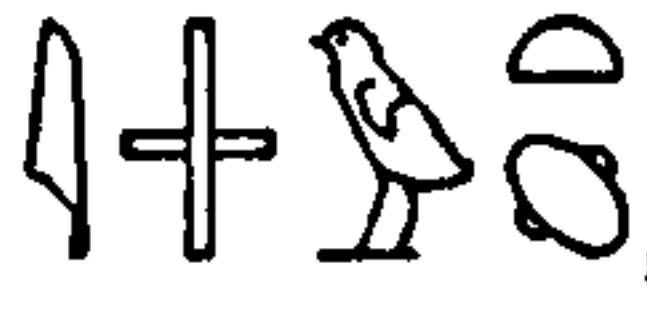

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris; 2. Khentiamentiu, lord of Abydos, a voice offering to him 3. the honoured *Ṛnp-m-s3.f*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, 5. who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, may he be buried beautifully, 6. the honoured *Ṛnp-m-s3.f*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing 8. to the honoured *Ṛnp-m-s3.f*.

#### Dating:

The style and design of the table is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period, or early Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>1607</sup> However, a date in the Herakleopolitan Period is supported by palaeographic

features, in particular the arrangement of  which frequently occurs in this period.

The phonetic writing of Anubis  , the addition of the prothetic  to the spelling of the

epithet *lmy-wt* , the writing of  with two pellets underneath and the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ḥ* all are indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period. This table

<sup>1606</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 4 (no. 74, 25, pl. XVIII (1); CCG 57017; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 565; Dia Abu-Ghazi and Moret, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* III (Cairo, 1978), 22; M. Mostafa, *Untersuchungen*, Taf. XXXVII.

<sup>1607</sup> Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 13-14, fig. 7.

shows a striking similarity to the table of *Ṭnp-m-ḥ3t wr*, who is probably to be dated to the Herakleopolitan Period or slightly later. A date in the Herakleopolitan Period should be suggested and not much later, since the offering formula, as well as the rest of the texts, show no features of the Middle Kingdom.

### 8.2.2. The offering table of *Ṭnp-m-ḥ3t wr* (XCVII)<sup>1608</sup>

A limestone offering table of a similar design to that of *Ṭnp-m-s3.f* with a similar layout of its inscriptions. The inscriptions are incised, apart from that on L, which displays a short ideographic offering list and a heap of offerings.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2.(B) *pr̥t ḥrw ḥt nbt nfr̥t ḥnḥt nṯr im n k3 n im3ḥ ḥr nṯr-ḥ3t*  
*nb pt nb im3ḥ Ṭnp-m-ḥ3t wr* 3. (A) *ḥtp di nswt inp tpy-dw.f nb t3 dsr* 4. (C) *di r.f qbḥ snṯr*  
*mr̥t rnpwt nbt n k3 n im3ḥw ḥr nṯr.f im3ḥ Ṭnp-m-ḥ3t wr* 5. (D) *im3ḥ ḥr pṯḥ-skr nb Štyt* 6.  
 (D) *im3ḥ ḥr s(m)t imnty Ṭnp-m-ḥ3t*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris lord of Busiris 2. a voice offering of every good thing upon which the god lives to the *k3* of the one honoured by the great god, lord of heaven, possessor of reverence, *Ṭnp-m-ḥ3t* the elder. 3. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, lord of the sacred land, 4. giving him libation of water, incense, oil and all green vegetables to the *k3* of he who is honoured by his god,<sup>1609</sup> the honoured *Ṭnp-m-ḥ3t* the elder. 5. He who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, lord of *Štyt*. 6. He who is honoured by the *s(m)t-imnty*, *Ṭnp-m-ḥ3t*.

#### Comments:

<sup>1608</sup> CCG 57018 (JE 38428); Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 25, pl. XVIII (2); *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* III, 23; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 565.

<sup>1609</sup> For explanation and references see, Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, § 368.



*Štyt* is a shrine of the god Sokar, probably located somewhere between Giza and Saqqara.<sup>1610</sup> This seems to be the earliest attestation of Soker with the epithet 'lord of *Štyt*'.<sup>1611</sup> It then became frequent particularly during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1612</sup>

On D, the deceased is described as 'honoured by *s(m)t imnty*'. The personification of the western cemetery is known from the Old Kingdom onwards.<sup>1613</sup>

#### Dating:

The design and the overall style of the table of two small basins connected to a larger by two narrow channels points to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period or slightly later.<sup>1614</sup>

However, the telling indications are more in the textual and palaeographic features. The phrase *ht nbt nfrt nht ntr im* in the offering formula was rightly noted by Bennett,<sup>1615</sup> as a characteristic feature of offering formulae of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1616</sup> This phrase is probably first known in the Eleventh Dynasty and the later part of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1617</sup>

The commodities requested in the phrase *di.w r.f qbḥ sntr mrht* are typical of the Middle Kingdom, but the usage of the old perfective form for the verb *di.w*<sup>1618</sup> is perhaps a prototype for the usual Middle Kingdom *di.f/s/sn*. As suggested by Spanel, this was

<sup>1610</sup> Cf. Edwards, 'the Shetayct of the Resetau', in Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker* (Hanover/London, 1986), 27-36; See recently, G. Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire I*, 36-38.

<sup>1611</sup> However the association of Sokar with the *Štyt* is probably evidenced as early as the Sixth Dynasty, cf. *skr m Štyt* 'Sokar who is in the *Štyt*', cf. *Urk I*, 85 (1).

<sup>1612</sup> Cf. e.g. CCG 20031, 20528, 20559 (g), 20733 (a); see also, M.S. Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 129, 133, 142-144.

<sup>1613</sup> Cf. Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, §§ 96, 103; cf. also, Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, nos. 1, 2, 5, 6; cf. also Mariette, *Mastabas*, F. 2; CCG 1565, from the Sixth Dynasty.

<sup>1614</sup> Cf. Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 13-14.


<sup>1615</sup> Bennett, *JEA* 27 (1941), 80-81.

<sup>1616</sup> See also, Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, § 189 (5). It is worth mentioning here that a similar phrase is known from much earlier date, *ht nbt nht ntr im*, cf. *Pyr.* 2006 c; as well as *ht nbt nfrt*, cf. Lapp, op. cit., § 228.

<sup>1617</sup> Cf. Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 10-11, figs. 3-4; cf. also with the addition of *wbt*, *TPPI* §§ 13, 14, 15, 17, 22, 23, 24, 27 æ, å, ø, ää. It is also known from an Eleventh Dynasty coffin from Meir, cf. *ASAE* 12 (1912), 119f; Cf. Lapp, *Typologie*, M 46, §§ 228-238.

<sup>1618</sup> A similar use is known as early as the Fifth Dynasty, cf. CCG 1414 a; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 186; Hasan, *Excavation at Saqqara III*, 60 also Lapp, *Die Opferformel*, § 162; Clère, in *Mélanges Maspero*, 791ff; Curto, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 64. Both suggest a passive form for *di.w*. Note that the occurrence of the phrase *di.s prlt-ḥrw* on the false door of Princess Nebt of the Eighth Dynasty is apparently an unbracketed restoration, according to Fischer there is no trace left where this restoration is made by Habachi, cf. *SAK* 10 (1983), 211, fig. 3; cf. also Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, 105.

probably a transitional stage for the usual Middle Kingdom phrase.<sup>1619</sup> If this is correct the table in question is probably one of the early occurrences of this phrase.

The writing of *pr̥t-hrw*, the writing of *t3* sign with two pellets underneath, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* with the addition of the filling stroke , and the use of *wr* as the epithet of seniority are all indicative of a date in the later part of the Herakleopolitan Period, and early Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>1620</sup>

### 8.2.3. The offering table of *Ṭpi* (XCVIII)<sup>1621</sup>

A limestone offering table measuring 74 x 54.5 cm. Its design is typical of this period. The inscriptions are incised and laid out in a symmetrical way on A and D. The offering formulae on A are separated by a decorative *Dd* pillar, probably comparable to the *ʿnh* sign used as a decorative element on Middle Kingdom offering tables.<sup>1622</sup>

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. (B) *pr̥t-hrw nt ḥq3 ḥwt sdwty bity smr wʿty im3h Ṭpi* 3. (A) *ḥtp di nswt inp tpy-dw.f* 4. (C) *imy wt nb t3 dsr qrst nfrt nt ḥrp ʿprw nfrw Ṭpi* 5. (D) *im3h hry-tp nswt Ṭpi* 6. (D) *im3h rḥt nswt Ṭpi* 7. [left of the channel] *im3hw ḥr ntr-ʿ3 Ṭpi* 8. [right of the channel] *im3hw ḥr inp Ṭpi*. on L 9. *ḥ3 [t] ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw [ḥ3 šs] ḥ3 [mnḥt]...*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, 2. a voice offering of the Manager of the Estate, Seal Bearer of King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, the honoured, *Ṭ[p]i*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, 4. who is in the *wt*, a beautiful burial of the Director of Gangs of Recruits *Ṭpi*.

<sup>1619</sup> Cf. Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, chapter 3, nn. 7, 60.

<sup>1620</sup> Despite claims by Bennett that the occurrence of *n k3 n* is indicative of a Middle Kingdom date, the prepositional phrase is known as early as the Sixth Dynasty. Cf. *TPC* I, 144-146; see also, Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (New York, 1976), 39, n. 41; Spanel, *Beni Hasan*, 96-7.

<sup>1621</sup> CCG 57015 (JE 38429); Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, 18, pl. V; *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* III, 21. The table was found a few yards away from the stela of *Ṭpi/in* (4.1.28)

<sup>1622</sup> Cf. CCG 23003.



5. He who is honoured, Chamberlain of the King, *ṭpl*. 6. He who is honoured, Royal Acquaintance, *ṭpl*. 7. He who is honoured by the great god, *ṭpl*. 8. He who is honoured by Anubis, *ṭpl*. 9. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing ...

### Comment:

*ṭpl* is probably to be identified with *ṭpil/in* the owner of a large limestone stela found by Quibell a few yards away from the offering table, since both held similar titles.<sup>1623</sup> This table was probably part of the chapel of this official who was contemporary with the reign of Merykare.<sup>1624</sup>

### Dating:

The style and overall design of the table point to a date not before the Herakleopolitan Period or perhaps slightly later. One can also cite textual and palaeographic features: the arrangement of *wsir nb*, the writing of *pr̥t-hrw* with the heads of ox and bird as well as the additional elongated loaf, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*, the phonetic writing of Anubis are all expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. However, the occurrence of the phrase *qrst nfrt* assigns the table to a date not before the reign of Merykare.

Fig. 1. Offering table.

Fig. 2. Offering table.

Fig. 3. Offering table.

Fig. 4. Offering table.

Fig. 5. Offering table.

Fig. 6. Offering table.

## 8.3. Offering tables from South Saqqara.

Fig. 7. Offering table.

<sup>1623</sup> Both have the titles *hq3 hwt smr w'ty* and *sdwty bity*, cf. for *ṭpil/in* (4.1.28). It is worth mentioning that *ṭpil/in* was *imy-r hrpw*, while *ṭpl* of the offering table held the title *hrp prw nfrw*; both are probably associated with the department of works. For *imy-r hrpw* cf. also *Ffi* the owner of a false door in Leiden, Leiden F. 1970/5.1; cf. Schneider, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* 52 (1971), 10-11, fig. 1, pl. III (1); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 741. See also the office *hrp hrpw n hwt-ʿ3t* (cf. Abu Bakr, *Giza*, 35), *imy-r hrpw n nfrw* (LD II, 97a), and *imy-r hrpw sšw* (Mariette, *Mastabas*, 229)

<sup>1624</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII.

### 8.3.1. Ointment slab of *Hnwt* (Plate XCIX)<sup>1625</sup>

An alabaster slab with incised text and relief.<sup>1626</sup> There is one line of inscription, which runs from right to left, and underneath which are seven compartments. Each has the name of an oil, and the last also contains a representation of the deceased sitting on a low back chair, facing right, and holding an ointment jar to her nose.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *dī.t mrḥt n im3ḥwt ḥkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt Ḥnwt* 2. (B) *st-ḥb* 3. *ḥknw* 4. *sft* 5. *nḥnm* 6. *tw3t* 7. *ḥ3tt ʿš* 8. *ḥ3tt tḥnw* 9. *w3d msdmt ʿrfwy (m) ḥtp dī nswt i[n] Ḥnwt*

#### Translation:


1. May oils be given to the honoured one, Sole Ornament of the King, *Hnwt*. 2. *st*-festival oil, 3. *ḥknw* oil, 4. *sft* oil, 5. *nḥnm* oil, 6. *tw3t* oil, 7. the best *ʿš* oil, 8. the best *tḥnw* oil, 9. and two bags of green and black eye-paint as an offering which the King gives, so says *Hnwt*.

#### Comments:

¶ after the verb *dī* in the offering formula is probably to be restored as *in* and translated as 'so says'.<sup>1627</sup>

#### Dating:

The dating of the slab is only indicated by the writing of the epithet *im3ḥ* with addition of

the filing stroke . Such writing with a filling stroke is not known before the

Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1628</sup> The use of the plural stroke <sup>|</sup> <sup>|</sup> <sup>|</sup> in the writing of *mrḥt* also points to a later date.<sup>1629</sup> The offering slab should therefore be assigned a date later than the end of the Old Kingdom.

<sup>1625</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 91, fig. 102; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 677; Cairo, JE 50674; Malek, *GM* 33 (1979), 28 (8).

<sup>1626</sup> For ointment slabs and sacred oils, see S. Tewfik, 'Die Alabasterpalletten für die Sieben Salböle im Alten Reiches', *GM* 30 (1978), 77-84; See also Malek, *GM* 33 (1979) 35-40.

<sup>1627</sup> See, Fischer, 'Occurrence of ¶ — agential and dative', *GM* 107 (1989), 69-75, fig. 2.

<sup>1628</sup> See comment on this writing above *passim*.

<sup>1629</sup> Cf. Fischer, *ZAS* 105 (1978), 49, n. 31; cf. also e.g. *Urk* I, 141:11, 202:4, 220:2, 266:12, 267:5, 7, 8-10, 281:3, 286:7, 289:8, 296:9, 298:14, 299:8, 304:18, 305:1, 3. Mostly date from mid Sixth Dynasty onwards.



### 8.3.2. The offering table of *Ṭpi* (Plate XCIX)<sup>1630</sup>

A small limestone offering table of the usual Herakleopolitan Period type, with two basins on either side the *ḥtp* sign. These are connected to a gutter by a narrow channel. Inscriptions are incised and laid out around the edges of the table.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *pr̥t-ḥrw nt ḥ3ty-3 sdwty-bity smr wʿty Ṭpi* 2. (B) *pr̥t-ḥrw nt ḥ3ty-3 sdwty-bity Ṭpi*  
3. (C) *pr̥t-ḥrw nt ḥ3ty-3 sdwty-bity Ṭpi* 4 (D) *sdwty-bity smr wʿty Sty* 5. (D) *ḥkrt nswt wʿtt ḥm(t)-ntr Ḥt-ḥr Df3t.s.*

#### Translation:

1. (A) voice offering of the Count, Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, *Ṭpi*. 2. A voice offering of the Count, Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, *Ṭpi*. 3. A voice offering of the Count, Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, *Ṭpi*. 4. Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, *Sty* 5. Sole Ornament of the King, Prophetess of Hathor, *Df3t.s.*


#### Dating:

The only dating criterion one can use is the table style, a design which is frequently seen during the Herakleopolitan Period. However, if the identification of the owner of this offering table with *Rʿ-ḥr-k3.l* is correct,<sup>1631</sup> that may provide support to place the table at the very end of the Old Kingdom or slightly later.

### 8.4. Offering tables from Kom el Fakhry.

<sup>1630</sup> Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, 86, fig. 97; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 676.

<sup>1631</sup> It was suggested by the excavator that the table may belong to *Rʿ-ḥr-k3.l* whose nickname was *Ṭpi*, cf. Jéquier, op. cit., 86, n. 3, fig. 138. Notably the stela of *Rʿ-ḥr-k3.l* displays the supplementary inscribed frame in its design, a feature which is frequently evidenced at the very end of the Old Kingdom.

Offering tables from Kom el-Fakhry at Memphis were found laid against the east face of the tombs superstructures of the Herakleopolitan Period cemetery found by El Hetta in the 1950s.<sup>1632</sup> These groups of unpublished tables are mostly of a common type which show the  in relief, upside down, with two rectangular depressions on either side.

#### 8.4.1. The offering table of *Ipi* (Plate C)

A limestone table measuring approximately 68 x 42 cm, decorated in sunk relief. On L is written 'offerings and provisions', and on the left and right of L is written *qbh t3* 'pouring natron water'.

##### Transliteration:


1. (B) (*htp di nswt*) *inpw tpy dw.f lmy wt nb t3 dsr* 2. (D) *pryt-hrw nt im3h hr skr Ipi* 3. (C) *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw ntr-3 nb 3bdw pryt-hrw* 4. (D) *nt im3h (hr) pth Ipi*

##### Translation:

1. [An offering which the King gives] and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, 2. a voice offering of the honoured by Sokar, *Ipi*. 3. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, a voice offering 4. of the one honoured by Ptah, *Ipi*.

##### Comments:

Noticeable here is the symmetrical arrangement of the text on D, which required the reversal of the last phrase to face the name of the deceased.<sup>1633</sup>

The name of the deceased is followed by a seated god determinative  which is unusual, but known to be used occasionally.<sup>1634</sup> It may be an indication of the reference of the word *Ipi* to a deity, who was probably a local deity in the Memphite area or a saint whose cult flourished during this period.<sup>1635</sup>

##### Dating:

<sup>1632</sup> See above under the cemetery of Kom el Fakhry (1.4).

<sup>1633</sup> See for further discussion of the reversal orientation of texts, Fischer, *Orientation*, § 7.

<sup>1634</sup> *PN I*, 22 (5); Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 41; Petrie, *Denderah*, pls. 7 A, 11, 12.

<sup>1635</sup> For comment on this sort of name see above, *passim*.



The date is suggested by the type of the table and its inscriptions, and in particular, the abbreviated writing of the epithet *im3h*, and the writing of the epithet *imy-wt* with both determinatives of the pustule and town. The first feature is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period, while the second is frequent during the period. The writing  $\overline{\text{t}}$  for the usual  $\text{t}$  is also indicative of a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The most telling indication of the stela's date is probably the occurrence of the epithet *ntr-3 nb 3bdw* as an epithet for Osiris. This is first known from the reign of Merykare, in Memphis, and probably appears at the same time or slightly later at Thebes.<sup>1636</sup> No features indicate a date later than the Herakleopolitan Period, probably to be dated close in time to the reign of Merykare, or slightly later.

#### 8.4.2. The offering table of Špst (CI)

A limestone stela measuring about 54 x 36 cm. It is similarly designed to that of *tpl*, but (A) here seems to be decorated with representation of loaves. On L is also written *df3w htpw* 'offering and provisions', and on either side of the loaf is *qbh t3 2* 'pouring natron water twice'.




##### Transliteration:

1. (B) *htp di nswt lnpw tpy dwf imy-wt... ...* 2. (D) *nt im3ht hr pth-skr Špst* 3. (C) *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw ntr-3 nb 3bdw prlt-hrw* 4. (D) *nt im3ht Špst*.

##### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*,...[a voice offering] 2. of she who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, Špst. 3. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, a voice offering 4. of the honoured Špst.

##### Dating:

The table design and the lay out of the text is typical of the Herakleopolitan Period. In addition, writings such as , ,  $\overline{\text{t}}$ , the sloping sides of the  and the occurrence

<sup>1636</sup> See Fischer, *GM* 128 (1992), 72-3, n. 2; see also above, *passim*.





before this period. Given these features, one should assign the table to the Herakleopolitan Period, but not much later.

#### 8.4.4. The offering table of *Ny-k3w-ptḥ/Impy* (CIII)

A limestone offering table similarly designed to that of *Ḥpt* (no. 1), with text laid out on the edges of the table. It has two depressions on either side of the loaf of the *ḥtp* sign.


##### Transliteration:

1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt inpw tpy dw.f prit-ḥrw n.f m wpt rnpt w3g ḥb Dḥwty ḥb* 2. (B) *n im3ḥw ḥr ptḥ-skr Impy Ny-k3w-ptḥ* 3. (C) *prit ḥrw n im3ḥ imy-r mšc Impy Ny-k3w-ptḥ*

##### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, a voice offering to him at the opening of the year feast, *w3g* feast, and *Dḥwty* feast 2. of the one honoured by Ptah-Sokar, *Impy/Ny-k3w-ptḥ*. 3. a voice offering to the honoured one, Overseer of the Expedition, *Impy/Ny-k3w-ptḥ*.

##### Comment:

The  sign appears without its head on A, but it is written complete on L. This perhaps derives from the sign-modifications that were designed to eliminate animals, dangerous creatures and human figures in the inscriptions adjacent to the burial chambers.<sup>1639</sup> This phenomenon however, did not appear on the inscriptions of the superstructure before the very end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1640</sup>

##### Dating:

The style and design points to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period. This is supported by palaeographic features, particularly the full writing of Anubis, and the writing of *prit-ḥrw*. The table is probably to be dated to the Herakleopolitan Period

#### 8.4.5. Offering table of *Mry-ptḥ* (Plate CIV)

<sup>1639</sup> TPC I, 172-174; Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, figs. 38, 41, 42, 46, 47, 51, 55, 57, 62, 85, 87.

<sup>1640</sup> Cf. also, Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 2, 4, 9, 15, 23, 40, 64, 63. All are to be dated to the Herakleopolitan Period or slightly later.

1. 1. 1. 1.

A limestone offering table measuring 34 x 24 cm. designed in a fashion typical of the Herakleopolitan Period. On either side of the loaf of the *htp*-sign are incised representations of the tree  $\nabla$ . The text on D is laid out in a symmetrical way.

Transliteration:


1. (B) *pr̥t-ḥrw nt im3ḥw ḥr* 2. (D) *inpw ḥr wsir Mry-ptḥ* 3. (C) *pr̥t ḥrw nt im3ḥw ḥr ptḥ-sk̥r* 4. (D) *ḥr nṯr-ʿ3 Mry-ptḥ*

Translation:

1. A voice offering of the one who is honoured by 2. Anubis, and by Osiris, *Mry-ptḥ*. 3. A voice offering of the one who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, 4. and by the great god, *Mry-ptḥ*.

Dating:

The table is of a classic Old Kingdom type, but the inscriptions and palaeography assign the table to a date at the end of the Old Kingdom, as does the phonetic writing of Anubis.

Also the writing of the epithet *im3ḥ*  with filling stroke is characteristic of a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. Therefore, a date in the Herakleopolitan Period is suggested.

1. 1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1. 1.

1. 1. 1. 1.

8.4.6-7. The offering tables of *Ny-k3w-ptḥ wr* and *Nst-ptḥ wr* or *Df3[t]-ptḥ* (Plate CV)

1. 1. 1. 1.

Both tables are made of limestone, and each measures 88 x 59 cm. Both were found in situ. Each has the design of a *htp*-sign with two loaves. Between the loaves is ewer and basin pictured from the top in relief. The offering formula on A on the right table is reversed to face that on A on the left table and provides a symmetrical arrangement of the incised inscriptions.

(a) the left table.

Transliteration:

1. 1. 1. 1.



1. (A) *htp di nswt prit-hrw nt lmy-r mš<sup>c</sup> im3hw Ny-k3w-ptḥ wr*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives, a voice offering of the Overseer of the Expedition, the honoured *Ny-k3w-ptḥ* the elder.

(b) the right table.



Transliteration:

1. (A) *htp di nswt prit-hrw nt hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt hmt Ht-hr im3ht Nst-ptḥ (or Df3t-ptḥ)*



Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives, a voice offering of the Sole Ornament of the King, Prophetess of Hathor, the honoured, *Nst-ptḥ* (or *Df3t-ptḥ*).

Comment:

*Ny-k3w-ptḥ wr* is probably the eldest son of an official who bears the same name and was also an Overseer of the Expedition (no. 4). He may also be related to another official who has a similar name (no. 7). It is not clear if the initial sign should be read as  or the  in the female name.<sup>1641</sup>

Dating:

This is probably indicated by palaeographic features, such as the writing of *prit-hrw* with the heads of an ox and bird as well as the additional elongated loaf, and the abbreviation of the epithet *im3hw* and *im3ht*. Both frequently occur during the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of   is indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1642</sup> The addition of the epithet *wr* to the name as an indication of seniority is also not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### 8.4.8-9. The offering tables of *Ny-k3w-ptḥ* and *S3t-tt* (Plate CVI)

<sup>1641</sup> Both names are not mentioned by Ranke, *Personnamen*. It is likely to read *Df3t-ptḥ*, cf. similar names, *PN I*, 142:10 = *LD II*, 101-104. Cf. also *PN I*, 406:22; 432:5; *II*, 333:29.

<sup>1642</sup> See comment on this writing under (4.1.31).

Two limestone offering tables, each measuring approximately 86 x 60 cm. Each has the shape of a *htp* sign with two loaves. Between the loaves is written *qbh t3*, while on the loaves is written the usual *htpw df3w*, underneath which is a representation of different sorts of offering. Only A is inscribed, and the offering formulae are arranged in a similar way to those of nos. (8.4.6 and 8.4.7).

(a) the left table.

Transliteration:

1. (A) *htp di nswt prit-hrw (n) nty m srt im3hy ny-k3w-ptḥ*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives, a voice offering to the one who is in the magistracy *Ny-k3w-ptḥ*.

(b) the right table.

Transliteration:

1. (A) *htp di nswt prit-hrw nt hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt im3ht S3t-tt*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives, a voice offering of the Sole Ornament of the King, the honoured *S3t-tt*.

Comment:

The title *nty m srt* <sup>1643</sup> 'one who is in the magistracy', <sup>1644</sup> might be taken to represent a member of a fixed body of officials. The title is discussed by van den Boorn who does not believe the designation to be a genuine title. <sup>1645</sup>

Dating:

The title *nty m srt* is first evidenced during the reign of Merykare or slightly later. The earliest occurrence is probably on the false door of *Ipi/in* who was a contemporary of that king. <sup>1646</sup> It also appears in the titulary of another contemporary official called *Pth-m-s3.f*,

<sup>1643</sup> On the meaning of *srt* as a 'body of officials' see *Wb* IV, 189:11; see also, van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 24, nn. 76-81.

<sup>1644</sup> Cf. Ward, *Index*, 100 (839). Add, Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentioning Merykare); Peterson, *Orientalia Suecana* 19-20 (1970-1), 3 (iii); see also Helck, *Verwaltung*, 71-2

<sup>1645</sup> Cf. *Duties of the Vizier*, 209-212, 337-338. See comments under (4.1.28).

<sup>1646</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare).



whose false door perhaps comes from the Teti pyramid cemeteries, and is now in a private collection.<sup>1647</sup> In addition, the writing of *pṛt-hrw* is indicative of a date in the Herakleopolitan Dynasty, as is the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht*. The addition of 𓂏𓂏 to the spelling of the epithet *im3hy* is significant of a later date in the Herakleopolitan Period, or early Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>1648</sup> Given these features one should date the stela to the reign of Merykare or early Eleventh Dynasty.

<sup>1647</sup> Wilborg Collection, cf. Peterson, *Orientalia Suecana* 19-20 (1970-1), 3 (iii); see also Sotheby Sale Cat. June 12 1882, p. 6 (84); June 26, 1952, p. 10 (91); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 748.

<sup>1648</sup> See, Schenkel, *FMAS*, § 16 (b); *TPPI* § § 23:2, 24:2, 27 ũ; see also Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 20; cf. Dunham, *Stelae*, no. 23; Brovarski, *Naga ed Deir*, 254-260 (7). For perhaps slightly earlier date for this spelling, see Fischer, in *Studies Simpson* I, 267-274.

8.4.10. The offering table of *Wsr(t)* (Plate CVII)

A limestone offering table measuring about 70 x 35 cm. It has the *htp* sign, with two depressions on either side of the loaf. The inscriptions are incised, and only appear on A and L. On L is the usual *df3w htpw* 'offering and provisions', while on A is a single line of inscription running from left to right.

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Transliteration:

1. (A) *htp di nswt prlt-hrw nt im3hwt hkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt hmt-ntr Ht-hr Wsr(t)*

Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives, a voice offering of the honoured, Sole Ornament of the King, Prophetess of Hathor, *Wsr(t)*.

Dating:

The only dating indication is the arrangement of *prlt-hrw* with the heads of an ox and bird as well as the additional bread loaf, a writing which is frequently associated with the Herakleopolitan Period.

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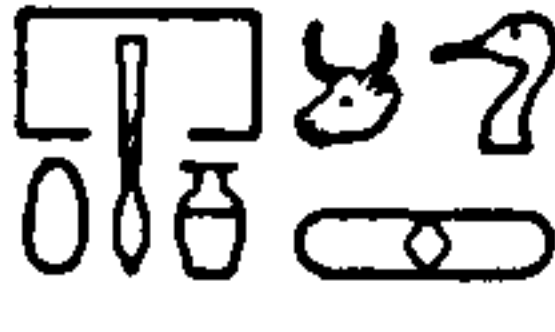




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## 9. Museum stelae.

### 9.1. Moscow Collection.

In the Pushkin Museum of Fine Art, Moscow are two stelae described as Sixth Dynasty Stelae, nos. 19, 22.<sup>1649</sup> However, in the light of established dating criteria one might suggest a rather later date, probably not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The stela no. 19 (Plate CVIII), belongs to an official called *Ppy-m-hwt-Pth* who was 'Overseer of the Vineyard'.<sup>1650</sup> It may have been dated by Berlev and Hodjash to Dynasty Six, on the grounds of the occurrence of the name of one of the kings Pepy. However, the full panel type of this stela is not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period, in particular before the reign of Merykare, as is the decoration of *wd3t* eyes on the cross bar above the central niche. In addition, the occurrence of *qrst-nfrrt* is not known before the reign of Merykare. Orthographic criteria also point to this date: the writing of *prtt hrw* with the ox and bird









heads and the additional loaf , the full writing of Anubis , the abbreviation of the epithet *lm3hw* , the use of the filing stroke in the writing of *Ddw* , and the separation between , all assign this stela to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period, and not much later, since no Middle Kingdom features are shown.

The second stela (Plate CIX) belongs to a lady called *Nt-Ppy*, a 'Prophetess of Hathor'. It is dated to the Seventh-Eighth Dynasty,<sup>1651</sup> but again careful examinations of the stela typology indicates a later date. The full panel which has no recess on either side, and which fills the entire space between the outer jambs, and the occurrence of the *wd3t* eyes on the cross bar. Also significant are features such as the full writing of

<sup>1649</sup> S. Hodjash and O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Art, Moscow* (Leningrad, 1982), 53-6 (no. 19), 58-60 (no. 22).

<sup>1650</sup> For this title see, M. Abd el-Raziq, 'Die Altägyptischen Weingärten (*k3nw/k3mw*) bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches', *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 227-247; cf. also for the garden in general, J.-C. Hugonot, *Le jardin dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1989), 19, 245-6.

<sup>1651</sup> Hodjash and Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae*, 58-60 (no. 22).

Anubis   , the writing of the epithet *imy-wt* with the additional , the writing of *pryt-hrw* with the ox, and bird determinative, with the additional elongated loaf of bread   , the writing of  with sloping sides, and the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht*.

All are palaeographic features which are not evidenced before the Herakleopolitan Period

## 9.2. Vatican Museum

### 9.2.1. False door of *Ipi-hr-ssnb.f/Ipi* (Plate CX)

Bibl: Vatican Mus. Gregoriano Egizio Inv. 242; Marucchi, in *Bessarione* Ist Ser. IX (1901), 6-10, fig. 3; idem, *Catalogo del Museo Egizio Vaticano* (1902), 354-60 (nr. 2), with fig; idem in, *Atti della pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, Ser. II/8 (1903), 9-13, fig. 3; idem, *Guide du Museo Vaticano di Scultura* (1924), 283-4 (221), with fig. on p. 285; idem, *Guide di Musée Égyptien du Vatican* (1927), 34-6 (221), fig. 7; Botti and Romanelli, *Le Sculture del Museo Gregoriano*, 175, tav. LVIII; G. Rosoli, F. Buranelli, *Vatican Museums, Egyptians and Etruscans* (Firenze, 1983), 12 (nr. 2); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 747.

This small limestone stela was brought to the Vatican together with other monuments as a gift from the Egyptian Khedive, most probably Abbas Helmy. Although the stela is known to come from the Memphite necropolis, its exact location is far from clear. However, the style and name of the stela's owner perhaps suggest the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, where similar stela style and theophorus names mentioning the saint or the local divinity *Ipi* frequently occur.

The stela measures 79 x 55 cm. The edges are worn away, displaying the usual cavetto cornice, and torus moulding. The panel is of the type that fills the entire space between the outer jambs. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the panel scene is in raised relief. Texts are arranged in a conventional way, and each jamb displays a standing portrait of the deceased facing the central niche. On the outer left jamb, the deceased is represented wearing a shoulder-length wig which leaves his ear exposed, a



broad collar, and a knee length kilt. He extends his right hand at his side, and holds his left hand to his chest in a token of respect. On the opposite jamb the deceased is shown with short hair, wearing a broad collar, and a pointed kilt, and he raises both hands in a gesture of adoration.

On the left inner jamb he wears similar attire to the figure on the left outer jamb, but here both of his hands are extended at his side: the left hand is open, while the right hand grasps a folded cloth. The opposite jamb shows him in mature portrait, wearing a shoulder length wig, a broad collar and a long skirt and extending both hands open at his side, probably in a gesture of veneration. The panel shows the usual table scene, in which the offering table is surmounted by of bread slices, a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck. Above the deceased and the offering table is the usual short offering list.

#### Transliteration:




1. (H) (*st-hb*) *hknw*...[*nhn*]*m tw3(t)*... ... 2. (A) *htp di nswt inp tpy-dw.f hnti sh-ntr qrst.f*  
3. (B) *nfr m hrt-ntr im3hw 1pl* 4. (C) *i'r.f n ntr-3 nb imnty im3h 1pl* 5. (F) *im3h 1pl* 6. (G)  
*im3h 1pl* 7. (E) *im3h 1pl-hr-ssnb.f* 8. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3h*  
*1pl-hr-ssnb.f*


#### Translation:

1. (*st* festival oil), *hknw* oil,..., (*nhn*)*m* oil, *tw3t* oil... ... 2. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, the foremost of the divine booth, may he be buried 3. beautifully in the necropolis, the honoured *1pl*. 4. May he ascend to the great god, lord of the west, the honoured *1pl*. 5. He who is honoured, *1pl*. 6. He who is honoured, *1pl*. 7. He who is honoured, *1pl-hr-ssnb.f*. 8. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *1pl-hr-ssnb.f*.

#### Dating:

The overall design and style of the stela point to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period, particularly the full panel type, as do the composition of the offering table, and the representation of the deceased in a posture of adoration. The abbreviated west ideogram,

the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* , the separation between  and  in the writing of

*hrt-ntr*  <sup>1652</sup>, and the theophorus name of the owner of the stela are all characteristic features of the Herakleopolitan inscriptions.

### 9.3. Cairo Museum

#### 9.3.1. Stela of *S3t.sn* (Plate CXI)

Bibl: CCG 1446 = Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* I, 129-130; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 736.

A small limestone stela 87 cm. high. Its style and overall design is of the classic Sixth Dynasty type with cavetto cornice, torus moulding, and a panel with a tall narrow recess on either side. Texts and the pair of *wd3t* eyes on the cross bar above the central niche are incised, while the table scene is in raised relief. No figures are represented on the jambs which are each entirely filled with a column of inscription. The panel shows the conventional table scene, which is composed in a fashion typical of the Herakleopolitan Period.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *htp di nswt lnp tpy-dw.f lmy* 2. (B) *wt nb t3 dsr prit-hrw n im3ht hr pth-skr S3t-sn* 3. (C) (*htp di nswt*) *wsir nb Ddw qrst nftr m is.s n hrt-ntr S3t.sn* 4. (F) *pryt-hrw n im3ht hr Ht-hr [S3t.sn]* 5. (G) *pryt-hrw n im3ht hr wsir S3t.sn*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the  
2. *wt*, lord of the sacred land, a voice offering to the one who is honoured by Ptah-Sokar, *S3t.sn*. 3. (An offering which the king gives ) and Osiris, lord of Busiris, a beautiful burial in her tomb of the necropolis (to) *S3t.sn*. 4. A voice offering to she who is honoured by Hathor [*S3t.sn*]. 5. A voice offering to she who is honoured by Osiris, *S3t.sn*.

#### Comments:

<sup>1652</sup> See Fischer, *BES* 9 (1987-1988), 18, n. 16; idem, *Varia Nova*, 190, n. 136.





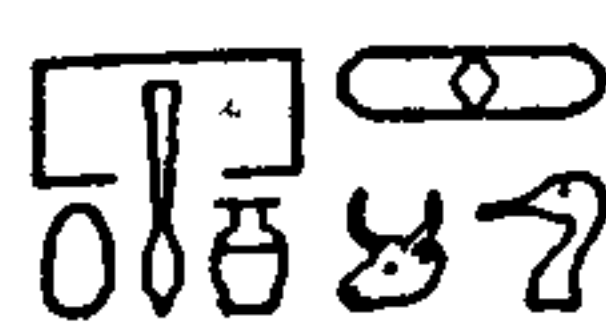
Possibly the name also read *B3kt.sn*, as suggested by its writing on the left outer jamb




#### Dating:

The decoration of the cross bar with a pair of *wḏ3t* eyes indicates a date not earlier than the reign of Merykare. The offering table is also produced in a typical Herakleopolitan

fashion. The full writing of Anubis , the arrangement of *wsir nb* , the writing of *prtt-hrw* with ox and bird's head as well as the additional loaf of bread



, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht* , the separation of , the writing of

*Ddw* with additional filling stroke , all are indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period. Also significant is the occurrence of *qrst nfrrt*, which first attested during the reign of Merykare; perhaps its earliest occurrence was on the false door of *Htp* who was a contemporary of that king.<sup>1653</sup> On these grounds the stela is probably to be dated to the reign of this king or slightly later.

#### 9.3.2. Stela of Šdi-3bd (Plate CXII)

Bibl: CCG 1453 = Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* I, 138-140; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 368-9 (D 69); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 689.<sup>1654</sup>

A large format limestone stela, which measures according to Mariette 180 x 80 cm.<sup>1655</sup> The stela displays the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding, as well as the window-shutter type panel with gently out-curving top. Texts and figures on the jambs are

<sup>1653</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-07*, pl. VI (2) (mentions Merykare).

<sup>1654</sup> The exact location of the tomb of this official is not known, but, the style of the stela and its design perhaps assign it to the Teti Pyramid Cemetery rather than South Saqqara as mentioned by Mariette, cf. e.g. TPC II, pls. 21 (A), 27 (B), 67 (2), 70 (1), 71 (2), 72 (1-2), 74 (2); Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pls. XV (mentioning Merykare), pl. XVI (right), XVII (2); idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (1-2), note that no. 2 mentions Merykare. Recently published door jambs of an official called Šdi-3bd (6.2.3), see El-Sabbahy, *JEA* 79 (1993), 243-248, figs. 1-4.. One wonders if there is any relation to the door jambs found early in the century by Firth and Gunn probably in the north-east of the Teti pyramid cemetery.

<sup>1655</sup> Note that Borchardt gives different measurements, 154 cm. height and not 180 as given by Mariette, see references under (9.3.2).

incised, while the table scene on the panel is in relief. The layout of the inscriptions on the lintels and jambs is conventional. Each of the six jambs has a standing portrait of the deceased facing towards the central niche. Five of these are mirror images showing the deceased either with short hair on the middle and inner right jambs or a shoulder-length wig on the inner left jamb and outer jambs, wearing a broad collar and either a knee length kilt or pointed kilt, and he is seen holding a long staff and baton. On the middle left jamb, however, the deceased is represented with short hair, wearing a broad collar, and a pointed kilt, and he raises both hands in a gesture of adoration. The panel displays the usual table scene which is composed in a fashion typical of this period.

### Transliteration:

1. (H) ... .. (nhnm) tw3t... h3tt nt 'š tñnw 'rfwy... 2. (A') htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw hnti-  
imntiw nb 3bdw prit-hrw (n) im3h Šdi-3bd 3. htp di nswt inpw tpy-ḏw.f imy-wt nb t3 ḏsr  
qrst nfr[t] [n] im3h Šdi-3bd 4. (B') htp di nswt inp hnti sh-ntr prit-hrw n.f nfr m ls.f n hrt-  
ntr im3h Šdi-3bd 5. htp di nswt wsir nb t3 wr sd3i.f m htp r imntt nfrt im3h Šdi-3bd 6. (C')  
htp di nswt wsir prit-hrw n.f m wp-rnpt nb hb w3g hb 7. Dhwti hb tpy-rnbt nb hb hb skr  
hb<sup>sic</sup> hb wr hb rkḥ 3bd hb smdt hb n im3h Šdi-3bd 8. (A) htp di nswt wsir nb imnty hpi.f hr  
w3wt 9. ḏsrwt nt imntyt hppit im3hw hr.s Šdi-3bd 10. (B) htp nswt<sup>sic</sup> inp nb Sp3 im3hw Šdi-  
3bd 11. htp nswt<sup>sic</sup> tpy-ḏw.f i'r.f n ntr-ʿ3 nb pt mm im3hw Šdi-3bd 12. (C) im3hw hr inpw  
nb t3 ḏsr Šdi-3bd 13. im3hw sm3 t3 ḏ3.i.f pt i'r. f n ntr-ʿ3 im3h Šdi-3bd 14. (F) im3hw hr  
nswt Šdi-3bd 15. im3hw hr it.f Šdi-3bd 16. (G) im3hw hr nb.f Šdi-3bd 17. im3hw hr inp Šdi-  
3bd 18. (E) im3hw hr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt Šdi-3bd 19. (D) h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht  
n im3h Šdi-3bd





### Translation:


1. ... .. (nhnm) oil, tw3t oil, ..., the best of the 'š and tñnw oils, bags of....2. An offering  
which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu lord of Abydos, a voice  
offering to the honoured Šdi-3bd. 3. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is



upon his mountain, who is in the *wṯ*, lord of the sacred land, a beautiful burial (to) the honoured *Šdi-3bd*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, the foremost of the divine booth, a voice offering to him beautifully in his tomb of the necropolis, the honoured *Šdi-3bd*. 5. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of the Thinite Nome, may he depart in peace to the beautiful west, the honoured *Šdi-3bd*. 6. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, a voice offering at every opening of the year feast, *w3g* feast, 7. *Dḥwty*-feast, every beginning of the year feast, feast of Sokar, feast of *ḥb-wr*, feast of *rkḥ*, monthly feast and half monthly feast to the honoured *Šdi-3bd*. 8. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of the west, may he travel upon the sacred ways 9. of the west upon which the revered one travel, *Šdi-3bd*. 10. An offering which the King (gives) and Anubis, lord of *Sp3*, the honoured *Šdi-3bd*. 11. An offering which the King (gives) and he who is upon his mountain, may he ascend to the great god, lord of heaven, among the revered ones, *Šdi-3bd*. 12. He who is honoured by Anubis, lord of the sacred land, *Šdi-3bd*. 13. He who is honoured, may he join the land and traverse the sky, may he ascend to the great god, the honoured *Šdi-3bd*. 14. He who is honoured by the king, *Šdi-3bd*. 15. He who is honoured by his father, *Šdi-3bd*. 16. Hw who is honoured by his lord, *Šdi-3bd*. 17. He who is honoured by Anubis, *Šdi-3bd*. 18. He who is honoured by the great god lord, of heaven, *Šdi-3bd*. 19. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Šdi-3bd*.

### Comments:

Note that  replaces the usual determinative  of *w3g*.<sup>1656</sup> The determinative  for *T3-wr* replacing the usual form .<sup>1657</sup> It is not before the end of the Fifth Dynasty that

<sup>1656</sup> Cf. *Wb* I, 263; see also that  is used as determinative with other feasts, cf. Silverman, *ZAS* 110 (1983), 84-5 (l).

Osiris has the epithet 'lord of the Thinite Nome',<sup>1658</sup> probably in contrast to Khentiamentiu who is called 'lord of Abydos',<sup>1659</sup> and 'one who is in the Thinite Nome'.<sup>1660</sup> Nevertheless, both gods seem to maintain their authority as gods of the Thinite Nome<sup>1661</sup> from as early as the end of the Fifth Dynasty, particularly Osiris, who probably became dominant in this Nome thereafter.<sup>1662</sup>

### Dating:

The panel type with gently out-curving top is characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period, as is the way the offering table is composed, with rectangular shaped bread slices, surmounted by a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck. The representation of the deceased in an adoration posture is a common feature on the false doors of that period in the Memphite necropolis.<sup>1663</sup> The arrangement of *wsir nb*, the addition of the  $\text{𓅓}$  in the writing of the epithet *imy-wt*, and the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*, the full writing of Anubis, the abbreviated west ideogram, the writing of the *t3* sign with two pellets underneath, the arrangement of *prlt-hrw* with ox, and bird's heads, as well as the additional elongated loaf of bread, and the use of the filling stroke in the writing of  $\text{𓅓}$ , are all expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. The use of adjective plus adverbial phrase *nfr m is.f n hrt-ntr* directly after *prlt-hrw n.f* indicates a date probably not earlier than the reign of Merykare. It is probable to conclude that the stela probably comes from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and not South Saqqara, and perhaps to be assigned a date not earlier than that of Merykare or slightly later.

<sup>1657</sup> For different forms of this ideogram see, Fischer, *JAOS* 74 (1954), 34; idem, *IVZKM* 57 (1961), 72-77.

<sup>1658</sup> Cf. Mariette, *Mastabas*, 148-9; 341; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhti*, 33, 87; Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* II, fig. 38; idem, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, 5, pl. A; Junker, *Giza* VI, fig. 95.

<sup>1659</sup> Cf. Mariette, *Mastabas*, 375, 377; Davies, *Sheikh Sald*, pl. 19; *HTBM* I, pl. 17; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, 125.

<sup>1660</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 259.

<sup>1661</sup> Both held each other epithets which associate them with that Nome, e.g. on a statue from Saqqara belonging to *Ny-nh-Ppy*, Khentiamentiu is mentioned as 'lord of *T3-wr*', cf. Hassan, *Saqqara* II, 18, on a lintel from the same tomb Osiris is mentioned with the epithet 'one who is in the *T3-wr*', cf. *ibid*, 6, fig. 3; cf. also, Simpson, *Giza Mastabas* II, fig. 38; Davies, *Sheikh Sald*, pl. 19.

<sup>1662</sup> Osiris is mentioned in the pyramid texts of the Merenre and Pepy II, 'who is in the *T3-wr*', *Pyr.* 1666; also addressed 'in your name of *T3-wr*', *Pyr.* 627; in another spell, he is said to be 'the sceptre which is in the *T3-wr*', *Pyr.* 754.

<sup>1663</sup> See above *passim*.



### 9.3.3. Stela of *S<sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup>w-gmni* (Plate CXIII)

Bibl: CCG 1458; Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, 147.

A small limestone stela 74 cm. high. Its provenance is not mentioned by Borchardt, but the style and the theophorus name of the deceased points to the cemetery of Teti in the Memphite necropolis. The stela shows the conventional late Old Kingdom style false door with the cavetto cornice and torus moulding, and the shutter type panel. Texts are incised, while figures on the jambs and panel scene are in raised reliefs. Traces of colour are still visible. The workmanship is good, and preservation is fair, except that the cavetto cornice is worn away. Texts are arranged in traditional way. Each of the outer jambs has a figure of the deceased representing him standing and facing towards the central niche. The left jamb shows the deceased with short hair, a broad collar, bracelets and a pointed kilt, and raising his hands in a gesture of adoration. On the opposite jamb he appears in similar attire, but holding a long staff with one hand and a folded cloth with the other. The panel shows the usual funerary meal scene: the deceased sits on the left facing right, wearing a shoulder-length wig which leaves his ear exposed, a broad collar, bracelets on the right hand, and a knee-length kilt. He extends his right hand towards an offering table, while holding a lotus blossom to his nose with his left hand. The table is loaded with the usual rectangular shaped bread slices, surmounted by a foreleg of beef, a lettuce and a trussed duck. Above the deceased and table is a short ideographic offering list.

#### Transliteration:


1. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsr nb Ddw* 2. (B) *ḥnti-lmntiw nb 3bdw im3ḥw S<sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup>w-gmni* 3. (C) (*ḥtp di nswt*) *inp tpy ḏw.f lmy wt nb t3 ḏsr im3ḥw Gmni* 4. (F) *im3ḥw Gmni* 5. (G) *im3ḥw Gmni*
6. (E) *im3ḥw ḥr ntr-3 nb S<sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup>w-gmni* 7. (D) *ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnqt ḥ3 k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n im3ḥw Gmni*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, 2. Khentiamentiu, lord of Abydos, the honoured *S<sup>c</sup>nḥw-gmni*. 3. (An offering which the King gives and) Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, the honoured *S<sup>c</sup>nḥw-gmni*. 4. He who is honoured, *Gmni*. 5. He who is honoured, *Gmni*. 6. He who is honoured by the great god, lord of heaven *S<sup>c</sup>nḥw-gmni*. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Gmni*.

### Dating:

The window-shutter type panel with gently out-curving top is characteristic of false doors during the Herakleopolitan Period, as is the composition of the offering table. The representation of the deceased holding a lotus blossom to his nose is an iconographic feature frequently seen with male figures during this period,<sup>1664</sup> as is the representation of the deceased with adoration posture.

The arrangement of , the writing of the epithet *imy-wt* with both determinatives of the pustule and town, the abbreviated west ideogram, the phonetic writing of *inpw*, and the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ḥ* all are expected during the Herakleopolitan Period. The other telling indication is the theophorus name of the stela's owner, constructed with the element *Gmni*, pointing to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period.

### 2.3.4. Stela of *Ns-wsrt* (Plate CXIV)

Bibl: Unpublished, CCG 57186 (Room 31).

A large format limestone false door, displaying the usual cavetto cornice and torus moulding. Texts on the jambs are incised, but the table scene on the panel and figures on the outer jambs are in raised relief. Each of the jambs has a single column of inscription. The upper lintel has two lines of text running from right to left, but the lower lintel and

<sup>1664</sup> See comment on this feature above (4.1.8-9).



the cross bar each have a single line of text. Each of the outer jambs has a figure of the deceased representing her standing and facing the central niche. The figures are identical, showing her as younger girl. She is depicted with short hair and two long pig-tails projecting from the back of her head, terminating in a disk-like shape,<sup>1665</sup> wearing a broad collar, bracelets, and a long tight-fitting garment with shoulder straps. She holds a lotus blossom to her nose with one hand, while the other hand hangs at her side holding an ȝ symbol. On the panel the usual table scene is depicted, with the offering table is composed in a fashion typical of this period.

Transliteration:

1. (A') *htp di nswt wsir nb Ddw hnty-imntiw* 2. *nb 3bdw prit hrw n im3ht hkrt nswt w'tt Ns-wsrt* 3. (B') *im3ht hr hnwt.s hmt-ntr ht-hr Ns-wsrti* 4. (C') *im3hwt mrt it.s hst mwt.s* 5. (A) *nbt im3h hkrt nswt w'tt Ns-wsrt* 6. (B) *htp di nswt inpw tpy dw.f nb Sp3 prit hrw n im3ht Ns-wsrti* 7. (C) *mrwt snwt.s m hrt nt hrw nb* 8. (F) *hkrt nswt w'tt nb im3h hr hnwt.s Ns-wsrt* 9. (G) *hmt-ntr ht-hr Mrt-Tti im3ht hr nb.s* 10. (E) *im3hwt Ns-wsrti* 11. (D) *h3 t h3 hnqt h3 k3w h3 sr h3 trp h3 mst h3 s h3 mnwt n im3ht Ns-wsrti*




Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentiamentiu, 2. lord of Abydos, a voice offering to the honoured, Sole Ornament of the King, *Ns-wsrt*. 3. She who is honoured by her mistress, Prophetess of Hathor, *Ns-wsrt*. 4. She who is honoured, beloved of her father, praised of her mother, 5. possessor of reverence, Sole Ornament of the King, *Ns-wsrti*. 6. An offering which the king gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain, lord of *Sp3*, a voice offering to the honoured *Ns-wsrti*. 7. Beloved of her brothers and sisters in the course of every day, 8. Sole Ornament of the King, possessor of reverence (honoured) by her mistress, *Ns-wsrt*. 9. Prophetess of Hathor (in) the *Mrt-Tti*, she who is honoured by her lord, 10. She who is honoured *Ns-wsrti*. 11. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of *sr* geese, a thousand of *trp* geese, a thousand of *mst* geese, a thousand of *s3* geese, a thousand of *mnwt* geese, a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of clothing to the honoured *Ns-wsrti*.

<sup>1665</sup> Staehelin, *Zu ägyptischen Tracht*, 181; Macramallah, *Idout*, passim.

### Dating:

The style of the stela is typical of the later Old Kingdom; perhaps this was the reason for dating this stela to the Sixth Dynasty in the Museum entry. However, close examination of the stela's inscriptions and iconography point to a date not earlier than the Herakleopolitan Period. The composition of the offering table and the representation of the deceased holding the *ꜥnh* symbol both are indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period. The latter feature is known perhaps from the later part of the Herakleopolitan period.<sup>1666</sup>

The arrangement of , the full writing of *lnpw*, the abbreviation of the epithet *im3ht*, the addition of the filling stroke in the writing of *hrw nb*  and , are all indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period.

## 9.4. Louvre Museum.<sup>1667</sup>

### 9.4.1. Double Stela of *Ky* and *S3t-šd-3bd* (Plate CXV)

Bibl: Louvre E 14184; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 567; Vandier, *Manuel* II, 453, n. 3; Drioton, *Bulletin des Musées de France*, 4<sup>e</sup> année, no. 2 (1932), 17; Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 45, pp. 244-252.<sup>1668</sup>

This double stela is made of limestone and measures 99 x 84 x 14 cm. The double false door is surmounted by a cavetto cornice and torus moulding. The two doors are separated by a torus moulding. Texts and figures on the jambs are incised, while the table scenes on both door panels are in raised relief. Some of the cornice leaves, male skin, haunch of beef, *dbh*, and the trussed duck are red. Some of the cornice leaves, and hieroglyphic signs are green. The rest of the cornice leaves, the rectangular shape above the offering table, torus are yellow; garments are white.

<sup>1666</sup> For comments on this feature see above under (*Snt* = 4.1.15), and (*Dw3-htp* = 4.1.41)

<sup>1667</sup> See also Louvre C 250 = Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 12. The stela, probably comes from Memphis, its panel type clearly assigns it to the Herakleopolitan Period, perhaps not earlier than the reign of Merykare.

<sup>1668</sup> The stela was acquired by the Louvre sometime in late 1931 or early 1932. It was found by Firth and Gunn, probably later than the 1922 season.



The stela on the left hand side belongs to the husband, while the wife has the right hand side stela, perhaps an arrangement which calls to mind the subordinate right position of the wives on the false door panels when sharing a funerary meal with their husband during the Old Kingdom and Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1669</sup>

The stela of Ky on the left shows a conventional inscription layout, except that the lintel has two lines of text. Each of the jambs has only one column of text, at the end of which there is a figure of the deceased depicting him standing facing the central niche. The figures on the outer jambs are mirror images representing the deceased with a short wig, wearing a broad collar, and a knee-length kilt. He raises one hand in a gesture of invocation, while the other hand is extended along his side grasping a folded cloth. The inner jambs also show identical images of the deceased, depicting him with a shoulder-length wig, a broad collar, and a pointed kilt. Both figures are seen holding the usual long staff and baton. On the panel, which fills the entire space between the outer jambs, is the conventional funerary meal scene.

The door on the right hand side displays a similar arrangement of the texts, except for the first line on the lintel. Here the inscriptions are oriented → ← . Each of the four jambs has a portrait of the deceased, representing her standing facing the central niche. The figures on the outer jambs show her wearing a long wig with lappet only falling on the back shoulder, a broad collar and a long tight fitting garment. She holds with one hand an ointment jar to her nose, while the other hand is extended open at her side.

The inner jambs also display mirror images, depicting her wearing similar attire, but here holding one hand to her chest in a gesture of respect, while the other hand is extended open at her side. The panel is of that type which fills the entire space between the outer jambs, and is decorated with the usual table scene.

Transliteration: (left Door)

1. (H) [blank] 2. (A) *ḥtp di nswt wsir nb Ddw* 3. *ḥtp di nswt inpw imy-wt nb t3 dsr* 4. (B) *prīt ḥrw n.f nfr m is.f n ḥrt-ntr im3ḥ rh nswt Ky* 5. (C) *ḥpi.f m ḥtp ḥr w3wt nfrt im3ḥ Ky* 6.

<sup>1669</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom*, 2-3.

(F) *im3hw sš md3t šnwt ky* 7. (G) *im3hw sš nwit Ky* 8. (E) [*i*]*m3hw hr inpw tpy-dw.f Ky* 9.  
 (D) *im3hw sš ky* [underneath the table] *dbht htp*  
 (right door) 1. (H) [blank] 2. (A) *htp di nswt inpw* 3. (B) *tpy-dw.f imy-wt nb t3 dsr qrstl.s*  
*im3ht S3t-šd-3bd* 4. (A) *htp di nswt wsir* 5. (C) *nb 3bdw prit-hrw n.s nfr m is.s im3ht S3t-*  
*šd-3bd* 6. (A) [*i*]*m3ht S3t-šd-3bd* 7. (F) *im3ht S3t-šd-3bd* 8. (G) *im3ht S3t-šd-3bd* 9. (E) *im3ht*  
*hr ntr-ʿ3 S3t-šd-3bd* 10. (D) *im3hwt hr ntr-ʿ3 S3t-šd-3bd* [underneath the table] *dbht htp*

#### Translation:

(left Door) 1. [blank] 2. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, 3. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, 4. a voice offering to him beautifully in his tomb of the necropolis, the honoured, Royal Acquaintance,<sup>1670</sup> *Ky*. 5. May he travel in peace on the beautiful roads, the honoured *Ky*. 5. He who is honoured, Scribe of Documents of the Two Granaries, *Ky*. 7. He who is honoured, Scribe of the Pyramid Town, *Ky*. 8. He who is honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain, *Ky*. 9. He who is honoured, the Scribe, *Ky*. [under the table] Requirement of offering.

(Right Door) 1. [blank] 2. An offering which the King gives and Anubis, 3. who is upon his mountain, who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, may she be buried, the honoured *S3t-šd-3bd*. 4. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, 5. lord of Abydos, a voice offering to her beautifully in her tomb, the honoured *S3t-šd-3bd*. 6. She who is honoured *S3t-šd-3bd*. 7. She who is honoured *S3t-šd-3bd*. 8. She who is honoured *S3t-šd-3bd*. 9. She who is honoured by the great god, *S3t-šd-3bd*. 10. The one honoured by the great god, *S3t-šd-3bd*. [under the table] Requirement of offering.

#### Comments:

The stela's owner pursued a civil and priestly career, both of his offices are associated with writing. He was 'Scribe of Documents of the Two Granaries', an office about which

<sup>1670</sup> For this office see, Fischer, *Varia*, 8, n. 12; idem, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom*, 15; Brunner, *SAK* 1 (1974), 58-60; Edel, *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan II* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 91-2; Goedicke, *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 61; cf. also Gunn, *TPC* I, 157, n. 5; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 26-8; J. Lopez, *RdE* 19 (1967), 57-8; Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives*, II, 595; Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Art Boston* (Boston, 1992), 4; Berlev, *JEA* 60, 109; see also Fischer, *Dendera*, 69-70; Brovarski, in *Mélanges Gamal eddin Mokhtar*, 148, n. 129. See for a recent rendering, R.J. Leprohon, *JARCE* 31 (1994), 46-7.



little is known.<sup>1671</sup> Reckoning of accounts, recording daily entries of the granaries was probably the tasks of which such scribes were in charge.<sup>1672</sup> It is suggested by Fischer that the 'Scribe of Documents' was in charge of composing or drawing up finished documents or reports,<sup>1673</sup> for the owner of the estate, or the 'Overseer of the House' who in turn presented it to his master.<sup>1674</sup> The iconography shows no difference between the document scribes or scribes of the granaries, perhaps the rendering of the office as 'Document Scribe of the Granary' is not correct and it could be simply a writing variation of the title *sš šnwt*.

The other scribal office is held in a pyramid town, probably that of Teti or even Merykare, since the stela or chapel was found in the vicinity of these two pyramids.<sup>1675</sup> Such royal institutions undoubtedly had different departments, one of which was a documentation department which was responsible for administering and managing various daily affairs of those royal institutions.<sup>1676</sup>

The symmetrical arrangement of the offering formulae on the lintel of the right hand false door is a phenomenon which is opposed to the general Old Kingdom adherence to the dominant right orientation.<sup>1677</sup> However, it is a feature which is known on false doors as early as late Fifth Dynasty.<sup>1678</sup>

Some iconographic features deserve comment. On the left hand side door, the deceased is seen raising one hand, perhaps invoking the offering prayer written on his stela. Although such iconography is known at least since the Fourth Dynasty, it is very rare to find it on false door jambs before the very end of the Old Kingdom, and there

<sup>1671</sup> There is only one example known to me in which the Document Scribe is seen in a granary scene context, standing, holding his pen and book roll: he is probably here registering and writing a report on the corn measured by the corn-measurer, cf. Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum*, Taf. 23.

<sup>1672</sup> Cf. LD II, 56; Junker, *Giza XI*, Abb. 80; LD Erg. Taf. XXI; Simpson, *Sekhem-ankh-ptah*, pl. D, fig. 8; Curto, *Gli Scavi Italiani a el Ghiza*, fig. 35; Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi*, 22, Nr. 2; Borchardt, *Ne-user-Re*, Abb. 103; LD II, 51; Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. 87; cf. also Strudwick, *Administration*, 271-275.

<sup>1673</sup> Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 259-60.

<sup>1674</sup> Cf. LD II, 56 a. Here three scribes are shown, one of them described by the caption *ipt ht šnwt* 'making the accounts of the granary'. Another is described as 'making the account of the Overseer of the House', cf. also, von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, Taf. XII; Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pl. XXI XXVII.

<sup>1675</sup> Cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 561, and addenda, here *Hnw* is 'Scribe of the Pyramid town *W3d-iswt* of Merykare'.

<sup>1676</sup> See Helck, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 91-111.

<sup>1677</sup> Fischer, *Orientation*, §§ 5, 7

<sup>1678</sup> For texts which began in the centre and read outwards, cf. the false door of *Pḥ.n-wi-k3i*=LD II, 48; for texts which begin at the outer ends of the door lintel, cf. the false door of *Pṯḥ-ḥtp* = Paget and Pirie, *Ptahhetep*, pl. xxxix; see also Strudwick, *Administration*, 23.



after.<sup>1679</sup> *S3t-šd-3bd* appears (on her door jambs) holding an ointment jar to her nose, a pose which is first associated with men, appearing towards the end of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>1680</sup> The relief of Princess Idout from the early Sixth Dynasty provides perhaps the earliest attestation of this feature with female figures.<sup>1681</sup> Also the wig with no lappet or perhaps its lappets falling behind the back shoulder worn by *S3t-šd-3bd*, may be indicative of a later date. This iconography is first attested during the Fifth Dynasty in the representations of working class women, and minor female figures.<sup>1682</sup> Probable not before much later that this feature appears with a major female representations. Interestingly, it had become a fashionable type of hairstyle in provincial relief during the Herakleopolotan Period.<sup>1683</sup>

### Dating:

The design of a double false door is new feature which is not known to me before the advent of the Herakleopolitan Period. It is probably safe to say that it is a Memphite innovation, which was perhaps due to economic reasons.<sup>1684</sup> The type of full panel, which has no recess on its side and fills the entire space between the outer jambs, is first evidenced on Memphite false doors during the reign of Merykare.<sup>1685</sup>

<sup>1679</sup> Cf. Müller, *MDAIK* 7 (1937), 57-118; Brunner-Traut, 'Gesten' in *LÄ* II, 573-85; Harpur, *Decoration*, 129-130; see recent discussion, Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 28-31, Abb. 9 (c, g).

<sup>1680</sup> Probably its earliest occurrence in the tomb of Ptahhetep at Saqqara, cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 126.

<sup>1681</sup> Macramallah, *Idout*, passim. This tomb was originally designed for a man, and later usurped by this royal princess, so it might be that the artist did not pay attention to change the ointment jar held by the original owner, and replace it with the more usual lotus blossom.






<sup>1682</sup> Daoud, *SAK* 23 (1996), 85, n. 12.

<sup>1683</sup> Cf. Brovarski, *Naga ed Deir*, 224; Dunham, *Stelae*, nos. 4, 16, 19, 27, 53; Cf. also Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 17; see also, CCG 20005 (Thebes); CCG 20012 (Abydos); Petrie, *Hu: Diospolis Parva*, pl. 25; CCG 20016, 20507. All of them belong to the Herakleopolitan Period on stylistic, iconographic, and palaeographic grounds.

<sup>1684</sup> Cf. the double false doors of the family of *Sk-wšht* (4.3) = Abdalla, *JEA* 78 (1992), 93-111, pls. XVIII-XXIII; see also the double stela of *Ttī-ḥr-mnḥt* (7.2.6) = Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VII (3); see also the double stela of *Pth-nḥt* and his wife, cf. *Catalogue of the National Museum of Athens*, no. 28; cf. also similarly designed double false doors, probably close in time, Lopez, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1975), figs. 7-9, 12-14.

<sup>1685</sup> See above passim. Cf. also the false door of *Ipi/In* (4.1.28) = Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare).



The composition of the offering table with the bread slices surmounted by a foreleg of beef and a trussed duck frequently occurs during this period, as do the postures of invocation,<sup>1686</sup> and a female smelling an ointment jar. Palaeographic features also point to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period: the arrangement of the , (here the addition of the god determinative is unusual),<sup>1687</sup> the addition of the prothetic  in the writing of the epithet *imy-wt*;<sup>1688</sup> the writing of the *t3* sign with two pellets underneath, the arrangement of the *pri-t-hrw* with the ox and bird's heads and the additional elongated loaf of bread are all characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period. The writing of the ideogram  with two ties projecting representing both ends of the rope tying a bundle of reeds, is rather interesting in term of dating, its earliest occurrence being in the Coptos Decrees of the Eighth Dynasty.<sup>1689</sup> The forked tail of the *w3* sign, and the *qrs*-sign with two projections at the bottom are indicative of later date,<sup>1690</sup> as is the elaboration of the stand of Anubis.<sup>1691</sup> The unusual coffin ideogram also indicative of later date.<sup>1692</sup> The abbreviation of the epithet *im3hw* and *im3ht* is not known before the Herakleopolitan Period, as is the writing .<sup>1693</sup> The writing of the book roll  with two ties is rather significant. Schenkel assigns this feature to the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>1694</sup> However, if Möller's

<sup>1686</sup> For the invocation posture see, Harpur, *Decoration*, 327-8, tb. 6.7.

<sup>1687</sup> Cf. similar writing on a contemporary false doors, cf. the false door of *Pth-htp* (4.8.6) from South Saqqara, cf. also the stela of *Ipilin* (4.1.28) = Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII (mentions Merykare); cf. *The National Archaeological Museum* (Athens, 1995), no. 28.

<sup>1688</sup> See comment above passim; cf. also Brovarski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 242-3, n. 281.

<sup>1689</sup> Fischer, *Dendera*, 133 (9), 135.

<sup>1690</sup> Ibid, 82 (10, 6).

<sup>1691</sup> Cf. *TPC* II, pl. 24 (the same owner of the stela on pl. 27 (B)), (mentions Merykare); cf. also CCG 1397, 1405; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. xvii (2), all probably date to the Herakleopolitan Period or slightly later; see also Middle Kingdom examples, *TPC* II, pls. 81-4.

<sup>1692</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XV; *TPC* II, pl. 27 (B). Both were officials contemporary with Merykare; cf. also *TPC* II, pl. 68, assigned to the same period on the grounds of its style, decoration and texts.

<sup>1693</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 62; see also at Abydos, cf. Müller, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), 187; Deir el Ballas, cf. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 107, fig. 15 (3); and Thebes cf. *TPPI* §§ 4 (2), 22 (7), 27 (3). This writing also occurs on coffins from the Saqqara necropolis, mostly belonging to the Herakleopolitan Period, cf. Lapp, *Typologie*, Sq 9b; *TPC* I, 261 (19), 256 (11), 262 (20), 246 (8), 259 (16). The same palaeographic phenomenon occurs in the inscriptions of the Abusir coffins, cf. Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, 104-5, Abb. 167, 47, Abb. 71, 73, Taf. 2-6.

<sup>1694</sup> Cf. Schenkel, *FMAS*, § 26; Fischer, *JNES* 16 (1957), 228, n. 27; idem, *ZAS* 86 (1961), 24, n. 6; Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der 11 Dynastie*, § 29.



copy of Hatnub X text is correct, that might bring the date of the occurrence of this palaeographic feature to as early as the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1695</sup> The occurrence of the book roll with two ties on the present stela, perhaps provides fresh substance to support a Herakleopolitan Period date for the feature.<sup>1696</sup> The occurrence of adjective plus the adverbial phrase *nfr + m ls.f/s* after *prtt hrw n.f/s* is typical of that period, as is the formation of the name of the wife *S3t + NN*.<sup>1697</sup>

One might place the double stela of Ky and his wife *S3t-šd-3bd* to a time very close to those of the *Sk-wšht* family and perhaps that of *Ip/in*, probably not earlier than the reign of Merykare, or slightly later.

#### Side Pieces of Ky and *S3t-šd-3bd* niche.

Both side pieces are made of limestone. The left side piece is for the husband, while the right is dedicated to the wife.

##### (a) Left side piece:

It measures 99 x 45 cm, and is divided into two halves. The upper half is decorated in incised relief with a tabulated offering list. The menu consists of stereotyped offering items, which includes different sorts of bread, pastry, wine, beer, cuts of meat, fowl, fruit, vegetables, oils and incense. Each of the entries has the determinative of a kneeling figure holding a jar in his outstretched hands.<sup>1698</sup> The second half of the panel displays two registers, both in raised relief. The top register displays the ritual of the offering purification in front of the stela owner:<sup>1699</sup> three priests are shown facing the false door, or more accurately in the direction of the stela owner. The first priest is kneeling, with his

<sup>1695</sup> Cf. Blumenthal, 'Die Datierung des Nehry Graffiti von Hatnub' in *AoF* 4 (1970), 49-50; Simpson, *JEA* 52 (1966), 174; see also Brovarski, 'Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom' in W.K. Simpson and W. Davies (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and Sudan* (Boston, 1981), 26, n. 103.

<sup>1696</sup> Cf. Spänel, *Beni Hasan*, 77-83; idem, in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson II*, 767-770.

<sup>1697</sup> Cf. Ranke, *PN II*, 233; Fischer, *ZAS* 90 (1963), 36, n. 3.

<sup>1698</sup> See Barta, *Opferliste*, 82-88.

<sup>1699</sup> This scene in its different variations is discussed by a number of scholars, see e.g. Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), 87-88; Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhat* (London, 1915), 93-4; L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1915), 138; Altenmüller, *JEA* 57 (1971), 146-153; Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 247, n. 6. and recently Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 80-88; Lapp, *Opferformel*, §§ 262-322.



hands outstretched touching a low offering table. Behind him stands a second priest who is bending slightly and holding a libation jar with both hands, from which water is poured over the low offering table in front of the first priest. The third priest wears a shoulder length wig, a sash across his shoulder, and knee length kilt. He raises his left hand in a gesture of invocation,<sup>1700</sup> while his right hand is holding a papyrus roll.<sup>1701</sup>

On the second register the deceased is seen accompanied by his wife: both are standing facing outwards. Ky is depicted wearing a short wig, a broad collar, and a knee-length kilt. He raises his right hand in a gesture of invocation, while his left hand is extended alongside him grasping a folded cloth. Behind him stands his wife, wearing a long wig with lappet falling behind her shoulder and over her chest, a broad collar, and a long tight-fitting dress. She places her left arm around the shoulder of her husband, while the other hand is extended along her side, grasping a lotus blossom. Her feet are represented apart as if striding.<sup>1702</sup> In front of them is an offering table, above which is the rectangular-like bread shape, surmounted by a trussed duck. Before the table, facing the deceased and his wife, stands a lector-priest. He holds a duck by the neck in his outstretched hand, probably symbolising wringing the bird's neck in front of the deceased, a ritual in which the priest kills a bird in front of the deceased and offers it to him. On the floor, by the feet of the priest and next to the offering table, is another fallen duck which has just had its neck wrung. Under the table is written *dbꜥt ꜥtp* 'requirement of offering'. Above the table are four short vertical columns of inscription, an offering formula perhaps recited by Ky himself: 1. *ꜥtp di nswt* 2. *n imꜥꜥw Ky* 3. *n ꜥmt.f mrt.f* 4. *Sꜥt-ꜥd-ꜥbd*. '1. An offering which the King gives 2. to the honoured Ky, 3. to his wife, his beloved, 4. *Sꜥt-ꜥd-ꜥbd*.'

(b) Right side piece:

The decorated panel of this side piece bears five registers of raised relief. The top register shows a *frises d'objets* depicting five bracelets formed of five rectangles, a broad collar,

<sup>1700</sup> Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden*, 76-88, Abb. 17 (c), 19, tb. 12.

<sup>1701</sup> For a similar arrangement on a contemporary side piece see, W.K. Simpson, in *North Carolina Museum of Fine Art Bulletin* XI/3 (December, 1972), 4-13, figs. 3-4, 9-11; Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. xix (1) = Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* I, fig. 88.

<sup>1702</sup> Cf. Harpur, *Decoration*, 138.



‘*pr* counterpoise, and *wsht* collar. On the following register is a representation of six oil jars and a kohl bag placed on a rectangular stand.<sup>1703</sup> The third register shows a herdsman leading an ox followed by an assistant. The first herdsman is represented, with his ribs projecting to indicate his emaciated body, and wearing a shoulder length wig and a knee length kilt. He holds a long staff in one hand, while grasping the rope attached to the ox by the other hand. The following herdsman is depicted with short hair and a knee length kilt. He pats the back of the ox with his right hand, while holding a stick with bag hanging from it on his shoulder. The fourth register shows a butchery scene of two butchers slaughtering an ox. The first butcher holds a knife in his right hand, and the front leg of the ox by the other hand. Opposite stands a butcher’s assistant who is firmly tying the ox; noticeable here is the unusual shoulder-length wig of the butcher’s assistant.. The last register shows *S3t-šd-3bd* and her husband sharing a funerary meal.

#### Comments:

The representation of the woman with an arm around the shoulder of a striding man is an artistic motif which made its first appearance in the early to mid Fourth Dynasty.<sup>1704</sup> Although this motif is known from an early period, it is not evidenced in the context of a funerary meal before much later.<sup>1705</sup>

The thin herdsman on the right hand side piece is rather interesting. People with emaciated bodies are a motif is originated at Saqqara in royal reliefs long before the appearance of the thin herdsman portrait during the Herakleopolitan Period in the same art repertoire. The earliest representation of emaciated people is perhaps the representation of the Bedouin on the Causeway of Sahure,<sup>1706</sup> perhaps copied in the Causeway of Unas later in the same dynasty.<sup>1707</sup> The thin portraits are also adopted for the representations of the

<sup>1703</sup> Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen empire* (Cairo, 1921), 98-100 (bracelets), 62-71 (collars), 141-145 (ointment jars), 153-4 (kohl bags).

<sup>1704</sup> Harpur, *Decoration*, 77.

<sup>1705</sup> The wife with her arm around the shoulder of her husband is known in the context of offering meal, but usually seen seated on chair, and not standing in a striding posture. cf. *ibid*, 78-9.

<sup>1706</sup> Z. Hawass and M. Verner, ‘Newly discovered blocks from the Causeway of Sahure’ *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 182-3, fig. 2 a, pl. 55 b.

<sup>1707</sup> Cf. Drioton, in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 25 (1943), 45-54; J.B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, 30, no. 102; Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 48 (b); see also Louvre E17381 = Vandier, *Musées de France* (Paris, 1950), 27-28, fig. 4; Schott, *RdE* 17 (1965), 7-13; Vercoutter, *RdE* 97 (1985), 327-337; Malek, *In the Shadow of the Pyramids*, 121; Ziegler, *Stèles*, no. 2.



very poor Egyptians, particularly servants class,<sup>1708</sup> or in other cases to indicate old age.<sup>1709</sup> During the Herakleopolitan Period, the skinny portrait is adopted in the representation of the herdsman leading animals, for no apparent reason, except perhaps to indicate his class or his age, or even purely as artistic variation,<sup>1710</sup> but it became a convention thereafter.<sup>1711</sup> This became familiar in provincial art early in the Eleventh Dynasty and during the Twelfth Dynasties, perhaps after the Theban invasion of the north.<sup>1712</sup>

It is worth mentioning here that the artist clearly indicated that ownership of the right side piece is the wife's by representing her occupying the right, dominant place, sharing a meal with her husband.<sup>1713</sup>

#### Dating:

The architectural design of a shallow roofed niche points to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period. It is a conventional style of chapel for the period, in particular in the Teti Pyramid Cemeteries.<sup>1714</sup> The striding female posture points to a later date. It is further suggested that the theme of the striding couple, or striding female with her arm placed around the shoulder of her husband, in front of pile of offerings, points to a date in the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1715</sup> The appearance of the emaciated portrait of the herdsman is also significantly later than the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>1716</sup> It is probably fair to date the chapel of Ky and his wife to a date close to that of the *Sk-wsht* family, perhaps later in the Herakleopolitan Period.

<sup>1708</sup> Cf. the skinny portraits of two women servants grinding grain, cf. Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 252, n. 18-20, figs. 10, 11; cf. also the emaciated potter statue, cf. Chicago Oriental Institute No. 10645 = Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, 49-50; Fischer, op. cit., 251, fig. 12.

<sup>1709</sup> BM 1171; *HT I*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 3; cf. also BM 1168; see also Fischer, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 23-24, fig. 1.

<sup>1710</sup> If correct, it might indicate an awareness by the artists of the life style of the herdsman.

<sup>1711</sup> For a contemporary skinny portrait of herdsman, cf. a side piece, now in Metropolitan Museum, Accession No. 10.175.71 = Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. 19 (30). Here the thinness is scarcely indicated, except in the contours of the head and neck, but there can be no argument that the motif is similar to the one under consideration.

<sup>1712</sup> Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 249-251; It was found at Thebes, cf. *ibid*, fig. 1; also at Meir, cf. Blackman, *Meir I*, 3, 9, 10, 25, 30, 31; II, pls. 19, 20, 22, 29; III, pls. 3, 4. It appears at least once at Beni Hasan, cf. Davies, *BMMA*, April, 1933, pt. 2, fig. 9

<sup>1713</sup> Fischer, *Egyptian women*, 2-3, n. 12.

<sup>1714</sup> Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 12; Vandier, *Manuel II*, 435.

<sup>1715</sup> Cf. R. Freed, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt*, 73; Brovarski, *Naga ed Deir*, 223, 815-17, 821-22; cf. also, Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. xx (3) (11.1.7).

<sup>1716</sup> Fische, *Artibus Asaie*, 22, 249-251.

## 9.5. Berlin Museum.

### 9.5.1. Stela of Gmnl-ꜥnh (Plate CXVI)

Bibl: Berlin Mus. 1151; LD I (text), 151, fig. on p. 152; *Aegyptische Inschriften* I, 47; *Führer durch das Berliner Ägyptische Museum* (Berlin, 1961), 45; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 544.

A small limestone stela, measuring 84 x 45 cm. Texts and figures on jambs are incised, while the table scene is in raised relief. The stela was found by Lepsius in situ with its side pieces, which were left blank, and an offering table.<sup>1717</sup> The stela design is typical of the late Old Kingdom, with window-shutter type panel. Texts are arranged in a conventional way on the jambs and lintel. Each of the outer jambs has a figure of the deceased showing him standing facing the central niche. He appears with short hair wearing a pointed kilt and holding a long staff. On the panel the usual table scene is shown.

#### Transliteration:

1. (A) *hꜥp dl nswt wsir nb Ddw* 2. (B) *imꜣhw hr inꜥ tꜣy-ꜥw.f Gmnl-ꜥnh* 3. (C) *prꜥt-hrw n.f nꜥr m ls.f Gmnl-ꜥnh* 4. (F) *Gmnl-ꜥnh* 5. (G) *imy-r pr.* 6. (E) *imꜣhw* 7. (D) *hꜣ t hꜣ hnꜥt hꜣ kꜣw hꜣ 3ꜣdw n imꜣhw Gmnl-ꜥnh*

#### Translation:

1. An offering which the King gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris 2. He who is honoured by Anubis, who is upon his mountain, *Gmnl-ꜥnh*. 3. A voice offering to him beautifully in his tomb, *Gmnl-ꜥnh*. 4. *Gmnl-ꜥnh*. 5. Overseer of the House, 6. the honoured. 7. A thousand loaves of bread, a thousand jars of beer, a thousand of oxen and a thousand of fowl to the honoured *Gmnl-ꜥnh*.


#### Dating:

An indicative of a date later than the Old Kingdom is the reduction of the recess on either side of the panel, a feature which is probably first evidenced at the very end of the Old

<sup>1717</sup> The offering table is now in Berlin, 1163 = LD (Text) I, 153, fig. 1. Also a coffin for the same person was probably found closeby cf. *ibid*, 151-154; cf. plan on p. 145 (c, d).



Kingdom or Eighth Dynasty.<sup>1718</sup> The composition of the offering table is characteristic of the Herakleopolitan Period

The arrangement of *wsir nb* , the writing of the *ls*-sign and the abbreviation of the epithet *im3h* are all indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period. In addition, the occurrence of the adjective *nfr* plus the adverbial phrase *m ls.f* directly after *prii-hrw n.f* is also characteristic of this period, as is the formation of the name of the stela owner.<sup>1719</sup> The stela was found with its side pieces, which usually flanked the door stela forming a sort of a shallow or a minute chapel, a characteristic design in the Herakleopolitan Period.

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<sup>1718</sup> It appears in the stela of Princess Nebet of the Eighth Dynasty, cf. Habachi, *SAK* 10, 211, fig. 3. For later examples, see Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 9, n. 30, 14, n. 47; cf. also *TPC* II, pl. 73 (1); Fischer, *ZAS* 90 (1963), pl. 6; Vandier, *Manuel* II/1 (Paris, 1954), 428.

<sup>1719</sup> See *TPC* I, 126-130

## 10. Summary and Conclusions

This study of the inscribed stelae of the Herakleopolitan Period in the Memphite necropolis has had the main goal of investigating the topographical, architectural, stylistic, iconographic, and textual features of this period in this particular necropolis. The most important general conclusions are outlined below.

### (A) Topography.

Cemeteries from this period are found in and around already established cemeteries, particularly around the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Dynasties pyramids: that of Khufu at Giza, Niuserre at Abusir, and Teti, Unas, Pepy I, Merenre, Isesi, Pepy II, and Ibi at Saqqara. However, other cemeteries were also used around the pyramid of Merykare east of Teti's pyramid, in Kom el-Fakhry at Memphis, and north-east of the pyramid of Pepy I at South Saqqara (Zakaria Ghoneim cemetery).

### (B) Architecture.

Four types of tomb design can be detected during the Herakleopolitan Period in the Memphite necropolis: (1) the usual large decorated chapels particularly around the pyramid of Unas, like that of *Wnls-ḥ3-lst.f* and that of *Hnw*. (2) communal mastabas, found in Abusir, South Saqqara, Zakaria Ghoneim cemetery, and Kom el-Fakhry at Memphis. (3) mini chapel consisting of a false door flanked by two relief-decorated side pieces, all enclosed with mud-brick built walls. This type is frequently found around the Teti and Merykare pyramids, and also found occasionally at South Saqqara around the pyramid of Pepy II.<sup>1720</sup> (4) mud-brick *stèle-maison-like* miniature mastaba, with a limestone stela embedded into its eastern face. This type was characteristic at South Saqqara, and at the cemetery of Zakaria Ghoneim.<sup>1721</sup>

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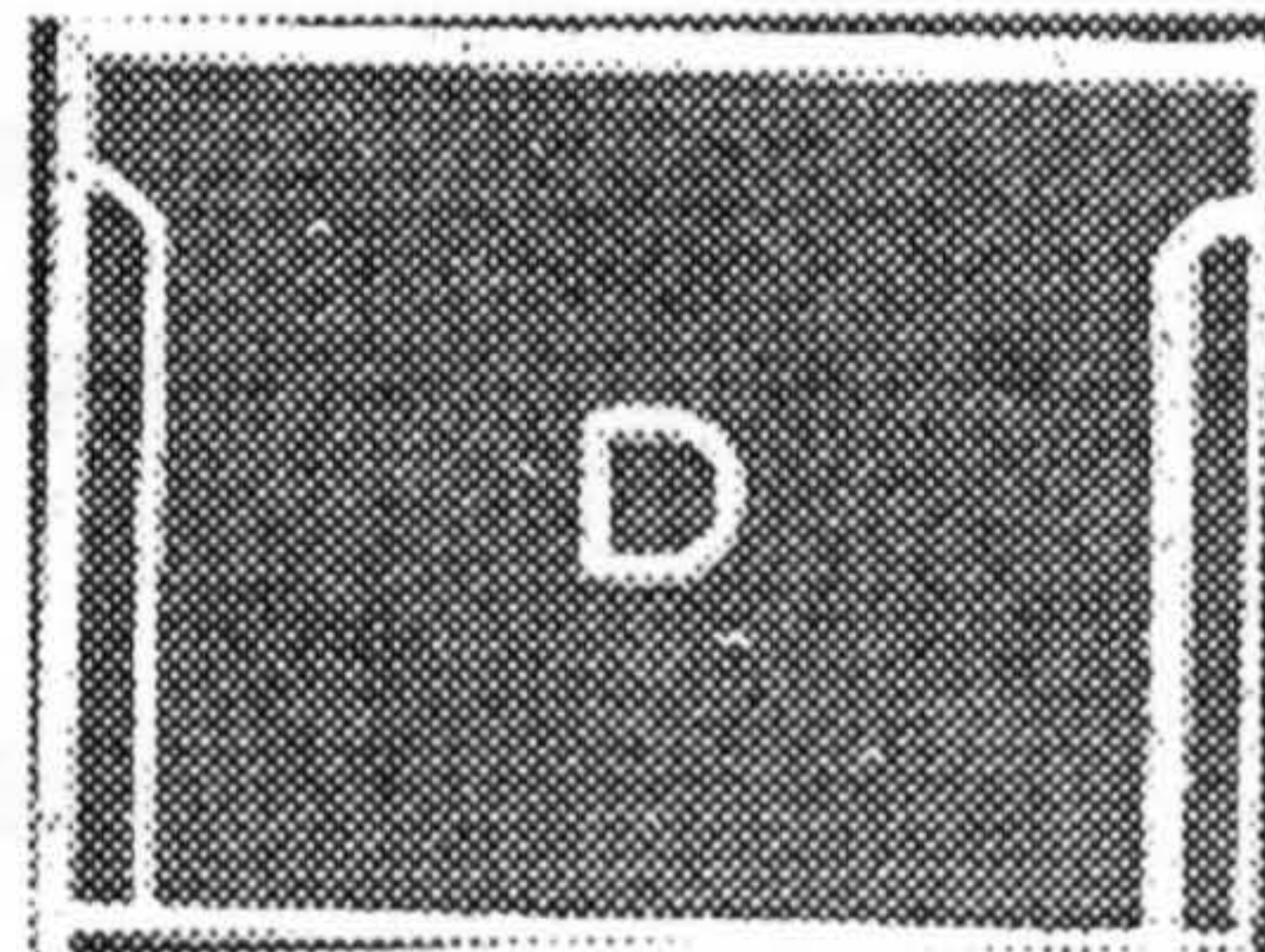
<sup>1720</sup> Cf. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, (*Hnw* chapel) figs. 110-112, (*Biw* chapel) figs. 113-115, (*Ppi* chapel) figs. 113, 116.


<sup>1721</sup> A recent excavation conducted by the Saqqara Inspectorate north of Mastabat el Faraoun has found similar tombs around a large limestone mastaba probably of early Fifth Dynasty date (personal communication). See also *stèle-maison* of *Hhi* which was found by the Saqqara Inspectorate and stored in the pillared court of *Isfi*, 'nh-m-*hr*' son (Kanawati and Hassan, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, 53-55, pl. 56). It is likely that this stela was found somewhere at South Saqqara and stored in this tomb (for this type of stela see above under South Saqqara).



### (C) Stela style.

Although the classic Sixth Dynasty false door was still used during this period, two other formats of door stelae were frequently adopted; a large format stela with six jambs and small format stela with four jambs. Both designs are variants of the classic Old Kingdom false door.<sup>1722</sup> However, the typology of their panels seem the most significant for assigning these stelae to the Herakleopolitan Period. Two of the panel types already known during the Sixth Dynasty were still in use during the Herakleopolitan Period: the classic square panel with a narrow, tall aperture on each of its sides, and the T-shape panel. The latter is first featured on false doors as early as the reign of Pepy I. Its earliest occurrence is probably in the false door of *Dd-Ppy*, the eldest son of the Sixth Dynasty Vizier Khentika/Ikheki.<sup>1723</sup> A third type of panel was first introduced at the very end of the Old Kingdom (Eighth Dynasty), probably a later development of the T-shape panel. In this type the apertures are shortened to nearly half the length of the panel. The earliest appearance of this type perhaps in the false door of Princess Nebet of the Eighth Dynasty.<sup>1724</sup> This type is occasionally associated with the Herakleopolitan stelae (e.g. *Sni* and *S3t-Ḳ-tnw*). During the Herakleopolitan Period, three more types were introduced: the



first is a panel with gently out-curving top  This type was frequently adopted in false door design during this period. Significantly, this type appears in two false doors which bear the name of Merykare.<sup>1725</sup> The second type is a panel that

<sup>1722</sup> A significant stylistic feature which appears frequently during this period is the application of an inscribed supplementary frame to false doors, Cf. Brovanski, *Naga ed-Deir*, 130-134; idem, in *For His Ka*, 36, n. 70.

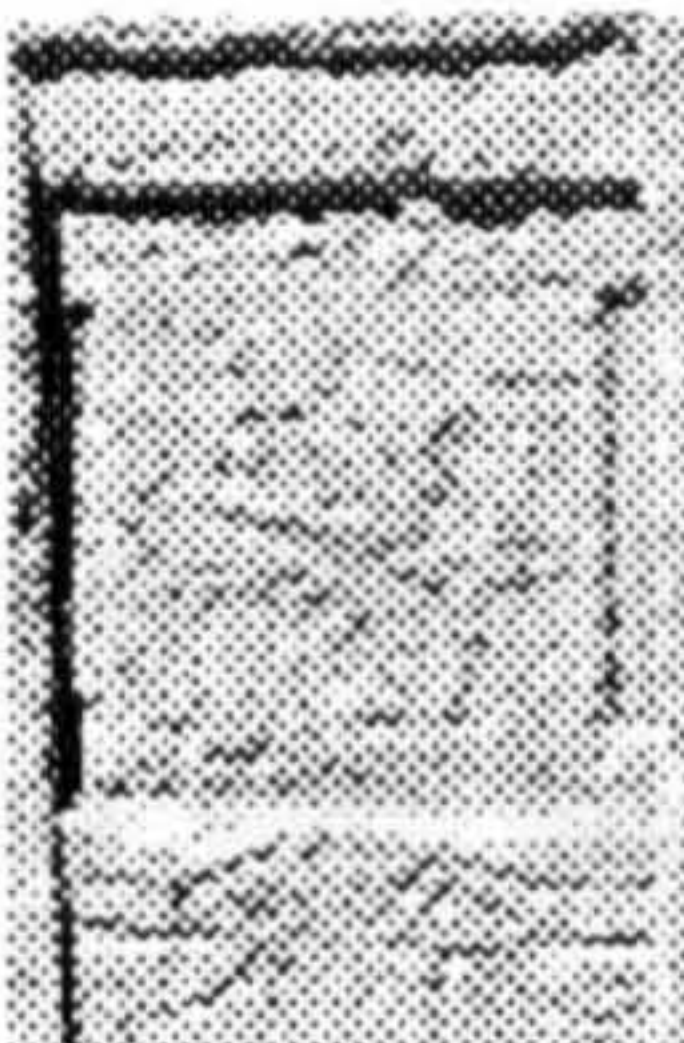
<sup>1723</sup> Cf. James, *Khentika*, pl. 52; Strudwick, *Administration*, 18-19; see also Brovanski, in *For His Ka*, 36, n. 70.

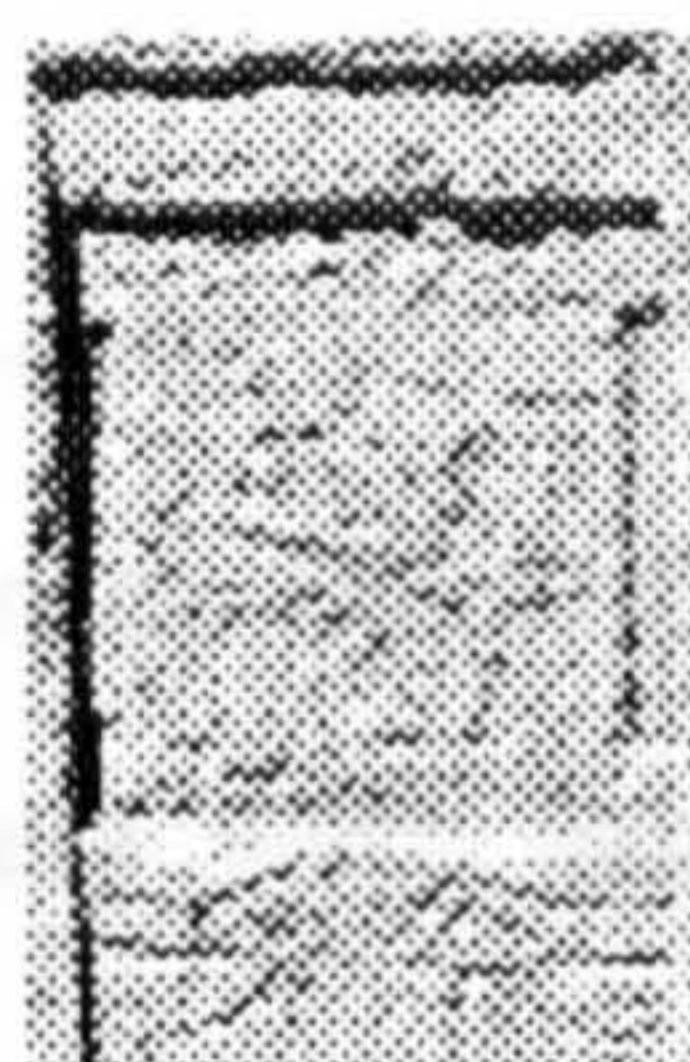
<sup>1724</sup> Habachi, *SAK* 10 (1983), fig. 3; see also Fischer, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 36; idem, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 9, n. 30, 14, n. 47.

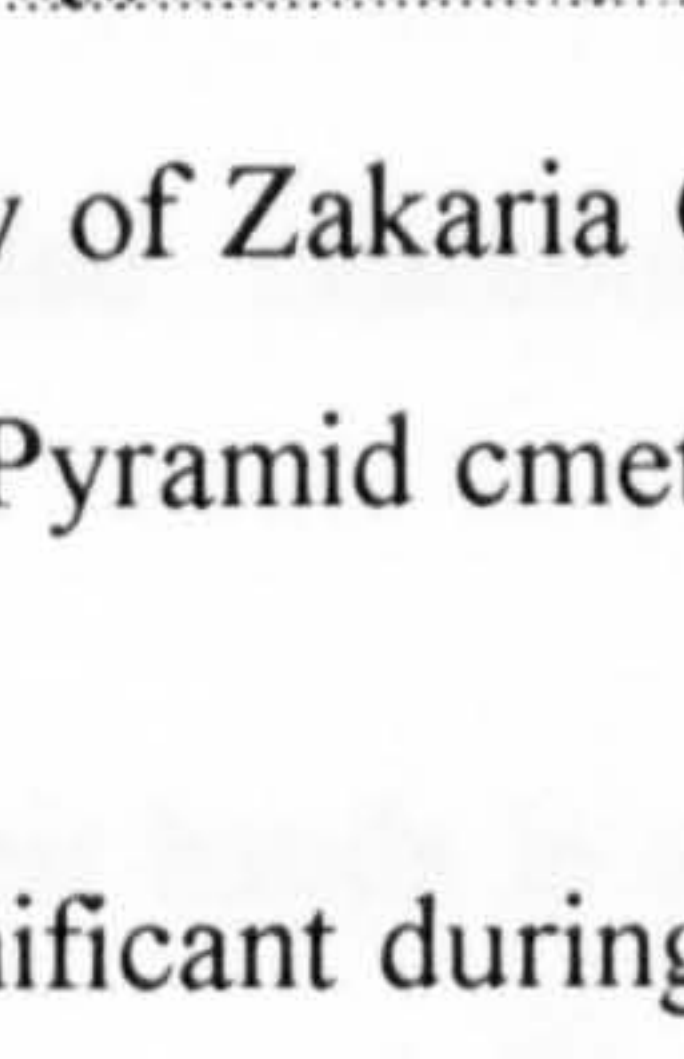
<sup>1725</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XV; idem, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (2); Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250 n. 12.





fills the entire space between the outer jambs . It has been suggested that this type of panel was first introduced early in the Middle Kingdom,<sup>1726</sup> however its adaptation in the false door of *Ipi-in* (4.1.28), leaves no doubt that it was introduced as early as the reign of Merykare to whom this official was a contemporary.<sup>1727</sup> In the third type, the panel has narrow apertures, with the top part of the panel slightly projecting,



forming an architrave for the panel itself . This is evidenced during this period on two false doors from the cemetery of Zakaria Ghoneim, that of *Pth-nht* (4.8.4) and *Impy-iqr* (4.8.3), and another from Teti Pyramid cemetery *Tti-h3-išt.f* (7.2.7).

#### (D) Iconographic features.

A number of iconographic changes seem significant during this period.

(1) The arrangement of the offering table. During this period the usual Sixth Dynasty table arrangement of tall slices of bread is used occasionally, as is the simplified form of bread slices which appeared as a rectangular shape.<sup>1728</sup> However, a new arrangement seems to be introduced during the period that followed the end of the Old Kingdom, and frequently adopted in the iconography of offering table during this period. In this arrangement, the tall slices of bread, or the rectangular-like bread slices shape, was surmounted by standard heap of offerings, formed of a fore-leg of beef, a trussed duck,



<sup>1726</sup> Cf. Strudwick, *Administration*, 19; Malek, *OLP* 8 (1977), 123.


<sup>1727</sup> Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII.

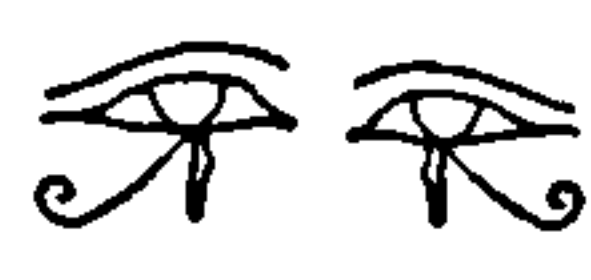
<sup>1728</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, critère 21, fig. 33, tbl. on p. 171. The earliest attestation of such a form probably is that of Queen Iput, the wife of King Teti (cf. *TPC* II, pl. 55 (1)).






cuts of meat, bundles of onions, and a lettuce, and, in some cases, a platter of fruit. Significant is the occurrence of particular items in the offering meal scene, especially if they occur on groups of stelae which were found together in a family tomb or a communal

mastaba: a tall *hs*-jar  and a small jar  appear under the offering table on at least five of the false door stelae found in the Zakaria Ghoneim cemetery (*Hnt-r3w* (4.8.2), *Impy-lqr* (4.8.3), *Pth-htp* (4.8.6) and *Nfr-hsf* (4.8.8)). Also, in all funerary meal scene on

the stelae of the family of *Sk-wsht*, a tall sealed wine jar  is depicted underneath the table. It is likely that such small iconographic details identify particular workshops, as well as providing relative dating criteria.

(2) Although the association a pair of *wd3t*-eyes  with false doors is known as early as the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>1729</sup> their position on the cross-bar above the central niche is first evidenced on false doors whose owners were associated with the cult temple of Merykare.<sup>1730</sup>

Male and female postures are also characteristic during this period: the representation of male and female raising their hands in a posture of adoration, , and

the invocation posture of males  and females  are frequently found on stelae of this period. The representations of men holding a lotus blossom to their nose, and women holding the spearhead-like staff shape frequently appear on Memphite stelae of the Herakleopolitan Period.<sup>1731</sup> The naked portraits of *Hr-šf-nht* I (4.1.8) and II (4.1.9) are rather unusual. Other female postures that are indicative of the Herakleopolitan Period in

<sup>1729</sup> Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 40, nn 1-2.


<sup>1730</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1905-1906*, pl. XIII; Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 250, n. 12; see also above *passim*.

<sup>1731</sup> For women holding a spearhead-like staff, see Fischer, *Or* 61 (1992), 144-145; idem, *The Tomb of Ip at el Saff*, 34.

the Memphite area are the appearance of the major females with their feet apart in a striding attitude; women with fisted hand rather than the open hand that is more characteristic of women; the posture of the striding female with her arms around the shoulder of her husband who also appears in a striding attitude before an offering table;<sup>1732</sup> the representation of private individuals holding the *ꜥnh*-emblem. The occurrence of the short staff with curled tip held horizontally by the deceased, is also indicative of this period.<sup>1733</sup> Both of the latter features originated in Memphis and were copied by provincial artists during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties in Upper Egypt, after the Theban invasion and the elimination of the Herakleopolitan Dynasty. Other artistic motifs were invented in the Memphite art repertoire and found their way later to other sites. The motif of a fat butler carrying a jug or assisting in butchery rituals; the representation of a thin herdsman; the presentation of a mirror to the deceased female by her maid.<sup>1734</sup>







#### (E) Palaeographic features.

Palaeographic features that are most significant for assigning individual inscriptions to the Herakleopolitan Period are:

(1) The arrangement  in the opening of the offering formula is consistently written thus on the stelae of this period. This writing is probably known slightly earlier but exclusively associated with inscriptions adjacent to the burial chamber. Other classic Old

Kingdom writings of *wsir nb* were used occasionally ,  . (2) The full writing of

*inpw*    in the context of the offering formulae. (3) The writing of *hry-tp nswt*



with the addition of the filling stroke   ,    appears at least once on stela of *Ipt/In* (4.1.28) who was associated with the cult temple of Merykare. (4) The


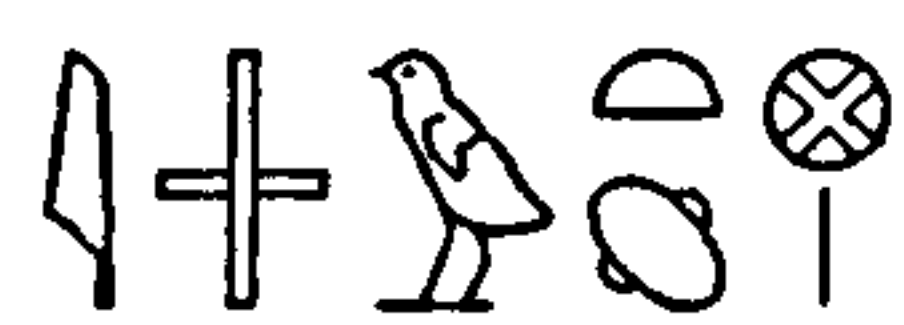
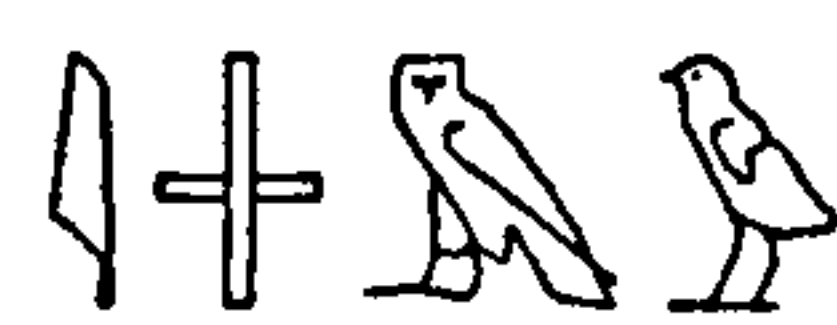
<sup>1732</sup> R.A. Freed, 'A private stela from Naga ed-Der and relief style of the reign of Amenemhet I', in W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davies (eds) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday June 1, 1980* (Boston, 1981), 73.


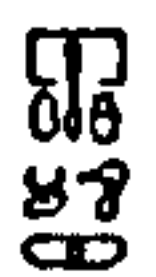
<sup>1733</sup> For this feature, see Fischer, MMJ 13 (1978), 9-10; R.E. Freed, 'Stela workshops of the early Dynasty 12', in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, I, 306.

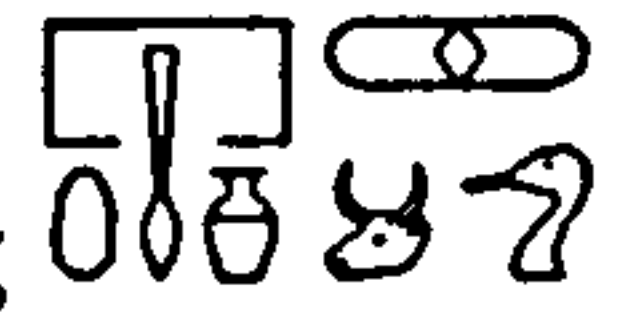
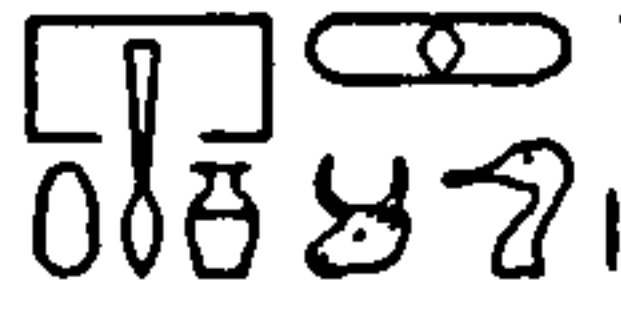
<sup>1734</sup> For this last feature see Freed, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt*, 75; Lilyquist, *Mirrors*, 16, figs. 124, 136, 137.

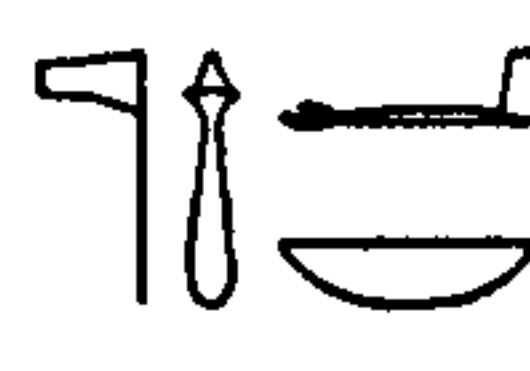














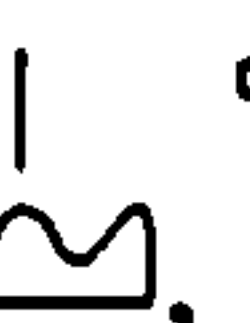


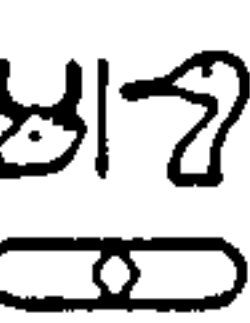










abbreviation of the epithet *im3h*, *im3ht*  and the addition of the filling stroke to both full and abbreviated versions . (5) The epithet *imy-wt* is




frequently written with the addition of the prothetic *t* , a writing which is not evidenced on stelae before the Herakleopolitan Period. Other variants of that epithet which are characteristic of this period are its writing with the addition of the filling stroke  and its writing with the post-complement *m* . (6) The


classic writing of *pryt-hrw*  continued to be used occasionally, however a new arrangement with addition of an ox and bird's heads was frequently used  on stelae of



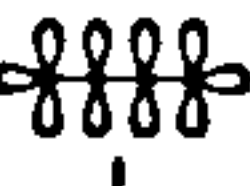

the period. Another writing ,  appears on the stelae found in the Zakaria Ghoneim cemetery (4.8); such writing is known to occur in Thebes slightly before the unification. It was occasionally used during the Eleventh Dynasty, but did not

became common before the Twelfth Dynasty. (7) Both  and  are evidenced on Memphite stelae during the Herakleopolitan Period probably its later part; the first writing is displayed on the two of the stelae found in South Saqqara (*Ny-k3w-ptḥ* (4.8.7) and *Nfr-ḥsf* (4.8.8)); the second is seen on the stela of *Ipi-ḥr-ssnb.f* (4.1.42) from Teti pyramid cemetery. (8) The addition of the filling stroke is also significant for the



orthography of this period i.e. , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , . (9)

The separation between  and  in the writing of *ḥrt-ntr*, and the writing of *t3*-sign with two pellets underneath  are characteristic of the inscriptions of this period. (10) Other

features of palaeographic significance are: the writing of the *ḥs* jar with its lid on ; the writing of the book roll determinative with two ties (double stela of *Ky* and *S3t-šd-3bd*

(9.4.1) = Louvre 14184); the occurrence of a *w3*-sign with forked tail ; the abbreviation of the west ideogram ; the degeneration of the town determinative. the substitution of  for  in names such as *Ṭpl-m-s3.s*, *Ṭpl-m-s3.f*, *Gmnl-m-s3.f*, *Tti-m-s3.f*, and *Ṭnl-m-s3.f*.

#### (F) Textual features.

Textual features that are characteristic of this period are: (1) The offering formula regularly has the datival *n* 'to' or 'for', or gentival *nt* 'of', preceding *im3h* and its variants.<sup>1735</sup> (2) The occurrence of the adjective *nfr* or *nfr* + adverbial phrase directly after *pṛt-hrw n.f* (*pṛt-hrw n.f/s nfr* or *pṛt-hrw nfr m is.f/s n hrt-ntr*) (3) The occurrence of *qrst nfrt n* + NN. This feature is first evidenced on the false door of *Htp*, who was a contemporary of Merykare.<sup>1736</sup> (4) The use of the first person singular pronoun , and , a feature which is first used in the Pyramid Texts of King *Ṭbi* of the Eighth Dynasty.

A number of epithets and titles were introduced during the Herakleopolitan Period in the Memphite necropolis. Two of these are associated with gods: (1) Osiris was frequently invoked as *ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw*, perhaps its earliest occurrence is on the stela of *Ṭpl/In* (4.1.28) who was a contemporary of Merykare.<sup>1737</sup> (2) *nb ʿnh*, a very common Middle Kingdom epithet, was applied to both Osiris and Anubis in the Herakleopolitan Period. It particularly occurs on stelae found in the Zakaria Ghoneim cemetery (4.8).

<sup>1735</sup> The *nt* is the feminine indirect gentive, taking its gender from *pṛt-hrw* or *qrst nfrt*, cf. Lapp, *Opferformel*, § 68; Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der 11 Dynastie*, § 79 e; O. Willems, *Chests of Life*, 65; Spanel, in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, II, 767, n. 11; R. J. Leprohon, 'The offering formulae in the First Intermediate Period', *JEA* 76 (1990), 163-164. For characteristic Middle Kingdom offering formulae, see Bennett, *JEA* 27 (1941), 77-82; G. Rosati, 'Note e proposte per la datazione delle stele del Medio Regno', *OrAnt* 19 (1980), 269-278; C. Obsomer, 'Di.f pṛt-hrw et la filiation *ms(t). n/ir(t).n* comme critères de datation dans les textes du Moyen Empire', in *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte. Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au professeur Aristide Théodoridès* (Ath, Brussels and Mons, 1993), 163-200; Spanel, *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, II, 765-786.

<sup>1736</sup> Cf. Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, pl. VI (2).

<sup>1737</sup> Cf. Fischer, *GM* 128 (1992), 72-74, n. 2.



Two more epithets which appeared during this period were associated with the deceased: (1) *m3<sup>c</sup> hrw* and *lqr m3<sup>c</sup> hrw* both evidenced on the stelae found in the Zakaria Ghoneim cemetery (4.8).<sup>1738</sup> (2) The identification of the deceased with Osiris is a phenomenon which was first evidenced in the context of the offering list in the burial chamber at the very end of the Old Kingdom, particularly around the pyramid of Pepy II. However, declaring such an association publicly on superstructure inscriptions was not introduced before the Herakleopolitan Period.

(G) Further points of interest.

Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period shed light on some offices which have been regarded as exclusively Middle Kingdom titles. The occurrence of titles such as *imy-r hrpw*, *hry-hb imy-rnpt*, *sdm sdmw w<sup>c</sup> m is* and *nty m srt* on these stelae would bring down their date to the Herakleopolitan Period.

Another feature which is significant in terms of dating is the construction of private names. Names constructed with elements such as *Ipi*, *Gmnl*, *Inl*, *Tti*, and *Mrt-Tti*, are not only indicative of the period but also point to the raising popularity of these local saints. Names constructed from *S3t* + NN are also characteristic of the period.

The strong tradition of the Memphite repertoire meant that radical changes in art style are not to be expected. Towards the end of the Fifth Dynasty and early in the Sixth Dynasty, particularly in the big mastabas of the courtiers of both Unas and Teti, one clearly notices changes towards a bolder and flatter style of relief. A hint of such a new style can be seen a little earlier in the offering chapel of *Pth-htp*.<sup>1739</sup> This style is likely to be first achieved in the royal relief, but there are insufficient royal monuments preserved to present an adequate impression of their appearance. However, the refinement of the bold style of relief in the funerary temple of Pepy II at the end of the Sixth Dynasty supports such a suggestion. Such change in relief style seems to be deliberate and, probably like in sculpture, constitutes a new relief style.<sup>1740</sup> Strong Memphite tradition and relatively high

<sup>1738</sup> Cf. Fischer, *Dendera*, 130-131; Schenkel, *FMAS*, 76; Lapp, *Typologie*, § 526.

<sup>1739</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 596-598.

<sup>1740</sup> Cf. J.D. Cooney, in *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 15 (1953), 21-25; Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 135-136; E.R. Russmann, 'A second style in Egyptian art of the Old Kingdom', *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 274, n. 49.



standard of workmanship meant that this style was to persist for a long time after the collapse of the Memphite regime. One of the most distinctive descendants of this style was that of Thebes early in the Eleventh Dynasty. Soon after the unification of Egypt by Montuhotep II, the sunk and high relief that was once severely executed,<sup>1741</sup> was deliberately softened by the tendency to return to the bold and flat relief style which originated at Memphis.<sup>1742</sup>

Like the style, the subject matter of the relief hardly changed. However, these subject matters were modified and selectively abbreviated, purely for economic reasons as well as the lack of space. The multi-roomed mastabas are now replaced by small false doors flanked by two decorated panels with a repertoire of scenes selectively abbreviated to the essentials. However, these decorated panels show a considerable number of late features that outweigh the overall conformity to the Sixth Dynasty art repertoire in terms of their relief style and its subject matters.

The size of the stelae presented in this research vary considerably, but small sized stelae seem to be the norm during this period. A reduction in stela size as well as the space of the decorated areas of offering chapels, did not mean decline in the workmanship as one can still see fairly good relief and decorated false doors made of good limestone.

The pyramid of Merykare *W3d-Iswt* is known from the titles of its personnel.<sup>1743</sup> Monuments of priests who were associated with the cult temple of this king point to the area east of Teti's pyramid as the likeliest place for this pyramid as suggested by Malek.<sup>1744</sup> Furthermore, Malek argues that the 'capless pyramid' (Lepsius XXIX),<sup>1745</sup> immediately east-north-east of Teti's pyramid temple is the obvious candidate.<sup>1746</sup>

<sup>1741</sup> Cf. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, pls. 2, 4; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, figs. 90, 91.

<sup>1742</sup> Fischer, *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), 240-252; Russmann, *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 278.

<sup>1743</sup> For a list of these officials, see Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägypten Während des Mittleren Reiches*, II (Wiesbaden, 1987), 30; Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, IV, 208-209.

<sup>1744</sup> See Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, IV, 207-214. This view is also expressed by a number of scholars, cf. *TPC* I, 8, 188; Quibell, *Saqqara 1906-1907*, 27; A. Scharff, 'Der Historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikare', *SAWM* 8 (1936), 7; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 116; von Beckerath, *ZAS* 93 (1966), 15 (3); Helck, *Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Leiden, Köln, 1968), 96, n. 6; M.G. El-Din Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya el-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna)* (Cairo, 1983), 100, 120, n. 4, 122; Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens Während des Mittleren Reiches*, II, 30-31; Gestermann, *Kontinuität und Wandel*, 106.



Although there is no conclusive evidence which would suggest that the Herakleopolitan house transferred the throne back to Memphis, transferring the royal cemetery, the occurrence of some high administrative state posts held by high elite officials who were buried in the cemetery which developed around the pyramid of Merykare, and the increased burial activities in the Memphite necropolis in general may indicate that Memphis, at least from the reign of Merykare, became the royal residence, perhaps sharing with Herakleopolis some of the administrative responsibilities.<sup>1747</sup>

The stelae presented here form a compact group, being closely similar in their shape, general style, iconography and palaeography. A similar conclusion applies to other inscribed material such as side pieces and offering tables. This material provides no indication on the length of the Herakleopolitan Period in the Memphite area, as is the case for the length of the reign of Merykare. However, probably having a pyramid built, and its temples completely functioning suggests a moderately long reign for King Merykare as convincingly argued by Malek.

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<sup>1745</sup> J. De Morgan, *Carte de la nécropole memphite* (Cairo, 1897), pl. 10; LD I, 33; LD Text I, 188; Maspero, *RT* 3 (1882), 176; Firth, *ASAE* 30 (1930), 187; Jeffreys et al., *The Anubieion at Saqqara I, The Settlement and the Temple Precinct* (London, 1988), pls. 1-2; V. Maragiolo and C. Rinaldi, *L'architettura delle piramidi Menfite VIII* (Rapallo, 1975), 58-63; Stadelmann, *Die Grossenpyramiden von Giza* (Graz, 1990), 73, n. 33.

<sup>1746</sup> Malek, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, 209-214, figs. 3-4. For an alternative view identifying this pyramid as that of King Menkauhor of the Fifth Dyanasty, see Lauer and Leclant, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire de roi Têti* (Cairo, 1972), 10; Berlandini, *BSFE* 83 (1978), 24-35; idem, *RdE* 31 (1979), 3-28.

<sup>1747</sup> L. Gestermann, *Kontinuität und Wandel in Politik und Verwaltung des frühen Mittleren Reiches in Ägypten*, Go IV/18 (Wiesbaden, 1987), 103-116.

## 11. Abbreviations.

ÄA	<i>Ägyptologische Abhandlungen.</i>
ÄAT	<i>Ägypten und Altes Testament.</i>
ACE	<i>Australian Centre for Egyptology, Sydney.</i>
ACER	<i>Australian Centre for Egyptology Report, Sydney.</i>
AcOr	<i>Acta Orientalia.</i>
ADAIK	<i>Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.</i>
AEB	<i>Annual Egyptological Bibliography, Leiden.</i>
AEO	<i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i>
ÄF	<i>Ägyptologische Forschungen.</i>
<u>AfO</u>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung.</i>
<u>AJA</u>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<u>AJSL</u>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Chicago.</i>
Alex	<i>Année Lexicographique, Paris.</i>
AnAe	<i>Analecta Aegyptiaca, Copenhagen.</i>
AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia, Rome.</i>
<u>AoF</u>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen, Berlin.</i>
AOS	<i>American Oriental Series, New Haven.</i>
<u>Artibus Asiae</u>	<i>Artibus Asiae Journal of the Institute of Fine Arts. New York University.</i>
ARWAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
<u>ASAE</u>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.</i>
ASAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig.</i>
ASE	<i>Archaeological Survey of Egypt.</i>
AV	<i>Archäologische Veröffentlichungen.</i>
BAe	<i>Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, Brüssel.</i>
<u>BES</u>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar.</i>
BdE	<i>Bibliothèque d'Étude, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo.</i>
<u>BDIA</u>	<i>Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts.</i>
<u>BIE</u>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte.</i>
<u>BIFAO</u>	<i>Bulletin de Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo.</i>
<u>BiOr</u>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden.</i>
<u>BMF</u>	<i>Bulletin des Musées de France, Paris.</i>
<u>BMFA</u>	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.</i>
BMHT	<i>British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts</i>
<u>BMMA</u>	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.</i>
<u>BMRAH</u>	<i>Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles.</i>
<u>BMQ</u>	<i>British Museum Quarterly.</i>
<u>BNCMA</u>	<i>Bulletin of North Carolina Museum of Arts.</i>
BSAE	<i>British School of Archaeology in Egypt.</i>
BSAES	<i>British School of Archaeology in Egypt Studies.</i>
<u>BSEG</u>	<i>Bulletin Société d'Égyptologie Genève.</i>
BSAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte</i>
<u>BSFE</u>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie, Paris.</i>



CAA	<i>Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum.</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
CASAE	<i>Cahier. Suppléments aux ASAE, Cairo = SASAE.</i>
CCG	<i>Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.</i>
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte, Brüssel.</i>
<u>CRAIBL</u>	<i>Comptes Rendus à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris.</i>
<u>CRIPEL</u>	<i>Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille.</i>
<u>DE</u>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology.</i>
DMOA	<i>Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui, Leiden.</i>
EEF	<i>Egypt Exploration Fund</i>
EES	<i>Egypt Exploration Society</i>
EG <sup>3</sup>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> , 3rd ed. London, 1957.
FIFAO	<i>Fouilles Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
FMÄS	W. Schenckel, <i>Frühmittelägyptische Studien</i> . Bonn, 1962.
<u>GM</u>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen</i>
GO	<i>Göttinger Orientforschungen, Wiesbaden.</i>
Gunn MSS	<i>Gunn MSS, Griffith Institute, Oxford.</i>
HESPOK	W.S. Smith, <i>A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom</i> , 2nd ed. London, 1949.
HÄB	<i>Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge</i>
HMK	<i>Herakleopolitan and early Middle Kingdom.</i>
IÄF	P. Kaplony, <i>Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit</i> , 3 vols. and supplement ( <u>ÄA</u> 8, 9). Wiesbaden, 1963-1964.
<u>JAOS</u>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<u>JARCE</u>	<i>Journal of the the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JE	<i>Journal d'Entrée, Cairo Museum</i>
<u>JEÄ</u>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<u>JNES</u>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<u>JSSEA</u>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
<u>Kêmi</u>	<i>Kêmi. Revue de Philologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Coptes, Paris</i>
<u>Kush</u>	<i>Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service, Khartoum</i>
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
<u>LAAA</u>	<i>Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
LD	Lepsius, <i>Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i>
MÄS	<i>Münchener Ägyptologische Studien, Berlin</i>
MÄU	<i>Münchener Ägyptologische Untersuchungen</i>
<u>MDAIK</u>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MIFAO	<i>Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire</i>
<u>MIO</u>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Berlin</i>
MMIFAO	<i>Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire</i>
<u>MMJ</u>	<i>Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal</i>
MOS	<i>Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlung</i>
<u>NGWG</u>	<i>Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>



<u>ÖAWDG</u>	<i>Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie</i>
<u>OBO</u>	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>
<u>OLA</u>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven</i>
<u>OLP</u>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica, Leuven</i>
<u>OIZ</u>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Berlin, Leipzig</i>
<u>OMRO</u>	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i>
<u>Or</u>	<i>Orientalia, Nova Series, Rome</i>
<u>OrAnt</u>	<i>Oriens Antiquus, Rome</i>
<u>OrSu</u>	<i>Orientalia Suecana, Uppsala</i>
<u>PdÄ</u>	<i>Probleme der Ägyptologie Leiden</i>
<u>PM</u>	<i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings by Bertha Porter and Rosalind L.B. Moss, Oxford, 1960-1981.</i>
<u>PN</u>	<i>H. Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen, 3. vols. Glückstadt, 1935, 1952.</i>
<u>PSBA</u>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London</i>
<u>RdC</u>	<i>La Revue du Caire</i>
<u>RdE</u>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
<u>RSO</u>	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
<u>RT</u>	<i>Recueil de Travaux Reliefs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes</i>
<u>SAK</u>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg</i>
<u>SAGA</u>	<i>Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens</i>
<u>SAOC</u>	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation, Chicago</i>
<u>SEAP</u>	<i>Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche, Bologna.</i>
<u>SDAIK</u>	<i>Sonderschrift. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo</i>
<u>SEAP</u>	<i>Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche, Pisa.</i>
<u>Serapis</u>	<i>Serapis. A Student Forum on the Ancient World</i>
<u>SÖAW</u>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
<u>Sphinx</u>	<i>Sphinx. Revue Critique Embrassant le Domaine Entier de l'Égyptologie, Uppsala</i>
<u>StudAeg</u>	<i>Studia Aegyptiaca, Rome</i>
<u>TÄB</u>	<i>Tübinger Ägyptologische Beiträge</i>
<u>TAVO</u>	<i>Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients</i>
<u>TPC</u>	<i>Teti Pyramid Cemeteries.</i>
<u>TPPI</u>	<i>J.J. Clère and J. Vandier, Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XIème Dynastie, BAe 10. Brussels, 1948</i>
<u>UGAÄ</u>	<i>Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens</i>
<u>URAÄ</u>	<i>Urkunden zum Rechtsleben im Alten Ägypten</i>
<u>VA</u>	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
<u>VÄK</u>	<i>Veröffentlichungen der Ägyptischen Kommission. Wien</i>
<u>Wb</u>	<i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i>
<u>WdO</u>	<i>Die Welt des Orient</i>
<u>WVDOG</u>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft</i>
<u>WZKM</u>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands</i>
<u>ZÄS</u>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>





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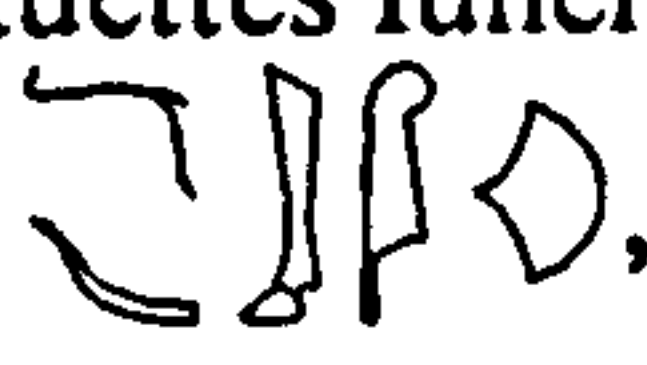


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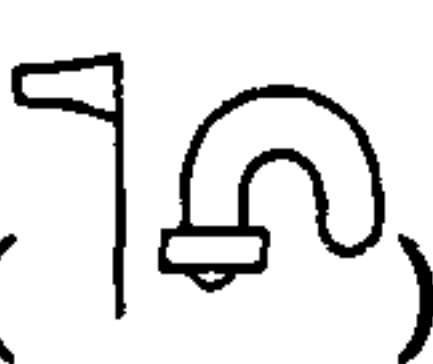
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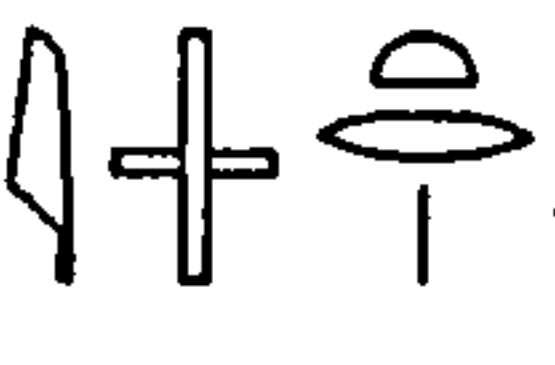
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